INTERSTATE MIGRATION

HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SEVENTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

THIRD SESSION

PURSUANT TO

H. Res. 63 and H. Res. 491

RESOLUTIONS TO INQUIRE INTO THE INTERSTATE
MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS, TO STUDY,
SURVEY, AND INVESTIGATE THE SOCIAL AND
ECONOMIC NEEDS AND THE MOVEMENT OF
INDIGENT PERSONS ACROSS STATE LINES

PART 2

MONTGOMERY HEARINGS

AUGUST 14, 15, AND 16, 1940

Printed for the use of the Select Committee to Investigate the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens

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SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS

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INTERSTATE MIGRATION

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14, 1940

House of Representatives,
Select Committee to Investigate the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
Montgomery, Ala.

The committee met at 10 a. m. in the courtroom of the United States circuit court of appeals, Federal Building, Montgomery, Ala., Hon. John H. Tolan (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives John H. Tolan (chairman), Claude V. Parsons, John J. Sparkman, Carl T. Curtis, and Frank C. Osmers, Jr.

Also present: Robert K. Lamb, chief investigator; George Wolf, chief field investigator; Harold D. Cullen, field investigator; Creekmore Fath, field investigator; and Irene Hageman, field secretary.

The Chairman. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Reporter, you will note the presence of Congressman Parsons, of Illinois; Congressman Curtis, of Nebraska; Congressman Sparkman, of Alabama. Congressman Osmers, the remaining member of the committee, stayed in Washington to attend some official business and he will be here later this morning or this afternoon.

TESTIMONY OF DR. L. N. DUNCAN, PRESIDENT, ALABAMA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE, AUBURN, ALA.

The Chairman. Dr. Duncan, will you step forward, please?

Dr. Duncan. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman. I understand that you are here as a representative of the Governor of the State of Alabama, and it affords us great pleasure to hear anything that you have to say at this time.

Dr. Duncan. Mr. Tolan and members of the committee: First, we are meeting here this morning in accordance with House Resolutions 63 and 491 adopted by the Congress of the United States. Gov. Frank M. Dixon was to have been with you, but unfortunately he was called out of the State in connection with an important and pressing matter, and he has asked me to make this statement, which is also an expression of welcome, cordial welcome, on the part of the State of Alabama to these distinguished members and others who have come to consider these matters of very great importance.

On behalf of the Governor and the people of Alabama, I am extending a warm, cordial welcome to these gentlemen and urging our people everywhere to furnish any and all information which they may possess, bearing upon this matter, to the members of this committee.

Under these resolutions, it is our understanding that six public hearings are being held at New York City, Lincoln, Nebr., Chicago, Ill., Oklahoma City, Okla., San Francisco, Calif., and Montgomery, Ala.

The purpose of these hearings is to inquire into the interstate migration of citizens, especially as I understand it, destitute citizens; to study, survey, investigate the social and economic needs, and the movement of indigent persons across State lines.

The members of the committee are the following distinguished Members of Congress: Hon. John H. Tolan, of California, who is with us as chairman; Hon. Claude V. Parsons, of Illinois; Hon. John J. Sparkman, of Alabama; Hon. Carl T. Curtis, of Nebraska; and Hon. Frank C. Osmers, Jr., of New Jersey, and Dr. Robert K. Lamb as chief investigator. Mr. George Wolf is serving with the committee as chief field investigator, and Mr. Harold D. Cullen is actively cooperating.

These gentlemen are making a broad, comprehensive study of every phase of this problem of migration, with a view of ascertaining the clear, definite, and unbiased facts. They are not seeking information that will be partisan or helpful to one area and harmful to another area. They are concerned only with the entire story and with all phases of this migratory movement on the part of people who are restless and moving from one area to another. They not only wish to know about the movement but also the real cause or causes back of the movement—why people are leaving one area and moving into another, and what are the reasons that cause them to want to pull up from where they are and go to another place, and what are the circumstances and conditions in the area to which they go; all the facts relating to those problems, as well as the effect on the area from which they move and the area to which they are moving.

When the facts are discovered, they will be properly analyzed and set forth in public documents for the use of our citizens for information, and such remedial legislation, I presume, will be enacted as the facts and circumstances may warrant.

It is certainly a pleasure to be here and make this very brief and very general introductory statement. Experts will come before you from time to time during the hearing, Mr. Chairman, who will present facts and circumstances surrounding the movement of these people, and we want you to know how genuinely, in Alabama and in this area, we are interested in this problem. It is a serious one and one of great importance to our country, and we hope that we will not merely gather a lot of information and have it filed away in some documents but that it will be followed by some remedial action.

The **Chairman.** We are grateful to you personally, as well as to the Governor, for your formal presentation here, and we wish you to extend to the Governor our every good wish, and our thanks for having you here as his representative today to start off this hearing.

Dr. DUNCAN. I thank you.

(Dr. Duncan was thereupon excused.)

TESTIMONY OF HOWARD GRAY, PRESIDENT, ALABAMA FARM BUREAU FEDERATION, NEW MARKET, ALA.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Gray, will you step forward, please, and state your name and official position for the record.

Mr. GRAY. My name is Howard Gray. I am president of the Alabama Farm Bureau Federation; address, New Market, Ala. [Reading:]

Mr. Chairman, and members of the Committee; it is a pleasure to have this opportunity of appearing before your committee as the representative of some 26,000 farm families, members of the Alabama Farm Bureau Federation. Our membership is scattered over the entire State and is composed of farm people of all income and social levels. On behalf of this group of farmers I wish to thank you gentlemen for coming to Alabama to talk with our southern people about our migratory farm labor problems.

OBJECTIVES OF ALABAMA FARM BUREAU FEDERATION

The Alabama Farm Bureau, as an organization and its members individually, are vitally interested in the problem of migration of farm labor, because we realize fully that the cause of the problems of migration gets awfully close to the real heart of our entire farm problem. For a number of years our organization has devoted its resources to the effort to point a way to a solution of the very problem which you gentlemen are now studying.

The farm people of Alabama have always prided themselves in taking care of their own tenants on their farms. Taking the State as a whole, this condition is still true. This spirit of assuming common responsibility is largely the reason why we in the South are today supporting twice as many farm families as we did 75 years ago on an even slightly smaller acreage of arable land. Our people have been facing this situation with hope and courage, but for many of them it has meant only a bare existence.

REASONS FOR MIGRATION FROM ALABAMA FARMS

Undoubtedly people move because the opportunities elsewhere seem to be more attractive. If we are to deal successfully with the problem of migrating farmers, we must arrest that movement in its inception by making the farms more attractive and by raising the standard of living for the farm people. There can be little stability of tenure, which is the opposite of migration, unless the incomes on farms are adequate to support the farm and its people with a standard of living comparable to that which could be obtained in other lines or in other places by these people. The problem, therefore, largely centers in income.

Permit me to point out that in 1939 the average cash farm income from marketings of both crops and livestock was only $310. In addition to this, Government benefit payments amounted to, roughly, $100 per farm. With an average of more than five people per family, it is not difficult to understand why $310 from farm marketings is wholly inadequate to furnish a standard of living sufficient to retain farmers on their farms.

Our major problem in Alabama, so far as concerns maintaining the farm population on the land, is caused by the low prices received for the products of the land. With our major crop, cotton, bringing only approximately 56 percent of parity, and those products which we must purchase bringing 123 percent of parity, you can readily see why we as farm people have a most difficult problem in trying to secure a decent living.

Even with the addition of benefit payments which Congress has most wisely made available during the past 7 years, the farmer's income from his cotton is only now 71 percent of parity.

I wish to emphasize that the price per pound for cotton is not the most important factor, but rather that its exchange value when translated into other commodities, which the farmer must purchase, is the dominant factor in determining the number of people the farm land in Alabama will support adequately.

Farming offers many advantages which do not appear in income figures, and it is true now, just as it has been in the past, that the future of Americans rests in the land. Our farm people, through the splendid leadership of our Extension Service and land-grant colleges, are producing and preserving a large portion of the food necessary for a balanced diet. You cannot starve a farmer on his land, but the American standard of living demands a little more than a full stomach. These additional things require money, and we are brought face to face with our income problem.

The making available of credit will always furnish an individual with temporary relief. Sound credit at the lowest possible interest rate commensurate with the cost of money is most essential in helping solve our farm problem. However, the making available of money through loans on an unsound basis only aggravates the problem and makes it even greater when we finally have to face conditions as they actually exist. Any loan made to an individual farmer, when he realizes that he does not have any hope or chance of repayment, tends to destroy that farmer's individual responsibility, and we feel that the accepting of individual responsibility among our citizens is truly the backlog of democracy. In considering ability to make repayment, we are again brought face to face with the problem of farm income.

With all these facts before our farm people as they get together in their community centers and discuss their farm problems, they have become convinced that one of three roads must be taken by them, hand in hand with their Federal Government.

RECOMMENDATIONS

First, that we must have higher prices per unit on whatever product the farmers raise; or, if we can't have that, secondly, they want as low prices per unit for those things which the farmer must buy, because it is a matter of exchange; or the third—since there is apparently a limit to the amount of our agricultural products that the world will take, even at our present relatively low prices, the income from the sale of these products will have to be divided among fewer people. Of course, this latter means fewer people on the farm, which, in turn, means more migration problems and increased relief loads.

We are interested, and I know you are interested, in seeing a permanent security for our farmers. The security which we are striving for, and which will be necessary if we are to solve the problem of migration, is economic security. I submit to you that there can be no security if the income of our farm families is not sufficient to provide medical care, healthful homes, and those other things which yield a sense of security. It is our opinion that it has always been, and always will be, useless to try to force a person to stay on the farm when the income for the farm family is inadequate.

The Alabama Farm Bureau, in its efforts to secure parity for the farmers, is at the same time trying to solve the problem of migration. When we have done away with the tremendous disparity between price received and price paid it is our belief that the farmers will be able to improve their farms and homes, or perhaps undertake to purchase a farm, and in that way become more securely tied to the land.

In conclusion, may I point out again that the cause for migration is the disadvantage to which farmers have been subjected in the market place. When we achieve parity and do away with most of this discrimination, farm life will be as attractive as any other alternative, and it is my belief that migration, because of this fact, will be reduced to a minimum.

Thank you, Chairman Tolan.

Mr. SPARKMAN. First, I would like to express on behalf of the committee our gratitude to Mr. Gray for making this very fine and clear statement for us, and I am sure that all of the committee has followed it with a great deal of interest.

I take pleasure in mentioning the fact that Mr. Gray is a constituent of mine, as he lives in my own home county, or you might put it that I am a constituent of his, as I am a member of the same organization of which he is president, as I have a farm in that locality, and I am always interested in those things which work for the well being of these people.

The CHAIRMAN. I presume that you were particularly interested in it this year.

Mr. GRAY. I might state that the Congressman from our district didn't have any opposition this year.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I might say that I am always interested in it. As I understand it, the import of your statement is—and I do want to compliment you on the clearness of it—that so long as our farmers are subject to lowered economic conditions there is bound to be a certain amount of farm migration.

Mr. GRAY. As long as we have any desire whatsoever in the hearts of our people to improve their conditions, so long as farm conditions do not offer them an opportunity equal with other groups, they will migrate to other areas and to other work.

Mr. **Sparkman**. You are speaking now only of the farm group?

Mr. **Gray**. Yes, sir; of migration from the farm.

Mr. **Sparkman**. And your recommendation, I gather from your statement, insofar as the farm group is concerned, is that such steps as may be taken should be taken to alleviate their economic condition on the farm.

Mr. **Gray**. To give economic opportunity for the farmers on the farm.

Mr. **Sparkman**. That is all that I have. Thank you very much.

The **Chairman**. I think that you agree with me when I say that there are certain sections in the United States, particularly in the Dust Bowl area of the Southwest, where soil erosion and other things of that nature make it impossible to really farm some of that land.

Mr. **Gray**. Well, that is true; yes, sir. Mr. Chairman, I might say that even in Alabama, in the black belt of the State of Alabama, which comprises some 13 counties, we have a condition existing that is somewhat different from the pure matter of economics as affecting the other sections of the country generally, since the boll weevil came into this section. At one time, this was the outstanding cotton producing section of Alabama, but, with the advent of the boll weevil, we were compelled to change from row crops to other crops, such as beef cattle, and that meant that some people have been forced off of the farm. That is other than the general condition about which we have been speaking.

Congressman Curtis has the problem in a marked degree in his home State of Nebraska, and on a broad scale, I would say that economics is the urgent problem.

Mr. **Curtis**. I want to say this, Mr. Gray: Without any reservation I think that you have presented one of the finest statements that the committee has had so far.

Mr. **Gray**. Thank you, Congressman Curtis.

DISCUSSION OF COMPARATIVE PARITY

Mr. **Curtis**. We are all interested in kind and humane treatment to the individual who is forced to go from State to State, with none claiming him as its own. But beyond that, it is hoped that this committee can bring back some light to the Congress of the United States on the basic causes that drive people from their homes, and if we can do nothing more we can show that it is a national unified problem. I daresay that any one of those farmers in the drought areas and in the Dust Bowl could use, without waste, at least $500 worth of your cotton products—they need it—the farms up there are destitute of all of the articles made of cotton, but they are faced with the same things that you are talking about here. We do not know the answer for 9-cents-per-dozen eggs, which is about the only crop they have this year. And we also feel that water conservation and irrigation in that territory will mean that they will be able to buy more cotton from Alabama. And I feel, too, that you have your finger on a very important angle of this investigation.

Mr. **Parsons**. I think that you have made three very significant statements. One is that even with your Government parity payments, your cotton crop is only 71 percent of parity as compared with your purchasing parity of 123 percent for the articles that the farmer must purchase, and so long as such a difference remains in any given territory or State, you are, of course, going to have people migrating to seek better opportunities elsewhere, if they have some hope of bettering themselves.

Now, do you have any suggestions to make as to how we could level off, parity for the products that you produce with parity for the products which you buy?

Mr. GRAY. Well, the first recommendation of our farm people has been that, since Congress has endorsed the principle of parity, saying that we should bring agricultural products to full parity when the money was provided, to insist that Congress provide, through appropriations, the money to bring our crops to full parity. That is one way to do it, and the second way would be lowering the cost of the things that we have to buy. Of course, the latter wouldn't be very good political material for some of you to go back home to your constituents with, to say that we wanted to lower the cost of the articles that the farm people must buy, but somewhere in there we have got to get those two figures closer together or else we can never get prosperity, with the wide differential that has been mentioned.

Mr. PARSONS. Now, you have another very serious problem which is facing the entire country. For instance, your chief crop in the South, cotton, is a great export crop.

Mr. GRAY. It has been; yes, sir—that is what developed it.

Mr. PARSONS. And there has always been a foreign market for your cotton in addition to our domestic consumption, but a large part of that foreign market is broken down today and that has some effect upon the price of cotton, of course.

Mr. GRAY. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. How much has mechanization on your farms in the South, particularly in the cotton and tobacco areas, taken the place of farm labor?

Mr. GRAY. In the State of Alabama particularly, very, very little. There is very little mechanized farming other than in Congressman Sparkman's district, and a few isolated sections in the State of Alabama. The topography of a lot of our land in the State of Alabama doesn't lend itself to mechanized farming, but in the Tennessee Valley area, and some other flat areas, we have had a movement to tractors and other modern farm equipment. Apparently, we will have to do more and more of that, as we will have to produce our units more cheaply, and as we produce more of it with machinery, it means that more people will be thrown out of work on the farm.

Mr. PARSONS. I saw a statement about a year ago, I believe it was, where a study had been made of the migration of farm labor and mechanization of the farms since 1929 to 1939, wherein it was stated that such mechanization had replaced 41 percent of the farm labor of the Nation. Have you studied that problem? Have you any figures on that matter?

Mr. GRAY. I wouldn't be prepared to make a statement as to the authenticity of those figures which you have quoted. I don't think that would be true in the State of Alabama. Over the Nation as a whole it might be so.

Mr. PARSONS. How many Farm Bureau members do you have in the State of Alabama?

Mr. GRAY. As I have previously stated, we have 26,000 farm families members of our Bureau, and we figure it at the rate of 5 members per family, which would be 130,000 individuals.

Mr. PARSONS. Do most of the members own their farms?

Mr. GRAY. Some of them own their farms and some of them do not. In some sections of the State a large portion of our membership is made up of tenant farmers and in other sections they are largely landowners.

Mr. PARSONS. That's all, thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Gray.

Mr. GRAY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

(Mr. Gray was thereupon excused.)

TESTIMONY OF DR. RUPERT B. VANCE, PROFESSOR OF SOCIOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL, N. C., ON "THE PROBABLE TREND OF MIGRATION FROM THE SOUTHEAST"

The CHAIRMAN. Dr. Vance, will you please come around? Mr. Reporter, this is Dr. Rupert B. Vance, professor of sociology, Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dr. Vance, I want to say on behalf of the committee that we feel honored to have you here this morning. We have had time since arriving here to study your background, and we feel that you are ideally equipped to speak on this very important problem, and I wish that you would proceed to present it in any way that you see fit, Doctor.

Dr. VANCE. I want to discuss the probable trend of migration from the Southeast—that is the past migration and the future migration that we may expect. [Reading:]

The South's contribution to future migration in this country is likely to be very large indeed. It is not difficult to show that the need is great and that the southern people are accustomed to moving in search of opportunity. In many respects our statistics on internal migration are the poorest we have, but all the figures available show the tendency of the southern people to move. Previous migrations, Negro and white, the rural-urban drift, the high birth rate on southern farms, the southern youth who will mature into working population, the precarious agricultural situation in the eastern Cotton Belt and the southern Appalachian Mountains can all be cited in support of this statement. Indeed, it may be said that the only alternative to greatly increased migration from the South is a more rapid industrial development than is at present conceivable. Even during the depression much more migration would have taken place in spite of lack of opportunity had it not been retarded by comparatively lower living standards and lower educational status of the southern common man. To these considerations must be added the effect of local and rural relief in keeping people located in their accustomed places.

In order to secure some idea of probable migration trends let us look at the record.

POPULATION MOVEMENTS TO 1930

First, we shall look at population movements up to 1930.

The people of the Southeast have taken part in 3 great migrations, 1 agricultural and 2 industrial. The first was the great movement to the free lands of the West—now a fit matter for the closed book of history—at least, I suppose all land capable of being homesteaded is taken up. The second was the great interregional movement to industrial areas of the Northeast and Midwest in which the Negroes took part, and the third was the movement to the industrial towns and cities rising in the new South. We can get some idea of the importance of this interregional movement by using the State-of-birth data of the census. For 1920, "Southern Regions"[1] computed a net loss of 2,378,000 people by migration outside the Southeast. By 1930 this figure had grown to 3,412,000. Of the native-born population of the United States in 1930, 28,700,000 were born in the Southeast, of whom 24,100,000 were born in rural districts and 4,600,000 in cities. Since only about 17,500,000 lived in the areas of their birth in 1930, it is evident that over 6,600,000 have moved elsewhere. Of these, 3,700,000 have left the section entirely, while 2,900,000 have moved to southern cities. On the other hand, 400,000 came into the South from elsewhere, leaving a net loss to the Southeast of about 3,400,000. These figures show how the rural South has continued its own growth, added to the growth of southern cities, and exported almost three and a half millions to the rest of the Nation.

Take the Negro—by 1930, 21.3 percent of the Negroes born in the South were living outside, making a net loss of over 1,840,000 population. While the Negro exodus was more dramatic, it has been exceeded in numbers by the movements of the white population. By decades the net loss by migration of whites has grown from a mere trickle of 21,200 in the 1870's to over a million in the 1920's. Over 6 decades this net loss has grown from 0.4 to 7.5 percent of the native white population living in the Southeast at the beginning of each decade.

TABLE 1.—*Net loss by migration of native white population in the southeast by decades from 1870 to 1930*

[In 1,000's]

Decennial period	Population at beginning of decennial period	Expected population at end of decennial period	Actual population at end of period	Loss	
				Number (in 1,000's)	Percent
1870–80	5,889.9	7,662.7	7,601.5	−21.2	−0.4
1880–90	7,601.5	9,596.5	9,184.2	−421.3	−5.4
1890–1900	9,184.2	10,963.8	10,504.7	−459.1	−5.2
1900–1910	10,504.7	13,108.5	12,528.8	−579.8	−5.5
1910–20	12,528.8	15,322.5	14,522.3	−800.2	−6.4
1920–30	14,522.3	18,042.9	16,958.3	−1,084.6	−7.5

Source: Harold L. Geisert, The Balance of Interstate Migration in the Southeast, Unpublished Dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1939, p. 125. Based on age-group data from the census with special adjustment for the population under 10 years of age.

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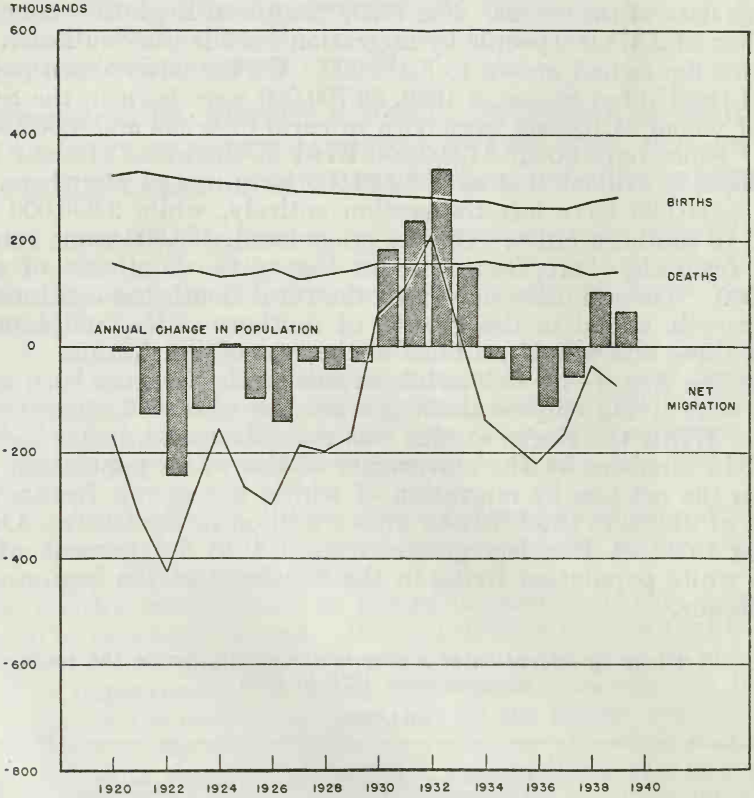
[1] Southern Regions of the United States, by Howard W. Odum, University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill, N. C. (1936).

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATIONS

Now let us glance at rural-urban migrations. In order to arrive at figures on the year-by-year migration from southern farms to cities, we must make use of the Department of Agriculture's annual estimates for the census South, an area that includes Texas, Oklahoma, and certain border States. This is a bigger area than the Southeast alone, because it includes Texas and Oklahoma and some of the border States like Maryland and Delaware that are actually not southern in their characteristics.

Charts 1 and 2, contrasting the Nation and the South, indicate the greater number of births on southern farms and the great amount of urban migration necessary to hold the South's farm population at a stable level in a period of declining agriculture. From 1920 to 1939 annual births in southern farm areas have fallen from 500,000 to below 450,000, about a half-million decrease on the southern farms. For the rest of the Nation, farm births have never gone above 320,000. In the farm South, deaths have not climbed over 200,000, giving the farm

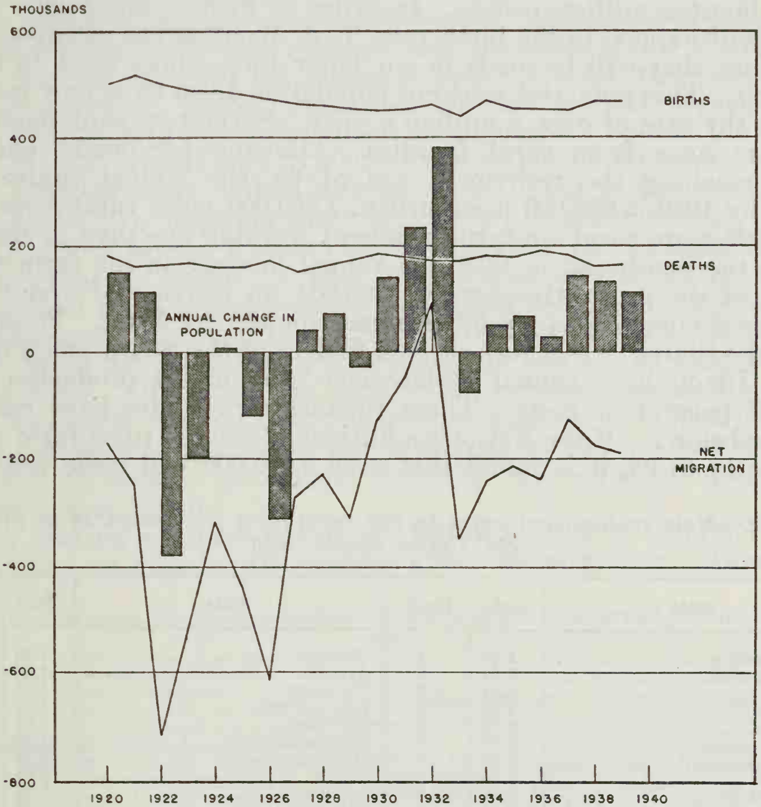
CHART 1



CHANGE IN FARM POPULATION, UNITED STATES WITHOUT CENSUS SOUTH, 1920-1940 population an annual natural increase that gradually fell from around 350,000 to 260,000. For the rest of the Nation, natural farm increase has fallen from over 190,000 to above 100,000.

These figures, it seems to me, indicate the forces back of heavy rural-urban migration in the South. They show what serious effects the reversal or stoppage of the rural-urban flow would have in an area where farms are already too small and too much given over to erosion and tenancy. These figures are not interregional, for they represent migration to towns and cities within the region as well as outside. They are valuable in indicating how impossible it will be to stop the rural-urban drift in the South as long as our high birth rate continues. There is not sufficient demand for farm products nor sufficient land—good, poor, and indifferent—to provide for the farm surplus if migration were cut off. And certainly all our figures cast doubt on the ability of southern cities to absorb all the population increase on southern farms.

Chart 2



CHANGE IN FARM POPULATION, CENSUS SOUTH, 1920-1940

INCREASES IN THE POPULATION OF WORKING AGE

Next, I would like to discuss the youth who are growing up to the employable ages.

On the basis of present trends in births and deaths it can be shown that, without migration, the farm population in the Southeast would grow from 12,766,000 in 1930 to 19,960,000 by 1960, an increase of over 7,200,000 people. With migration continued as in the period 1920 to 1930 the farms of the Southeast would find their population declining from 12,750,000 to 11,500,000. In other words, they would lose almost a million people. In order to avoid assumptions about what will happen to the birth rate, T. J. Woofter has calculated the additions that will be made to our labor force, those aged 18 to 65, by 1950. This potential working population 18 to 65 is now increasing at the rate of over a million a year. Seven-tenths of these new workers come from rural families. Allowing for deaths and for those reaching the retirement age of 65, the United States will have, by 1950, 5,600,000 more urban, 7,300,000 more rural-farm, and 4,100,000 more rural nonfarm people of working age than in 1930.

For the Southeast, in 1930, the annual increase in the farm population of the productive ages was 90,662, an increase of over 3 percent, as compared to only 0.75 percent for the far West. When you rank the States in this respect, you find 12 of the South and 2 of the Great Plains have annual replacement rates in the productive ages of 2.67 percent or more. Three Northeastern States have rates of zero or below. Of the Nation's additional 7,330,000 rural farm populations 18 to 65, it is found that over 3,200,000 will come from the

TABLE 2.—*Male replacement rates in the rural-farm population 18 to 64 years old, United States, 1930*

State	Rate	Rank	State	Rate	Rank
South Carolina	4.05	1	Colorado	1.64	25
North Carolina	3.64	2	Arizona	1.47	26
Georgia	3.44	3	Wyoming	1.43	27
Oklahoma	3.26	4	Pennsylvania	1.41	28
Texas	3.13	5	Michigan	1.37	29
Utah	3.08	6	Maryland	1.29	30
Alabama	3.07	7	Missouri	1.28	31
Louisiana	2.98	8	Illinois	1.24	32
North Dakota	2.88	9	Indiana	1.22	33
Arkansas	2.83	10	Ohio	1.12	34
West Virginia	2.80	11	Montana	1.02	35
Tennessee	2.74	12	Washington	.99	36
Mississippi	2.67	13½	Oregon	.95	37
Virginia	2.67	13½	Delaware	.89	38
South Dakota	2.43	15	Vermont	.80	39
Kentucky	2.42	16	New Jersey	.63	40
Nebraska	2.32	17	Nevada	.58	41
Florida	2.12	18	California	.57	42
Idaho	2.07	19	Maine	.51	43
Iowa	2.00	20	Connecticut	.43	44
Kansas	1.98	21½	Massachusetts	.27	45
Wisconsin	1.98	21½	New York	.00	46
New Mexico	1.92	23	Rhode Island	−.13	47
Minnesota	1.88	24	New Hampshire	−.28	48

Replacement rate: (1) Under 1, (2) 1–1.99, (3) 2–2.99, (4) 3 and over.

NOTE.—Male replacement rate is the percentage annual increase in the male population of a given age group.

Source: Woofter, T. J., The Future Working Population, Rural Sociology, September 1939. Woofter, T. J., Replacement Rates in the Productive Ages, Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly, October 1937.

Southeast unless migration draws them away to other areas or cities. These people, it must be realized, are already born and the only thing likely to keep them from maturing into productive population, working or seeking work, is an increase in the death rate.

In the Nation, total population 18 to 65 will grow from 73,000,000 to almost 91,000,000. If 1930 conditions of employment should prevail, approximately only 2.9 percent of that group will be unemployed. But, if conditions in the depression as uncovered by the Special Unemployment Census of 1937 prevail, 12.2 percent will be unemployed and looking for work.

The difference amounts to 8,500,000 more unemployed if these conditions continue. By now we know that one effect of loss of jobs is to force other members of the family to look for work, thus increasing the unemployed. If 1930 conditions prevail in 1950, 35,600,000 of those 18 to 65 will not seek gainful employment. Should the conditions of 1937 prevail only 31,300,000 will be out of the labor market. Thus 4,300,000 more will be seeking work. That is, the loss of jobs adds greatly to unemployment by forcing other members of the family to seek work. We have figured out from the information that we have that the loss of 100 jobs from 1930 to 1937 meant 181 unemployed, and when we subtract the number of people growing into the working ages, we found that it meant 176 unemployed. If we can accept those figures it means that upon the loss of 100 jobs, 176 are unemployed. Of course, we receive the benefits coming the other way, because if you put that 100 back to work, of that first number, 76 will go back to their other duties such as housewives and students who will go back to school, and that will relieve the unemployment figures to that extent.

The bearing of these trends on future migration should be evident when we examine the reasons given for migration. Investiga-

TABLE 3.—*Reasons for leaving settled residence given by migrants, United States, 1935*

Region of former settled residence	All families inquired		Domestic distress			Personal distress		Not in distress
			Unemployment	Inadequate earnings	Farm failure	Ill health	Domestic and other trouble	
	Number	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*	*Number*	*Percent*
United States	4,195	100	40	20	8	11	15	6
Northeast	695	100	*44*	20	2	12	15	7
Middle States	1,000	100	42	20	6	10	16	6
Southeast	922	100	42	*25*	6	7	15	5
Southwest	594	100	40	20	9	14	12	5
Northwest	629	100	32	18	*22*	12	10	6
Far West	355	100	40	17	1	11	24	7

NOTE.—Percentages in italics are those higher for a given region than for all other regions. The Middle States follow very closely the United States pattern and do not rank first for any factor of emigration. Factor headed "Inadequate earnings" is mostly low wages, part-time work, but includes also insufficient relief, pressing debts, eviction from homes, etc. "Domestic and other trouble" includes divorce, family quarrels, dislike of community, and other personal maladjustments. The group "not in distress" did not suffer from any economic hardship or any pressing personal distress.

Source: Migrant Families, Work Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, 1938. Appendix, table 2.

tions show that, for all regions, unemployment is the major reason migrants give for leaving their homes. Interestingly enough the people from the Southeast ranked highest among those giving inadequate income as the reason for migration. Some that had jobs went elsewhere because they were not making enough. The Northeast leads in farm failure, while 24 percent of those from California and the far West left home only because of domestic trouble. Even climate, I take it, is no cure for an unhappy home.

MIGRATION AND THE ECONOMIC FUTURE

What influence is the economic future likely to exert on migration? We know that the Southeast has two great problem areas in the old Cotton Belt and in its Appalachian Mountains. They are likely, as a result of the war, to be joined by a third problem zone—the Tobacco Belt. The South can grow cotton and lots of it, for a price and a market. This market is vanishing before our eyes and the price is supported only by governmental operations. In 1938 we grew 18,250,000 bales, sold 5,666,666 abroad, consumed 5,750,000, and had a carry-over of 11,500,000 bales. In 1939 by heroic efforts we reduced production to 11,666,666 bales, sold only 3,333,333 abroad, used 6,800,000 at home and carried over 13,000,000 bales. What if we reduced production to the annual take of 9,000,000 bales, or, worse, to the domestic consumption of less than 7,000,000 bales? In 1934 we reduced cotton production to 9,666,666 bales for 1934–35, and in spite of Government checks it nearly killed the southern farmer.

Those who would estimate the possible future migration out of the Cotton Belt will have to tell us what policies the Government can adopt toward the cotton surplus, what other paying crops the South can grow, what other methods of using the land we can employ besides cotton tenancy and sharecropping. The war and its probable outcome has made this question loom much larger and darker in outlook than the old familiar problem of recovering foreign markets. I, for one, feel that we are faced with the long-time problem of reconstructing an outmoded cotton economy. Unless we make some progress toward agricultural reconstruction, the pressure toward migration will be great indeed. The Government's problem of supporting the market by loans finds us with an increased carry-over of 13,000,000 bales in 1939 as compared to only 9,666,666 bales in the depths of the crisis. Drastic reduction of cotton production will, no doubt, force new displacements of population but the Government's program of carrying the crop on loans can hardly be justified without further reduction in the size of the crop.

Let us take the question of mechanization. Studies of changing techniques in agricultural production by the W. P. A. National Research Project show that the man-hours of work required per bale of cotton declined from 271 in 1907–11 to 218 in 1933–36. Much of this decline in labor required no doubt was brought about by the shift in production from the old belt to the newer western areas but man-hours per bale declined in the same period from 299 to 253 in the eastern belt, from 266 to 226 in the middle eastern, and from 305 to 250 in the Delta areas. The declines in labor requirements from 1936 to 1938 seem to have been negligible. No attempt has been made to apply these trends to production for the domestic market only, but the immense displacement that would take place is obvious.

In view of what we know about the trends toward mechanization, smaller crops, etc., it is interesting to note that the figures on agricultural employment up to 1936 do not show any great displacement of labor. There are slight decreases in family labor and hired labor in the eastern Cotton Belt from an index of around 100 in 1928 to 95 in 1936. The number employed has declined from 1,456,000 to 1,383,000 while those in the employable ages were undergoing large increases. The difficulty, so far, seems to exist in the lack of expansion of economic activity to keep pace with population increase. Nor is it likely that these figures do full justice to the falling off in casual labor necessary to pick, gin, and transport the smaller crops.

Occasional notices of a shortage of agricultural labor still come out of the Cotton Belt and are often seen in our newspapers here in the fall of the year. This is due to one of the main difficulties of southern agricultural labor—its extreme seasonality. The swing in employment from January to August in 1936 was from 1,000,000 to 1,770,000, or an increase of 77 percent in the labor demand at the peak. This condition makes for instability and low incomes. There has been some displacement, however. A recheck by the W. P. A. in 1936 of identical plantations studied by T. J. Woofter in his Landlord and Tenant on the Cotton Plantation in 1934 showed an increase in tractors from 1.8 to 2.3 per 1,000 crop acres, and a decrease in resident families per 1,000 crop acres of 37 to 34 in this 2-year period. Here an increase of 28 percent in mechanized power units gave a decrease of only 8 percent in families kept as tenants. These major changes are still to come and wait, no doubt, upon further readjustments in our cotton policies and programs, and upon further development of mechanization.

What about the Southern Highlands? The problem of the southern Appalachians results from the pressure of the Nations' fastest growing population upon diminishing resources of timber lands, coal mining, and limited farm lands. There are areas where, at present, birth and death rates will double their population every 30 years, without migration. Migration is greatly needed, for there is no additional land supply that will not quickly erode if put to the plow. The average life, it is said, of one of these mountainside corn farms is likely to be anywhere from 3 to 6 years. Regrowing timber is a long-time job not likely to offer early returns for the present generation except in Government employment for conservation. Only the bituminous coal mines of Kentucky can produce more than they are now producing. Here is a problem of markets which war activity, defense and heavier production of steel and munitions may somewhat increase.

I may say in conclusion that what the South needs is to adjust a decreasing rate of population growth to an increasing utilization of its regional resources with a chance for migration of a portion of its growing population.

No area more desperately needs the products of an industrial civilization than the South, and hardly any population has cheaper products to offer in exchange than our surplus cotton and low-priced raw materials. Industrialization of the South will help, but it will take the South a long, long time to develop to the point of utilizing even a fraction of its potential labor supply. Accordingly, I look to migration as a needed safety valve for the South and I, for one, regret that many of its workers are not educated and trained in the industrial disciplines well enough to give workingmen in other areas some real competition.

Migration is not only a constitutional right of every American citizen; it is an economic necessity in the American economic system. This country is an economic unit with a predominantly national market. Industries, investments, goods, and labor respond to this economic and legal fact by crossing State lines at will. Such movements are necessary to develop, maintain, and stabilize the national economy. The economic order is a continually adjusting and readjusting equilibrium which presupposes a flow of industries to resources, a flow of goods to markets, and a flow of workers to developing industries.

The causes of migration are, therefore, so fundamental and pervasive as to leave little expectation that the population may be immobilized.

As new areas develop and old ones decline, workers must migrate in order to develop the new resources and to relieve the older communities of surplus workers. The "push" of stranded communities resulting from shifting work opportunities are accentuated by the pull of new developments in industry. After employment has shifted from one area or one type of industry to another, migration gives rise to fewer problems than would the continuance of stranded communities as the result of insufficient migration.

TABLE 4.—*Eastern cotton agricultural employment 1909–36* [1]—*Annual average of number of persons employed on first of each month*

Year	Total employment		Family workers		Hired workers	
	Average number of persons	Index (1924–29= 100	Average number of persons	Index (1924–29= 100	Average number of persons	Index (1924–29= 100
1928	1, 456, 000	100	1, 149, 000	100	308, 000	98
1929	1, 408, 000	96	1, 090, 000	95	318, 000	102
1930	1, 436, 000	98	1, 141, 000	99	295, 000	94
1931	1, 405, 000	96	1, 118, 000	97	287, 000	92
1932	1, 418, 000	97	1, 136, 000	99	283, 000	90
1933	1, 393, 000	95	1, 118, 000	97	275, 000	88
1934	1, 375, 000	94	1, 100, 000	96	275, 000	88
1935	1, 413, 000	97	1, 122, 000	98	291, 000	93
1936	1, 383, 000	95	1, 091, 000	95	292, 000	93

[1] Basic data used in the preparation of these estimates were furnished by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Works Progress Administration Study of Agricultural Employment.

Our population increase is slowing down, but migration retains its importance. Without great migratory movements we cannot equalize our unequal flow of population increase, redress our regional inequalities, balance the demand for labor between changing employment capacities, nor "use our human and material resources to the best advantage." We must remember that by large migration the frontier was settled; by foreign immigration the American labor supply was recruited; and it is mainly by spontaneous internal migrations that the future needs of population redistribution in the United States must be served.

Vagrancy laws to the contrary, the fact that a man has little or no money in his pocket is no valid reason for depriving him of his right to migrate across State lines. The right to move may seem a poor substitute for real security, but it must not be forgotten that for many of our citizens it has proved the road to increased well-being. [Reading of prepared statement ends.]

TESTIMONY OF DR. RUPERT B. VANCE—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Doctor, I want to say to you that I consider that a remarkable paper. You must have put in good hard work and study to produce anything like that, and speaking for myself alone, although I think the whole committee will agree with me, I feel that paper of yours will rank very high when the committee's report is handed to Congress.

Dr. VANCE. You are very kind, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I just want to ask you a very few questions, and I shall be very brief about it. I take it, in the first place, from your paper, that you consider the southeastern States as the country's greatest future migration problem?

Dr. VANCE. Yes, sir; the Southeast can be classed as the seedbed of the country's population. In 1930 we had 93 cities of 100,000 population, and only 12 of those were replacing themselves in the trend of births and deaths, but the rural Southeast is replacing itself by about 150 percent.

The CHAIRMAN. Would you say this movement is necessary to maintain the present numbers in certain other parts of the country where the population is not reproducing itself?

Dr. VANCE. It will be in the years after 1970–80.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the estimated ratio today between urban and rural population in the Southeast, and how does this compare with other parts of the country. How do the occupations of southern urban populations differ from those of other regions?

Dr. VANCE. The Southeast has had a very large growth in its cities from 1920 to 1930, but actually the cities are still very much a minority group in the Southeast, about 30 percent of the population in 1930. The whole region is predominantly rural and has a predominantly farm population.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether, under pressure of surplus population since 1930, the competition for places as cotton tenants has increased?

Dr. VANCE. Yes; I think that is true. That has been offset by the development of that relief which has enabled some, in the early days at least, to move to towns where they could get work, and thus took away some pressure of competition for tenants' places.

The Chairman. What, in your estimation, are the measures best suited to a rehabilitation of the rural economy of the Southeast if the cotton economy continues to decline? Have you any parallel suggestions for the Appalachians?

Dr. Vance. I would say that the greatest need of the South is also the greatest need of the Nation, and that is the expansion in industrial employment sufficient to satisfy the needs of our population for adequate shelter, clothing, and food; and that of course would increase the consumption of food products, mainly the protective foods, milk, lean meat, and vegetables.

If you ask me how that is to be brought about, I would have to, I suppose, add one more suggestion to the various crackpot schemes that have been suggested. I think that we will never get reemployment until we adopt some system such as setting a quota on what people would buy if they were reemployed, and then ask certain of the industries to produce those things on the assumption that, if they start to produce them the people would be proportionately reemployed and start to use those commodities on that basis. But, if the people did not buy them in those quantities, then the Government would take them off the hands of the industries and put them aside on the next year's quota or dispose of them as surplus commodities to the poor. That plan has been suggested in the book called "Jobs for All" by Dr. Mordecai Ezekiel, although it has not received the attention it deserves.

The Chairman. Maybe your reference to it will give it a little boost.

Dr. Vance. A lot of things, however, can be said against it as well as for it. It is the opposite of the N. R. A. It seeks to expand production, rather than to maintain prices.

The Chairman. What suggestions have you for educating and training the whites of the South in the industrial discipline which would enable them to give the workingmen in other areas some real competition?

Dr. Vance. May I tie that up with the war and the prices too?

The Chairman. You may tie it to anything that you want to.

LACK TRAINING AS SKILLED WORKMEN

Dr. Vance. The trouble with our rural population, the thing that makes them of not much use, except for staying on the mountain farm or in the tenant area, is the fact that they are trained only in agriculture. They are not skilled or semiskilled. If we are going actually to prepare to defend ourselves—I have seen some estimates that every pilot in the air is going to take about 12 or 15 men on the ground to keep him and his plane going—and all of those people will have to be skilled in mechanical trades—tractors, planes, trucks, transportation. Anything that would take rural boys off the farm and give them a chance to get acquainted with industrial work will keep them from going from the farm and landing, we will say, in California as unskilled "Okies." This would tend to keep them from piling up at the bottom of the pyramid without a chance to get up to the relatively semiskilled positions.

My attention was first attracted to that sort of thing when I ran across one of the original early C. C. C. camps where, instead of putting the boys to work filling up gullies and the like, they actually taught them to repair the trucks from all of the surrounding C. C. C. camps. In that particular camp to which I refer, they took raw country boys off the farm and in 6 months of that kind of training they had made fairly skilled mechanics out of those farm boys and every one of them got a job in that line of work. There was no question of their going back to the farm and trying to become tenants for somebody else.

The CHAIRMAN. I have one observation that I should like to make and then possibly some of the other members of the committee would like to ask you some questions. I think in your paper the most powerful statement that you made, and what the country should realize now, is this:

> Migration is not only a constitutional right of every American citizen; it is an economic necessity in the American economic system. This country is an economic unit with a predominantly national market. Industries, investments, goods, and labor respond to this economic and legal fact by crossing State lines at will.

That is one of my hobbies. In other words, we have 4,000,000 migrants annually going from State to State, and after they arrive there they have no status of any kind or character. One-third of these are children; we have the health problem; the educational problem always enters into it. Now, in 150 years, and I think that you will agree with me on this, we have spent billions of dollars through the courts and through the Congress to protect the free flow of steel, iron and coal, and commodities—that is, we watch that dollar jealously, but in the 150 years we didn't expend a dime where humans enter into that commerce, and that is just what this committee is trying to do—to recommend something to Congress along that line. I want to say to you that your paper is going to give us a great deal of information and assistance, and I thank you personally for it, Doctor.

Mr. CURTIS. I was interested in several things that you had to say in your statement. There is a group in this country who contend that the reason we are slow in making our economy click is because we are too slow to recognize the fact that we are moving from an industrial age into a chemical age. Is that one of the reasons, do you think?

Dr. VANCE. You are talking, I suppose, about the farm chemurgic movement; is that what you refer to?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes; that is one thing I have in mind.

Dr. VANCE. Yes; I think there are additional opportunities along that line and for some employment there, and I think that the South can take advantage of them. However, I don't go the whole way with the farm chemurgic movement—for instance, I doubt the suggestion that wood alcohol will take the place of gasoline. Of course, I think that for paints and varnishes that tung oils will take their place there. The South has taken advantage to some extent of this new chemical development, but I don't see it as an answer to the whole need for industrial expansion or as being able to absorb the whole increasing surplus of our farm population.

Mr. Curtis. It is like the scheme that you referred to as being the reverse of the N. R. A. In other words, you must still be able to face storms and droughts and rainy seasons and things like that that sometimes upset a good theory; is that correct?

Dr. Vance. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. That's all; thank you.

Mr. Parsons. You made the statement that you wished that the farm population in the South had better opportunity for education, or rather for being more skilled in industrial arts, in order to give keener competition to people in other sections of the country where they migrated or where they might migrate. Now, of course, that might be a good idea for the population of the Southeast, but if that happened, wouldn't that tend to dislocate the employment situations in the other sections of the country, and, on the whole, the economic problems of the Nation? Wouldn't it have somewhat that effect ?

Dr. Vance. It is my understanding that while we never have any difficulty in our P. W. A. operations in getting pick and shovel men, we nearly always find a shortage at the top; that is, in the skilled trades. Now, that is what I meant when I made that statement. We will find that we are short in the skilled labor at the top, I am sure.

Mr. Parsons. Mechanization, of course, has taken the place of many, many hundreds of laborers; isn't that a fact?

Dr. Vance. Yes, sir; which, of course, gives us, if we take advantage of it, more production per working person, but by throwing the people out of work, it gives us less purchasing power.

Mr. Parsons. Now, we will take an example: We had mechanization, particularly beginning with the World War period, for instance, in the textile industry; one machine would do the work of what 10 or 20 women used to do. As an example, now, take the Ford factory; they are turning out machines now with 25 to 33⅓ percent less labor than they used to use. It is true that they have brought the price down to some extent to make possible larger purchasing throughout the country, but at the same time, they are using far less skilled men. Now, can we continue to mechanize and cheapen the units in such fashion that we may consume such a quantity so as to put these other people to work?

Dr. Vance. In my opinion, there are three things that we must do in order to accomplish this. First, we must reduce the number of unemployed to a minimum, and secondly, each person must consume more of the products in order to keep the industry so mechanized running, and thirdly, we must reduce the price of all products through efficiency in production; in fact, that must be developed in advance. Now, that sounds like perpetual motion to some people, but I think the continuing of pump priming payments that really don't prime the pump and the continual piling up of relief payments that don't solve anything will not get us out of economic stagnation.

Mr. Parsons. If we had all the world markets for our products and had these products properly distributed, then we could continue production, whether it be in industry or on the farm, for whatever the commodity might be and probably maintain a steady price. But world conditions are disturbed and there is seldom a 5-year period but what those conditions are disturbed somewhere. I take it that you do not share the idea of crop production control and farm parity payments.

Dr. VANCE. I see its necessity, yes; but I think that we should have, by now, reconciled ourselves to it and begun to make a definite shift from that type of economy to the production of things that the people need more. Now, many of these people are undernourished and underclothed, too. I don't see any hope in continuing the piling up of this carry-over in the production of cotton. I think that we will have to reduce it drastically.

Mr. PARSONS. What specific suggestion would you make in addition to or in place of what we have been following for the last 10 years, say?

"LIVE-AT-HOME" FARMING NEEDED

Dr. VANCE. I would want to see the incorporation of a much more live-at home type of farming for every tenant, for every plantation owner. I would want to see a cash crop introduced, even among subsistence farmers. That is a problem in the Appalachians, and I would want to see that continued until we had gotten the cotton production down to—maybe we could afford to stabilize it at around 9,000,000 bales now. There would be no difficulty of expanding it, if necessary, because the South will remain geared for cotton production for a long time. It really hurts it to reduce the cotton production in the South.

Mr. PARSONS. In other words, you would reduce the crop in order to govern the price by the regulation of the supply?

Dr. VANCE. It seems to me that the carry-over program is in the position of not running fast enough—it is not even standing still. In fact, it is getting nowhere.

The CHAIRMAN. It is backing up?

Dr. VANCE. Yes.

Of course, that is a negotiable asset in the long-time view and it is better than paying those people that much relief. I suppose that we can blame it on the Supreme Court and say if the triple A decision had not been rendered, that we would have gotten control of the carry-over proposition.

SOUTHEAST AS "SEEDBED OF THE NATION"

Mr. SPARKMAN. I was interested in your description of the Southeast as the seedbed of the Nation.

Dr. VANCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I noticed some comments in the newspaper relative to enlistments in the Army recently, and it showed the high percentage of enlistments in this section of the country, and the article ended up with the conclusion that the Army was going to have a decided trend to the southern accent, and I take it that is true of the Nation as a whole.

Dr. VANCE. Yes, sir; that is true even up to the commanding officers in the service.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I gather that your argument is this: That inevitably, they must move out of this section for the reasons you have stated?

Dr. VANCE. Yes, sir; I can't see how we can industrialize fast enough in order to take care of the increasing population.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And you feel that that is necessary, first, because we can't take care of these people here, and, secondly, that they must move out of this area to make up for some of those places that are not reproducing themselves; is that correct?

Dr. VANCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And since they must move to other sections of the country, you feel that we should be concerned with the problem of preparing them as well as possible so they might be able to compete with the people in the areas to which they migrate?

Dr. VANCE. Yes, sir. Instead of these people migrating as unskilled "Okies," as they are designated in Steinbeck's book, I feel that these people should migrate with some skill and training. We know that the graduates from our colleges who migrate to northern cities and northern areas go there and take their positions alongside of anybody else in that area. It is particularly the unskilled people from the farm who form the problem of the destitute migrants which we are considering here today.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is all.

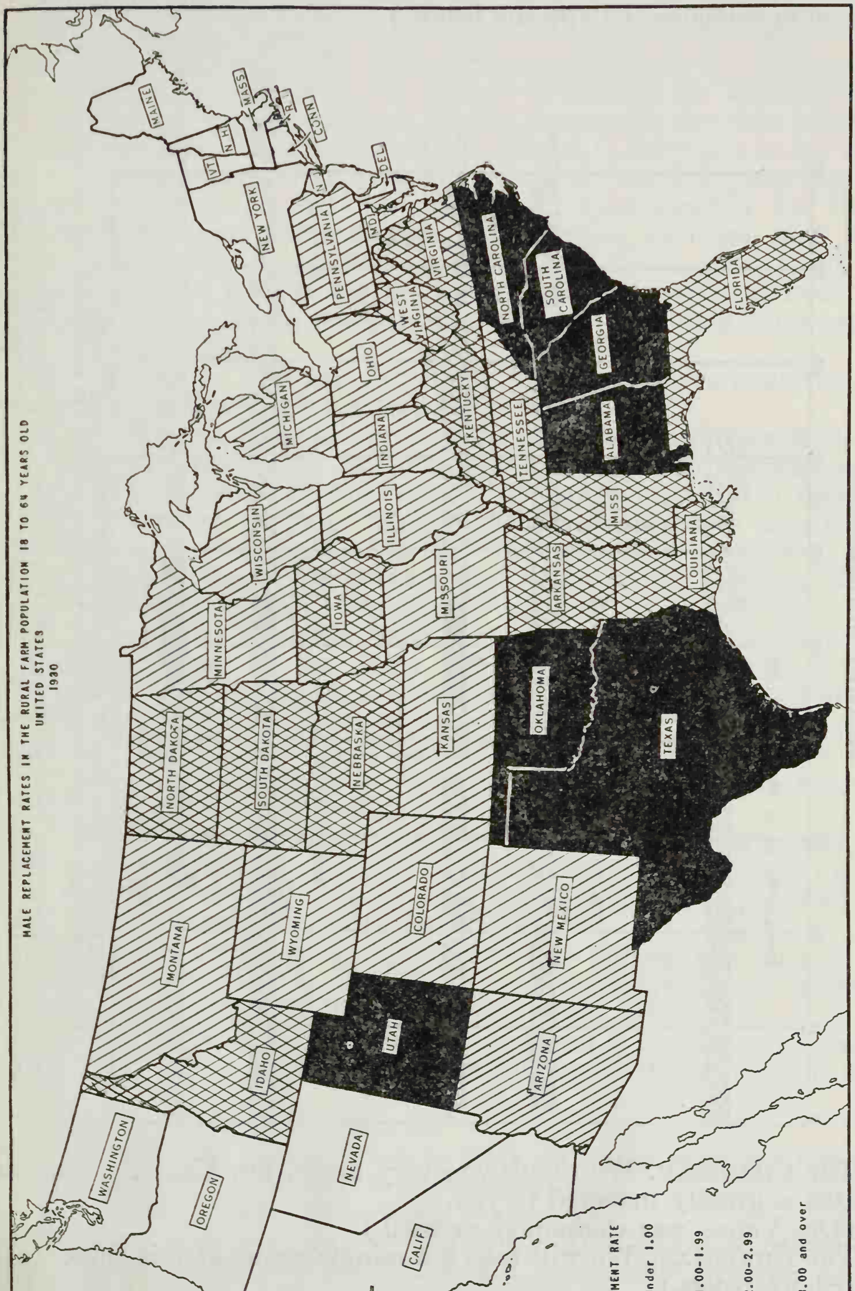
Mr. VANCE. I have four single-page documents, one being a map in colors, which I would like to offer as exhibits at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. They may be received.

(Single-sheet graph entitled "Change in Farm Population, United States Without Census South, 1920–40," was received in evidence and appears on p. 408.)

(Single-sheet graph entitled "Change in Farm Population, Census South, 1920–40," was received in evidence and appears on p. 409.)

(Single-sheet map in colors, entitled "Male Replacement Rates in the Rural Farm Population 18 to 64 Years Old, United States, 1930," was received in evidence and appears on the next page.)



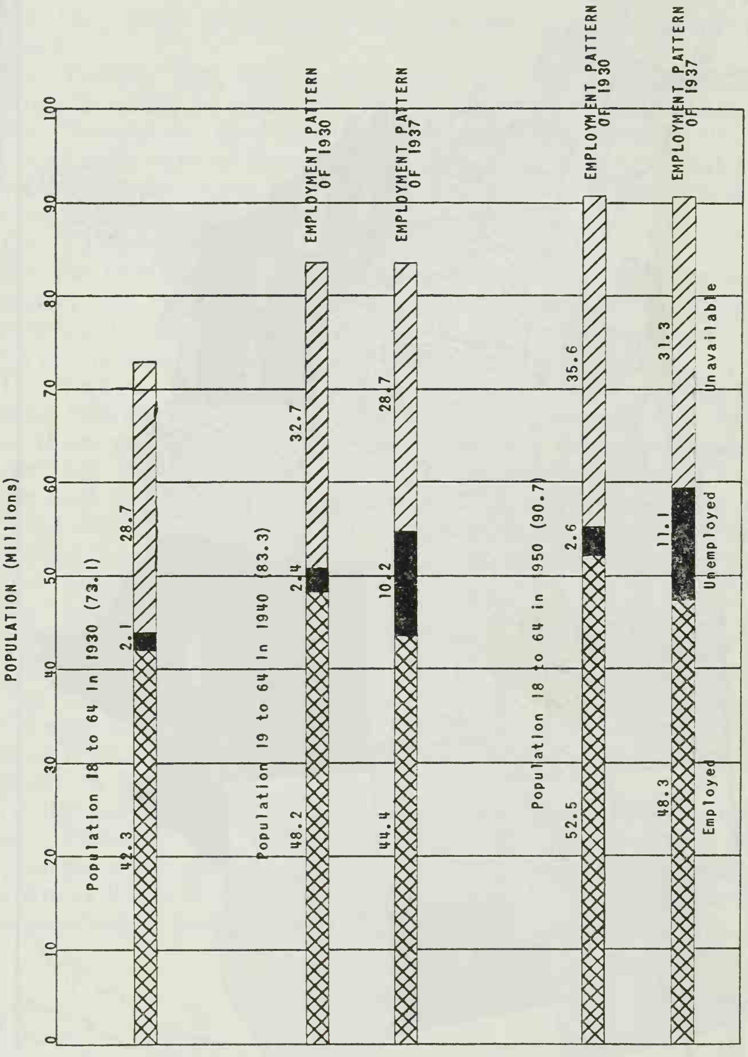
MALE REPLACEMENT RATES IN THE RURAL FARM POPULATION 18 TO 64 YEARS OLD
UNITED STATES
1930

REPLACEMENT RATE
☐ Under 1.00
▨ 1.00-1.99
▩ 2.00-2.99
■ 3.00 and over
MAINE
N. H.
VT.
MASS.
R. I.
CONN.
NEW YORK
N. J.
DEL.
MD.
PENNSYLVANIA
VIRGINIA
WEST VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
FLORIDA
ALABAMA
OHIO
MICHIGAN
INDIANA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
MISS.
ILLINOIS
WISCONSIN
LOUISIANA
ARKANSAS
MISSOURI
IOWA
MINNESOTA
TEXAS
OKLAHOMA
KANSAS
NEBRASKA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NORTH DAKOTA
MONTANA
WYOMING
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
UTAH
ARIZONA
IDAHO
WASHINGTON
OREGON
NEVADA
CALIF.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

(Single-sheet graph entitled "Population 18 to 64 Years of Age by Employment Groups, United States Actual 1930 Census Data and Estimates for 1940 and 1950 Under Two Assumptions," was received in evidence and appears below.)



POPULATION 18 TO 64 YEARS OF AGE BY EMPLOYMENT GROUPS, UNITED STATES
ACTUAL 1930 CENSUS DATA AND ESTIMATES FOR 1940 AND 1950 UNDER TWO ASSUMPTIONS

Employment Pattern, 1930: Employed, 57.9%; Totally Unemployed, 2.9%; Unavailable, 39.2%
Employment Pattern, 1937: Employed, 53.3%; Totally Unemployed, 12.2%; Unavailable, 34.5%

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much, Dr. Vance. The committee is greatly indebted to you.

(Dr. Vance was thereupon excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a 5-minute recess at this time.

(Short recess.)

GREETINGS FROM JUDGE M'CORD, OTHERS INTRODUCED

The Chairman. The committee will come to order.

I see Judge Leon McCord is here.

Mr. Sparkman. I would like to have it appear in the record that Judge Leon McCord of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals is here in the hearing room and that it is through his kindness and generosity that we have the use of this courtroom for this hearing.

Judge McCord. We are pleased, gentlemen, to have you in our city, and we have turned over this courtroom to you for your use. I see that you have a number of notables here. I am sure that Dr. Dunn will look after you, your comfort, and anything that you may need while in our city. I can only extend to you the hospitality of the courtroom, and I wish to further say to make yourselves at home, as one judge would say to another, and enjoy with us this hot weather that we are having.

The Chairman. We are faithfully keeping your admonition of no smoking in the hearing room, Judge McCord.

Judge McCord. You know that the Federal employees now are serving under the Hatch law, but I will add this to my statement, that I have noticed from the extent of your hearings that it reminds me of an occasion in New Orleans where a certain man who was a bricklayer was informed that he had inherited $300,000. The minute that this bricklayer heard that it was all in the Hibernia Bank, he took off his robes as a bricklayer and put on other clothes, and went down to the Hibernia Bank and withdrew $10,000 in cash and immediately went to the ticket office at the railway station and said to the ticket agent, "Give me a ticket." And the agent asked him where he wanted a ticket to and he replied, "Just give me a ticket anywhere because I have got business everywhere." And I see that the business of this committee is so far-flung that you have business everywhere. That reminded me of that story.

If you gentlemen please, I bid you welcome to our courtroom and any service that we may be able to extend you we will be glad to do so. You must realize that Federal employees now are under the Hatch Act, and their activities are limited.

Mr. Sparkman. I am going to take this opportunity to call the Judge's attention to the fact that the judicial branch of the Government is not subject to the provisions of the Hatch law. It is not often that we have an opportunity to correct a statement of one of our judges. It is a pleasure to have Judge McCord with us here today.

(Discussion outside the record.)

Judge McCord. We are glad to have you gentlemen in our city.

The Chairman. Thank you, Judge McCord.

Mr. Davis, will you come around, please, sir?

Mr. Sparkman. If I may have a word, Mr. Chairman, before Mr. Davis takes the witness stand, I would like to call attention to the fact and have it noted in the record that Mr. W. G. Henderson, State administrator of the Works Progress Administration, is here today. He is going to have to leave the city right away, but I want him to stand and I would like to have his appearance here noted in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, sir. I now wish to call attention to the fact that Congressman Osmers, of New Jersey, is now sitting with the committee and we have a full membership here and we are certainly glad to have him with us at this time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. There are a number of other persons here that I would like to show present in the record. I don't see them listed as witnesses. One is Dr. Loula Dunn, director of the State department of public welfare. And Dr. J. N. Baker was here—I believe he is gone now. Dr. Baker is our State health officer.

A VOICE. He received a call and was compelled to leave the hearing.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And I see Mr. Haygood Patterson, commissioner of agriculture of the State of Alabama, is present, as well as Mr. L. L. Patterson, a former Member of Congress of the State of Alabama, but now under the Hatch Act working for the Department of Agriculture, and there may be others that I do not see just at the moment.

TESTIMONY OF P. O. DAVIS, DIRECTOR, AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE, ALABAMA POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE, AUBURN, ALA.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. P. O. Davis, director of the Agricultural Extension Service, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, of Auburn, Ala., is the next witness. Will you please come around, Mr. Davis? You will be questioned by Mr. Curtis.

Mr. CURTIS. Your name is P. O. Davis, and you are extension director, Agricultural Extension Service, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, address Auburn, Ala., is that correct?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. I notice that you have prepared and have available copies of a statement that you wish to present, copies thereof being available for each member of the Committee, is that corect?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, if you like, you may submit that to our reporter and it will be incorporated in the record here, and then we may have some questions to direct to you.

Mr. DAVIS. I would much rather do that than read it all right now, because it is somewhat lengthy and goes into detail.

Mr. CURTIS. The statement will be placed in the record at this point.

STATEMENT OF P. O. DAVIS, DIRECTOR OF AGRICULTURAL EXTENSION SERVICE

History reveals impressively that migration is caused by a desire of the migrant to find better opportunities. He may, therefore, be trying to get away from undesirable conditions, or he may be moving from conditions that are desirable to conditions that are more desirable.

Farmers, for example, move from a farm of fair value to one that is better as they see it. In the main, however, people who have been reasonably secure in their income and in their tenure of location have not been inclined to move. They have enjoyed stability.

Good examples of the causes of migration are found in Alabama history. As early as 1815 there was a shifting of population from the Atlantic seaboard

States of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia into what was then called the Southwest, including what is now Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. These early migrants were searching for better opportunities for producing cotton, the price of which from 1815 to 1819 varies from 25 to 30 cents a pound.

Since the bottom lands along streams of water and then the black lands of central Alabama and the red lands of the Tennessee Valley were much more desirable than the rolling Piedmont lands of Georgia and the Carolinas for producing cotton with either slave or free labor, the seaboard farmers had a strong desire to move into Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana. Furthermore, bad management of land and erosion had already rendered almost worthless many thousands of acres in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Where this had occurred farmers were getting away from undesirable soil and seeking new and fertile soil.

COTTON GIN A FACTOR

The invention of the cotton gin in 1790, which was the Nation's first epoch-making invention, had enlarged opportunities for the production of cotton, for which Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana possessed good land, favorable climate, and adequate rainfall.

During those antebellum days there was a certain amount of intrastate migration—from the river bottoms to the Black Belt and also to the hills. Much of the Alabama Black Belt was settled between 1830 and 1840. By 1850 there was a substantial antebellum exodus of planters to new lands across the Mississippi River. One cotton crop after another on the same land soon decreased production per acre wherever it was practiced and, therefore, Alabama farmers, who themselves had moved from the seaboard, or had come with their parents, moved on to Arkansas, Texas, Missouri, and a few as far away as Arizona in search of new lands, or for better opportunities than they had at home.

Most of the antebellum intrastate migration from 1820 to 1860 was by small farmers who were either nonslave holders or owned one or two slaves. They moved from place to place, trying to better their conditions. In most cases they were forced by richer landlords from the good lands to the poor lands. These larger landowners were in a stronger position financially and were usually able to buy lands from the smaller farmers when they wanted to do so. These early migrants, incidentally, became the nucleus of our modern agricultural migrants.

The Civil War was the dividing line between the first and the second period of Alabama migration. The repercussions of this war and the reconstruction that followed it are important factors in the human migration problem now confronting every element of society in the United States. Unfortunately, we are not yet able to see the end of it.

LAND, LABOR, CAPITAL

Before the Civil War southern planters had all three of the major factors of agricultural production—land, labor, and capital. After the Civil War they were without capital and their labor conditions were so upset that new relations and new procedures had to be developed. Only the land, therefore, remained as it was before the Civil War and its fertility had declined. Slave labor, which had been the property of the owners and attached to their land, was free. The Civil War had changed the status of this slave labor to tenants and sharecroppers, a fact not now fully appreciated.

With the South financially prostrate, southern farmers were forced to go elsewhere to get money to operate. It came from eastern money markets at a high rate of interest and with a requirement that the borrower produce a crop which could be converted into cash at the end of the year with which to pay the debt. This tied southern farmers to a cotton economy from which many thousands have not yet been able to free themselves. It created the condition in which supply merchants and other factors developed. And they, too, have gone down because they were a part of an unsound economic structure.

As the sharecropper system developed around cotton the poorer farmers, both white and colored, were engaged in a losing battle. Many owners became renters and sharecroppers. Unfavorable price conditions, high interest rates, soil erosion, and unbalanced farming, were all important factors in this.

By decades we present the farm tenant score in Alabama on a total and a percentage basis as follows:

Year	Number of tenants (Alabama)	Percent
1880	63,649	46.8
1890	76,631	48.6
1900	128,874	57.7
1910	158,326	60.2
1920	148,269	57.9
1930	166,420	64.7
1935	176,247	64.5

COTTON MOVES WEST

During most of this time there had been, as above stated, migration from the cotton lands east of the Mississippi River to new lands west of this river. Immediately following the Civil War a good many southern planters emigrated to Brazil, Mexico, and Cuba to engage in cotton production with slave labor and to escape the rigors of reconstruction. This migration from east to west is revealed by the shift in cotton production from east to west as follows:

East of Mississippi River: 66 percent in 1890; 61 percent in 1910; 53 percent in 1920; and 44 percent in 1938.

Bales east of river: 3,765,000 in 1880; 6,533,000 in 1910; 6,045,000 in 1920; and 5,201,000 in 1938.

THE NEGRO EXODUS WAS ECONOMIC

All these movements and factors were in operation up to the World War of 1914–18; in fact, they are still in force. Immediately before, during, and after the World War and until 1929, industrial expansion and operation in the North and East drew heavily upon farm labor in Alabama and other Southern States. Especially was this true of southern Negroes who left the farms for industries "up Nawth" between the "teens" and the late twenties. This we define as an economic and social movement—an opportunity for men of the southern soils to find more lucrative employment and social conditions which to them were more attractive than what they had at home.

Writing in the Review of Reviews for October 1923 on the Negro exodus I pointed out that its main cause was economic, or "Stated in another way, it is due largely to low returns for labor on southern farms and high returns for labor in industrial centers."

Official statistics were cited showing that labor in the glass, steel, packing, and automobile industries received then $4.30 to $6.50 per day against less than $1 per day for Negroes on southern farms. Obviously, it was not difficult to understand, therefore, why 324,000 Negroes moved from farms to towns from 1916 to 1922 averaged some 200,000 against an average of 10,000 or 12,000 annually from the close of the Civil War to 1916. It continued after 1922 but at a reduced rate.

AFTER-WAR ADJUSTMENTS

Immediately after the World War when farm migration to industrial urban centers was running high and when national prosperity appeared to be soaring farmer conditions were becoming more difficult. Powerful forces were working against them. The American tariff structure, for example, had raised prices of products bought by southern farmers to much higher levels and actually lowered the price of cotton, the main cash crop of the South.

The United States had changed from a debtor to a creditor Nation. No longer was this Nation engaged in borrowing money abroad and paying it with cotton and other farm products. Instead of borrowing we were lending.

European nations that had been engaged in war were less able to buy and they were also producing more cotton and competitve products for their own needs. The use of synthetic fiber was born. It soon grew into a substantial volume with present prospects of continued growth.

New lands which farmers had brought into crops during the war under the patriotic urge to produce feed and fiber as essentials to victory and world safety for democracy were not needed after the war. All these and other factors brought the Nation to the collapse of 1929 and the years that follow.

This great collapse, let me remind you, brought the American people face to face for the first time with tremendous economic distress and human misery in the midst of an abundance of materials which people need most. As economists see it the Nation was suffering because it had produced too much of what it needed for abundant living, security, and safety.

In this, of course, there are many factors which could be discussed but time does not permit. So I come back to farm migration of the present.

CURRENT MIGRANT OBJECTIVES

Modern migrants seek to improve their position as did pioneer migrants, but the chances of improvement are impressively less. Their goal is not settlement, but employment and wages. Their migration is a career, not a step toward improved settlement or from one farm to a better farm. Settlement is almost out of the question. The differences between settlement and wages, between stepping stones and career, are outstanding contrasts between the old and the new.

As previously stated, the chief cause of the present-day movement is insecurity or a complete lack of security, both social and economic. By social security I mean security of tenure; by economic security I mean sufficient income to feel some degree of security against hunger and a lack of clothing and shelter. Only by studying the causes can we analyze the movements.

Social insecurity, or insecurity of tenure, is probably the chief cause of movement. Poverty creates a psychological urge to move; and insecurity or lack of tenure gives the excuse or reason for undertaking migration. If we are to reduce the number of migratory farmers or keep their number from increasing, their social and economic position must be improved. In this both the individual and society as a whole have duties and responsibilities.

Tenure is the legal relationship of man to land. Ownership implies permanent tenure while leases—oral or written—yield possession only for a certain period of time. There is, however, more to tenure than legal possession. A tenant farmer may have legal tenure but be quite insecure. If he does not know whether or not he can have possession of the farm for another year or several years, the possibility of having to move is about as costly as the movement itself. There can be, to illustrate, little or no livestock, perennial hay or pasture building, or other improvements. Those farm enterprises which tie one to a farm, which require continued occupation and security of tenure, are conspicuously absent. Even a live-at-home program which contributed much toward economic security is most difficult with insecure tenure.

Length of residence, however, bears no definite relationship to security of tenure. A tenant may have lived on a farm for a number of years, but if he has not known from one year to the next whether or not he would operate the farm for the coming year, then his farming practices and attitudes can be little different from those of a 1-year tenant.

Written leases (which only about 10 percent of Alabama tenants have) will go far toward bringing about a greater security. It is perhaps the first step, but an understanding between landlord and tenant of their mutual problems is necessary for security. This understanding requires more than a division of crops, income, and expenses. It requires a knowledge of conservation, cropping practices, livestock management, food and feed production, etc. Each must understand and appreciate the other's position; and the relations of one to the other.

These tenants and croppers, who constitute 65 percent of the farmers of Alabama, are a potential source of migratory farmers or farm laborers. Unless we can tie them to their farms more securely with livestock, soil building, and soil-conserving crops, plus better-balanced and more profitable farming we have not checked the source of this migration

EDUCATIONAL WORK IN PROGRESS

The Extension Service is trying to solve the problems of migrating farmers by checking migration at its source. Our plan of approach is to increase the social and economic welfare of those who might otherwise become migrants. We have not been unmindful of tenure. Our approach may be less spectacular than a written lease, yet fundamentally the sounder approach. Before presenting that approach, however, let us keep in mind that the Extension Service is an educational agency, with no authority or funds to assist farmers financially.

In order for a written lease to be an effective instrument of secure tenure, it must be preceded by an understanding of mutual landlord-tenant problems as well as those peculiar to each group. This is being brought about:

(1) Through community groups, both landlord and tenant, who come together to study the latest methods of production and marketing;

(2) By method and result demonstrations where practices can be observed;

(3) Through livestock, tenants, landlords, and bankers are brought together in mutual interest. Livestock necessitates secure tenure if loans are sound and if the enterprise rests upon an efficient basis;

(4) Through an educational program directed toward both human and soil conservation, both of which require security of tenure;

(5) Through assistance by county agents and specialists in making leases, both written and oral, which will permit conservation in the widest sense of the word, and result in a greater security of tenure.

UNDERSTANDING IS PARAMOUNT

We, in the Extension Service, do not minimize the importance of written leases, rather do we operate on the theory that a lease must be preceded by understanding and a sound farm program if it is to operate effectively. A written lease merely gives rise to opportunities. Those opportunities can't be taken advantage of unless the information is at hand to guide its use.

The second phase of the problem is economic security. If farmers are clothed, housed, and fed on a farm where there is security of tenure, they are not likely to become migratory workers. A farmer may be poor and yet be reasonably secure. Our pioneer forefathers had less money than the majority of our low-income farmers today. Their hardships were much greater, yet they felt a keen sense of security in their freedom and upon their land.

There is a limit to money income below which it is socially dangerous for farmers to live. But where a farmer produces his food and feed, and reduces his cash expenditures to those things which he cannot produce himself, there is no high degree of correlation between standard of living and money income. Cash income is difficult to increase. Real or nonmoney income is capable of considerable expansion.

The Extension Service is striving to improve the well-being of the farm families not merely by increasing cash income but likewise by improving their real income through the live-at-home program. Briefly this program is as follows:

(*a*) Home gardens and orchards.
(*b*) Food preservation.
(*c*) Feed and forage production.
(*d*) Seed saving.

This live-at-home program is part of a bigger program based upon wise use of all land a farmer has and efficient use of all his labor throughout the year, plus profitable use of money.

At the outset I mentioned that increases in population and changes in farm organization released certain people from farms. The high birth rate of the South is well known. We have been a source of population not only for migratory farm laborers, in the West but for businessmen and industrial workers in the North and East. This movement, or migration because of population increases, is natural. There is little we could or should do about it.

FARM CHANGES IMPORTANT

There have been changes in farm organization, however, which have released many farmers from their former holdings. Change from intensive cotton culture to more extensive types of farming, such as beef cattle production, has released many families. Mechanization of farms has required the labor of fewer people. In most cases these displaced tenants and croppers have been retained as wage laborers, but there are many instances in which they had to leave the farm. An Alabama farmer told me recently that he had reduced his labor from 30 to 10 and that these 20 migrants went to W. P. A.

Changes in farm organization are due to the influence of economic factors over which we have little control. Mechanization and technological progress cannot be halted because they are labor saving. We must reckon with these facts realistically.

One of our county agents in the Black Belt stated recently: "Since dairying does not displace tenants from the farm as rapidly as beef-cattle production does, we feel that more of our people can be adequately supported with dairying than with beef production." While we encourage both economic and technological progress, we try to direct that progress to the improvement of as many people as possible.

In one area of Alabama there is now a considerable push for beef cattle of which no sane man questions the value. But we must be intelligent enough to realize that beef cattle farming requires relatively little labor. If, therefore, the movement advances to the point of big displacement of labor many new migrants will be created and the towns in this area will suffer more than the farms because there will be fewer people around these towns.

COMFORTABLE HOMES ESSENTIAL

It is a fact that migration does not always begin at the insistence of the farmer. Farm women have felt the oppression and bleakness of small homes, lack of facilities, crowding of families into a few rooms, and poor health conditions of tenant houses. Through home-demonstration clubs many of these women are taught how to improve their homes, to make them more attractive, more comfortable, and more adequate. These women have been taught how to make mattresses, studio couches, extra beds, and other comforts. Through home-beautification programs many of the homes have been landscaped with native shrubs and plants. The food budget and plans for feeding the family an adequate and balanced diet have aided in improving family health. When homes are made more attractive inside and out and when adequte food is providued, a sense of security is instilled into the family which does not beget migration.

To give us a better understanding of the problem under discussion, I call attention to the fact that the current birth rate in cities is only 80 percent of enough to maintain city population. Yet our cities at the present rate of production and consumption are producing all the urban products that we need. They can produce more with only a small labor addition from the farms of the Nation.

Our farm birth rate is 150 percent of enough to maintain farm population. Here in Alabama and elsewhere in the Southeast we already have a congested population in relation to land and opportunities. The cropland per farm person in Alabama is 6 acres as compared to 23 acres in Iowa, 24.7 acres in Illinois, 19.5 acres in Texas, and 70.3 acres in North Dakota.

The best information available indicates that the total cropland in the Southeast is about the same as it was in 1860, the year before the Civil War began. The number of people on this same land is approximately twice what it was then.

It is obvious, therefore, that we need more opportunities for human beings in the rural areas of Alabama and all other Southern States. During the decade of the twenties when industry appeared to be thriving and agriculture was sinking deeper into despondency and distress, between three and four million southern farm youths moved to industrial centers, largely North and East. While no official figures are available for the decade of the thirties, all information at hand indicates that the exodus was much less because industrial opportunities in cities were not available. This has resulted in impounding several million people on farms who would be elsewhere if business conditions had continued as they were in the early twenties.

VITAL ECONOMIC FACTS

To throw more light upon the forces behind distressing farm migration I cite the following facts:

(1) Cotton producers are now receiving about 1½ percent of the national income, including Government payments, against 3 percent before the World War, 1909–14.

(2) The ratio of prices received by farmers to prices they pay is 77. Stated differently, prices of agricultural products are now 95 percent of the pre-war level, while prices paid by farmers for commodities used in living and in farming were 123 percent in June 1940, of 1909–14.

(3) Compared with the above prices and ratios wages are more than 200 percent of the pre-war level.

It is my mature judgment that if we can correct these inequalities and lift agricultural income to the level of full parity, practically all of the social and economic problems arising from farm migration will be solved. This adjustment will be helpful to all people engaged in worthwhile occupation other than farming. It is, therefore, a national need for society as a whole, the same as it is for farmers as a group.

Stated a little differently the best way to treat the problem of rural migration is to remove the causes by making it more profitable and more desirable to stay on farms. Long-time contracts and other facts which we have mentioned are desirable and we support them but we also recognize the responsibility of intelligent education to accompany or precede changes.

It is obvious that when we reach the goal of economic and social security, Alabama will not be a source of migratory destitute farmers.

TESTIMONY OF P. O. DAVIS—Resumed

Mr. Curtis. You may proceed to discuss your statement in any way you wish, Mr. Davis.

THE MAIN REASONS FOR MIGRATION

Mr. Davis. My first point is to bring out the fact that people have moved, in the main, for two reasons; to get away from something that is objectionable, for example, from oppression in Europe, which was the reason that they came here to this country; and the other reason is that they moved to better their economic and social conditions. Those are the two main reasons why people move. And in the statement which I have submitted is the historical sketch of migration in the State of Alabama and over the Southeast.

These people first came to the seaboard States, and then they moved across to Alabama and Mississippi, and then on further west, finding new land. They were moving then for two reasons—one was to get away from the poor eroded soil, and the other reason was to get new and better land, therefore accomplishing the two main reasons for moving.

One other point that I would like to mention in that connection—

It is a fact that after the Civil War, in which we had an important part down here, farmers and planters were in a different condition than they were before the war. Before the Civil War the southern planters had the three major factors necessary for agricultural production—they were land, labor, and capital. After the Civil War they had the land, but the labor was gone, the slave labor, of course, and they had no capital except what they could borrow at a high rate of interest, and we know the things that came of that.

The real point that I want to bring out, that slave labor of the South before the Civil War was a class that largely became tenants and sharecroppers after the Civil War, and that is a factor that we are still dealing with here.

SHIFT OF COTTON PRODUCTION AFFECTED MIGRATION

Another factor is the shift of cotton production that has not been mentioned, so far as I recall. In 1890, 66 percent of the cotton produced in the South was produced east of the Mississippi River. In 1938 that percentage had declined to 44 percent, which meant that 56 percent was produced in 1938 west of the Mississippi River, whereas 50 years ago 66 percent of the South's cotton was produced east of the Mississippi River.

Now, there are some factors in here about the Negro exodus in the late teens and twenties. That was not a going to search for new land, but most of them were going into the industries of the North, and where they found social conditions were better for them. That was one of the biggest migration periods affecting the South. From 1916 up to 1925, we will say, it averaged about 200,000 persons per year, Negroes leaving the Southern farms for the industrial areas against some ten or twelve thousand a year for the period from the Civil War up to 1916.

Here is one paragraph in my statement which I shall recall in reference to modern migration:

> Modern migrants seek to improve their position as did pioneer migrants, but the chances of improvement are impressively less. Their goal is not settlements but employment and wages. Their migration is a career, not a step toward approved settlement or from one farm to a better farm. Settlement is almost out of the question. The difference between settlement and wages, between stepping stones and career, are outstanding contrasts between the old and the new.

Here is a section of this statement that bears directly on the work that is being done by the Extension Service and related agencies in order to cure or remove the causes of migration by correcting the conditions on the farm and in the farm homes which cause people to want to move. In addition to moving away from eroded lands, and other objectionable features, farm women, you know, are sometimes the causes of migration because they want to get away from the poorly equipped homes on the farm and other objectionable features there, but we shall not go further into that at this time.

INCREASE OF POPULATION PER ACRE IN SOUTHEAST

Let me point to another fact that should be mentioned. I believe Dr. Vance called attention to it in another direction. Here in the South and the Southeast we have about as much cropland as we had in 1860, 70 years ago. That is according to a statement made recently before the Civil Liberties Committee of Congress by Secretary Wallace. At the same time we have about twice as many people on that land in the Southeast now as we had then. About the same amount of land, according to the Secretary, and the best figures available, and approximately twice the number of people, and even now in the Southeast and the Nation as a whole, the birth rate is about 150 percent of enough to maintain the farm population. In the urban centers it is about 80 percent of enough, and yet those urban centers continue to produce about all of the products of industry that the market will take.

There is another fact that we should bring out here, and that is that in Alabama at the present time we have about 6 acres of cropland per farm person. That compares with 23 acres in Iowa and 24.7 acres in Illinois; 19.5 acres in Texas and 70.3 acres in North Dakota. Those are only a few of the States that I want to mention here for comparison or to make it more impressive that we are highly congested on the land here in the Southeast.

Mr. Curtis. Has there been a shift away from one type of farming to another here in Alabama?

Mr. Davis. There is some shift; I might more properly say that it is more of a development to the other kind of farming than it is a shift away from a certain kind of farming.

Mr. Curtis. What crops do you include as row crops?

Mr. Davis. Row crops in Alabama, most of our row crops are corn, cotton, and peanuts.

Mr. Curtis. And the shift has been away from row crops, is that your statement?

Mr. Davis. There has been some slight shift, not any big amount. There ought to be more.

Mr. Curtis. To what?

Mr. Davis. We are recommending and there is some shift toward small grains and some pastures, that is, crops not produced in rows because row crops include our cash crops, cotton being No. 1.

Mr. Curtis. Is that generally true of the surrounding States?

Mr. Davis. I would assume so. It ought to be true.

Mr. Curtis. Do your row crops require more people for their cultivation and production than the others?

Mr. Davis. They do at certain seasons of the year. Cotton keeps people employed for about one-half of the year. If we shift from row-crop farming, cotton and corn and peanuts, then we will have a spread of employment to where our people will be productively employed throughout the year. Let me add this—that a shift from row crops—I would say that it is more of a development of the non-row crops that it is a shift from the row crops—but it is a fact that that has been true for some years, and that is based somewhat on the limits under the triple A program. There is not so much a shift from the row crops as there is a development of the non-row crops, including livestock.

Mr. Curtis. What recommendations do you make or have you made in your paper toward stabilizing rural population?

Mr. Davis. In the first place we need a sounder farming system, such as I have indicated already.

Now, then, to understand the situation as I sum it up briefly—first, the cash crop, we will say, one for which we have an allotment temporarily—whatever the control allotment of cotton is for the South, the farmers of Alabama want their fair portion of it, so that might mean 20 to 25 percent of our croplands. And then next, or probably first, we need a system of farming—and we are developing that system—which makes our farm people more self-sustaining in that they produce more of what they consume, and they do a better job of taking care of the land and of what they produce. We need some livestock in the South, in addition, in order to balance out our farming operation, in order to take better care of the land and use our labor more efficiently and have several incomes a year rather than just one cash-crop income on cotton. On top of it all we need better care of our trees because more than one-half of our land in the State of Alabama is still in trees of one kind or another. That gives you the production side of it.

Mr. Osmers. I notice some figures here that interested me a great deal. You cited the average number of acres of land per farm person in Alabama as compared with the average number of acres in some of the Midwestern States.

Mr. Davis. Yes, sir.

POSSIBILITIES OF SHIFTING POPULATION TO OTHER SECTIONS

Mr. Osmers. And the number of acres in the State of Alabama was much less than that for the Midwestern States that you mentioned. Would you care to express your opinion on the general question as to whether a shift of the farm population from Alabama to other areas would be beneficial because of that disparity?

Mr. Davis. The fact is that the people are congested on the lands in the Southeast and here in Alabama. I had a man say to me recently that we needed to get rid of about a half million people from the farms of Alabama. I am quoting another man now, whose name I will not use. And I said, "Where will they go and what will they do?" Now, that is just what we are up against.

Mr. Osmers. And that is what this committee is interested in.

Mr. Davis. And I said, "Where will they go?" The question is, If they should leave the State of Alabama, where would they go and what would they do when they got there? Of course, if we can find better social and economic conditions for them elsewhere, the sensible thing for them to do is to move.

Mr. Curtis. Would you say that the opening up of large areas of new farm land in the West through the use of irrigation and through the creation of public improvements—would you say that would offer a partial solution of the shift of that population?

Mr. Davis. It might help for the particular individuals so involved, but it wouldn't help the agricultural industry out as a whole because the output in the last few years was even greater than in 1929, so opening new land for agricultural production, while it might help some individuals, at the same time would complicate the agricultural picture as a whole.

Mr. Curtis. Because it would increase crop production, is that your idea?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir. We now have a surplus of all major agricultural crops. We might think of that also.

Mr. CURTIS. Would you say that this trend that has been developing in Alabama where there has been a shift, you might call it, from the row crops, or the development of the other kind of crops, that in time that program will be of great benefit to the farmers of Alabama?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir; it will help them because it will supply a great deficiency in our production and it will help us to maintain our soil fertility also. We must remember that we have in the South a large number of undernourished and underfed people. If we can develop this kind of agriculture that we are talking about, we can help them without disturbing the agricultural picture as a whole.

Mr. CURTIS. Would most of the new production in agriculture that you are proposing under this new program—are those products used right within the borders of the State of Alabama or within the Southeast, as a rule?

Mr. DAVIS. Yes, sir; they should be, because we are a deficiency State in the production of many agricultural products. Also livestock; not cotton, however.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

TRAINING YOUTH IN SOUTHEAST, FOR LIFE ELSEWHERE

Mr. SPARKMAN. I doubt if you care to discuss this thing, but some of the later witnesses may discuss it—but I have been particularly interested in and concerned with this problem that we are confronted with here in training young people in order to enable them to compete with those that they must come in competition with when and if they do migrate to other sections of the country. I know that you agree with me that our educational burden, in attempting to train them, is very heavy, very heavy proportionately. I was particularly interested in a statement made to us at another hearing that we have conducted where some gentleman—I believe he was from Rhode Island—used this example: He said if you want mules—you raise them and send them to us and we pay you all the expenses for raising of these mules and sending them to us, but if you raise children and send them to us to compete in industry, you have prepared them and educated them to compete with us and you stood all of the expenses in that instance. Now, do you care to talk on that subject?

Mr. DAVIS. Well, someone indicated here something about the Army enlistments this morning and the number of higher officers who were from the South, and you will find in so many of the industries men who have moved from the South into those industries in the other parts of the country. Now, these were men that the South had been struggling to produce and train so far as they could, and it is a fact that when they get ready to produce, to enter some kind of industry, for the good of society or business, on their part, they go somewhere else.

Now, another point, I think that the National Defense Commission's program for the training of our youth largely in a vocational way should be extended to farm boys and girls and train them for defense purposes as well as for greater domestic service and other things along efficient lines for jobs in which they are engaged or in which they will engage after they are grown.

Mr. Curtis. Instead of confining that to the South, isn't it generally true that our leaders and potential leaders come from the farm, to a great extent—that they must of necessity come from the soil?

Mr. Davis. Yes, sir; I believe that the South has had a higher proportion on account of the congestion in the farms in the South. As, for an illustration, we have had 32 Presidents to date, and 17 of them were born on the farm, more than one-half of them that have been in the White House up to this day. In the Southeast, in this great pressure area here about which we have heard so much, they have looked harder for these things—for example, we notice in the survey that the southern people are a little more keen about war than some other parts of the country. I talked with an Army officer who had just mustered into service 100 men into one company fresh from their homes, and he stated that 85 percent of them—this company came from Tennessee—he stated that 85 percent of that 100 came from the farms. That is an indication of the pressure situation on the farms in this area.

Mr. Curtis. It is my information that certain economists contend that at least every second generation must be supplied from the soil, the leaders in our industries in the cities, to keep them going.

Mr. Davis. Yes, sir; the birth rate is 150 percent of enough to maintain the farm population, while in the cities it is 80 percent. Now, here is a statement that I would like to add at this point—it is a statement showing the percentage of tenants in the several different countries. Some of the statistics, as you will notice, are old—for example, in England, in 1914, 89.9 percent of the people were tenants. I call that to your attention because the relation of the tenants to the land in England is different from what it is here. It is a different relationship. Here is another statement that I will attach to it for your record. It says, "A study from the 1935 agricultural census"—it shows in each county in Alabama the percentage of tenants, the total number of tenants, and then it shows the number who on January 1, 1935, were where they had been less than a year; also 1 year, 2 years, 3 years, 4 years, and 5 years, and if I may, Mr. Sparkman, I will give you your own home county, Madison County; on January 1, 1935, there were 4,949 tenants on farms in Madison County, and 1,693 of them had been where they were then less than 1 year. Only 1,297 of them had been where they had been 5 years or more. I believe that the committee would like to see those figures, which, as I have stated, came from the Federal Agricultural Census of 1935.

Mr. Sparkman. I would like to put into the record the fact that Mr. Davis comes from my district.

Mr. Davis. And I might say that my people voted for Mr. Sparkman, too.

I have a 3-page mimeograph statement here which I would like to offer as an exhibit.

The Chairman. It may be received.

(The document entitled "Important Facts on Farm Tenure" is as follows:)

Tabulation showing percent tenancy in some of the countries of the world:

Important facts on farm tenure

	Percent		Percent
United States, 1920	38. 1	France, 1892	36. 1
England, 1914	88. 9	China, 1920	28. 1
Australia, 1917	78. 9	Germany, 1907	25. 4
New Zealand, 1910	58. 5	Japan, 1921	28. 5
Belgium, 1910	54. 2	Canada, 1921	7. 9
Argentine, 1914	38. 5	Denmark, 1918	8. 0
Ireland, 1916	36. 0		

Tabulation showing percent tenants, by States:

Southern States:	Percent	Other States:	Percent
Mississippi	70	Northwest: Oregon	21. 7
Georgia	66	New England: Vermont	10. 9
Alabama	64	Midwest: Iowa	50. 0
Louisiana	64	Middle Atlantic: Maryland	27. 3
South Carolina	62	North: South Dakota	49. 0
Oklahoma	61	Western grain area: Kansas	44. 0
Arkansas	60	Rocky Mountains: Utah	15. 0
Texas	57		
North Carolina	47		
Tennessee	46		
Kentucky	37		

Period of time tenants had lived on farm on which they were located, Jan. 1, 1935—State of Alabama

County	Percent tenants	Number less than 1 year	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years and over	Total tenants reporting
Autauga	68	724	169	152	121	170	501	1, 837
Baldwin	25	269	80	76	35	55	149	664
Barbour	75	1, 052	294	194	158	223	811	2, 732
Bibb	55	455	140	122	64	64	211	1, 056
Blount	52	1, 278	388	253	128	155	316	2, 518
Bullock	83	802	210	203	156	285	886	2, 542
Butler	64	855	243	178	160	199	793	2, 428
Calhoun	62	804	316	222	141	157	405	2, 045
Chambers	73	1, 302	369	243	164	194	724	2, 996
Cherokee	65	939	332	219	127	153	449	2, 219
Chilton	56	1, 015	261	212	147	139	438	2, 212
Choctaw	59	488	206	194	182	165	611	1, 846
Clarke	52	585	214	192	145	209	687	2, 032
Clay	53	1, 014	176	167	96	82	226	1, 761
Cleburne	54	619	158	86	77	63	163	1, 166
Coffee	74	1, 891	309	172	133	148	461	3, 114
Colbert	66	624	207	166	120	113	502	1, 732
Conecuh	56	926	183	148	143	157	521	2, 078
Coosa	56	513	120	104	84	57	244	1, 122
Covington	62	1, 481	253	197	123	129	408	2, 591
Crenshaw	69	1, 029	234	242	169	192	503	2, 369
Cullman	51	2, 160	447	233	188	205	478	3, 911
Dale	63	863	229	134	109	125	331	1, 791
Dallas	86	1, 470	457	459	355	503	2, 750	5, 994
DeKalb	53	1, 911	463	316	213	169	443	3, 515
Elmore	64	1, 429	330	238	139	200	578	2, 914
Escambia	47	688	151	129	93	74	234	1, 369
Etowah	59	1, 301	309	207	105	164	351	2, 437
Fayette	53	851	204	110	98	95	278	1, 636
Franklin	58	1, 006	354	160	167	121	353	2, 161
Geneva	71	1, 454	304	208	136	136	385	2, 623
Greene	85	796	287	230	186	338	1, 450	3, 287
Hale	77	868	416	360	225	296	1, 377	3, 542
Henry	74	632	371	169	153	183	549	2, 057
Houston	69	1, 680	452	210	157	165	499	3, 163

Period of time tenants had lived on farm on which they were located, Jan. 1, 1935—State of Alabama—Continued

County	Percent tenants	Number less than 1 year	1 year	2 years	3 years	4 years	5 years and over	Total tenants reporting
Jackson	59	1,278	508	300	264	195	587	3,132
Jefferson	52	1,114	751	321	224	323	608	3,341
Lamar	58	819	245	131	129	129	396	1,849
Lauderdale	62	973	448	295	194	204	748	2,862
Lawrence	71	1,291	487	302	250	270	723	3,323
Lee	74	862	284	215	160	191	704	2,416
Limestone	72	1,814	584	465	308	292	933	4,396
Lowndes	85	838	219	251	208	278	1,847	3,641
Macon	79	1,077	289	244	188	237	1,063	3,098
Madison	72	1,693	745	428	399	387	1,297	4,949
Marengo	78	1,357	473	536	292	526	1,795	4,979
Marion	56	1,285	381	201	131	118	311	2,427
Marshall	59	1,964	490	294	184	204	562	3,698
Mobile	24	179	65	46	27	24	108	449
Monroe	66	680	300	190	183	208	1,136	2,696
Montgomery	77	922	343	342	280	364	1,153	3,404
Morgan	61	1,198	501	313	219	181	478	2,890
Perry	77	1,033	280	199	215	216	1,381	3,324
Pickens	70	1,269	262	192	153	190	1,055	3,148
Pike	78	1,272	292	226	119	266	686	2,861
Randolph	55	1,088	355	201	111	122	355	2,232
Russell	76	694	226	220	169	240	843	2,392
St. Clair	59	939	436	160	139	143	319	2,136
Shelby	55	653	169	136	92	102	297	1,449
Sumter	81	1,023	255	253	184	312	1,692	3,719
Talladega	69	1,464	323	216	164	154	586	2,907
Tallapoosa	66	1,289	226	192	179	157	458	2,501
Tuscaloosa	59	1,164	388	283	200	265	763	3,063
Walker	43	886	282	223	160	129	341	2,021
Washington	35	194	63	36	40	51	158	542
Wilcox	80	666	229	248	195	309	1,957	3,604
Winston	46	639	123	76	85	68	169	1,160
State	64	69,351	20,658	14,640	10,842	12,738	45,573	173,802

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much, Mr. Davis, and you may be excused.

(Whereupon, the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF PROF. T. M. CAMPBELL, FIELD AGENT OF UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE, FARM EXTENSION SERVICE, TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, TUSKEGEE, ALA.

The CHAIRMAN. Professor Campbell is the next witness, I believe. Will you come forward, Professor Campbell?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will you state your name for the record?

Professor CAMPBELL. My name is T. M. Campbell.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are field agent of the United States Department of Agriculture, Farm Extension Service, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Ala.; is that correct?

Professor CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your work is primarily in Alabama, is it not, or do you cover a certain region?

Professor CAMPBELL. My field headquarters are in Alabama, and my work is the lower Southern States, beginning with Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and Oklahoma.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And your work is generally with the rural Negro population in those States?

Professor CAMPBELL. Wholly.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have a statement prepared that you would like to read to the committee?

Professor CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Go on and proceed in your own way.

Professor CAMPBELL (reading). About the only reason I can give for being asked to appear on this occasion is that I was born on a rented farm. I am the son of tenant parents, and perhaps at this time would be classified as an ex-migrant, because I left the farm in Georgia at an early age and came to Alabama after hearing of Booker T. Washington's famous Atlanta speech, and I came to Alabama seeking an education.

REASONS FOR NEGRO MIGRATION

I am sure that this committee of the honorable House of Representatives has at its disposal or in its possession all of the statistical information pertaining to the Negro migrant necessary; hence, I take it that they are desirous of getting more first-hand information on the rural "movable" population of the South. While the Negro may not travel as far as the white dweller when he does move, I firmly believe that he changes his place of abode more often than does the white man. This might lead one to inquire, "Why does the Negro farmer move?" To this question I would answer: "First, the lack of profitable employment"—I mean by this that the average tenant or small independent Negro farmer is not provided with sufficient gainful occupation in the course of 12 months to provide the barest subsistence for himself and family. I would list next a lack of opportunity to develop in his present location. Unfortunately, in too many instances, Negroes who, by thrift and sacrifice in their communities, become self-supporting and quite independent only find that there are those in the community who take undue advantage of their racial timidity, due to the traditional lack of legal protection. This frequently blights their hopes beyond recovery. It is very difficult to cope with this type of exploitation and discrimination.

The lack of educational advantages for young Negroes in rural areas is often the determining factor in their decision as to whether they remain stationary or move out of their community, despite the fact that they may not see any promise of a better condition in the immediate future (I am sure this was true in my own case). There are increasing numbers of Negro farm parents who are willing to go without sufficient food, clothing, and even shelter to give their children a better educational chance than they had.

With further reference to Negro migration, there are most always many attractions to other rural areas and urban centers—some of these are advantageous; others are false. The element of labor speculation on the part of landlords and other employers operating rural industries such as large plantations, cotton gins, sawmills, and so forth, imposes a hardship on the rural Negro.

There is a great need for a change in the South's one-crop economy. In recent years, many notable efforts have been put through various organizations with the object of strengthening our agriculture, but some of these organizations have fallen short of their purposes, because the Negro farmer, who composes a very large part of the total farm population, is left almost completely out of the picture. Ever since the unprecedented migration of Negroes from southern areas to the North in 1923 and 1924, there has been a steady movement back and forth of this group, and this condition has also caused labor speculation, and, in cases, exploitation.

Mr. PARSONS. If I may interrupt you at this point—what were the reasons for, or the causes of, this large migration of the colored population in 1923 and 1924?

Professor CAMPBELL. It was my privilege to follow the migration—that is officially—I didn't migrate—during those years, and I went to most of the centers where the Negroes went from the South, and I had a series of questions that I asked them all and many people said—it was said in the press in many instances that the Negroes were migrating North for so-called social equality, but I found that was not true at all—that they went North because there was a demand for their labor. They heard about it through labor agents who came to the South and then when a few got there, they wrote home to their relatives and pretty soon we had almost a stampede of Negroes going North.

Mr. PARSONS. What were the centers?

Professor CAMPBELL. Beginning at Cincinnati—that was the beginning of the underground railroad. If they could get to Cincinnati, they felt that they could make it, and then from there to Youngstown and then to Akron and then to Gary and then to Chicago and to Detroit and Milwaukee. Those were the centers to which the Negroes in this area from Georgia back to Texas went to the North.

Mr. PARSONS. Maybe you haven't got to it in your prepared statement, but has there been a shift in that population coming back to the Southern States from these areas since that time—since the depression in 1930?

Professor CAMPBELL. I think that I mention something with regard to that as I go on with my prepared statement.

Mr. PARSONS. You may proceed.

Mr. SPARKMAN. This migration coincided, did it not, with the quickened industrial expansion up there in the North?

Professor CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; we understand that there was a demand for common laborers up there at that time.

Mr. SPARKMAN. As we understand it, it was a recovery from the 1920 panic, was it not?

Professor CAMPBELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And during that same time, there was quite a heavy migration of white people from this same area going into the rubber-producing area around Akron, Ohio, and into the automobile-producing area around Detroit, Mich?

Professor CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; that is correct. I went to Akron and got some figures on the number of southern Negroes that had come in there recently, and I found out that there were two-thirds more of the southern white people there that had also come in.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Southern white people that had come into that area also?

Professor CAMPBELL. Yes, sir; and it was caused by the immigration laws in force at that time which prohibited them from getting foreign labor, and as a result they came South to get this labor.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Go on with your statement.

Professor CAMPBELL (resumes reading). Another factor that has contributed to Negro migration is improved communication and transportation facilities. Under communication I would list "letter writing." The Negro is becoming more literate even in rural areas, and in this way is able to keep in more or less constant touch with his relatives in other communities, States, and regions. In making use of improved highways—the automobile—they set out to realize their objectives. Many times nothing is gained in the transition except to satisfy a burning desire to better their conditions. Traveling as I do over most of the Southern States by automobile, I am frequently asked by Negro people along the way: "Are times any better where you came from than they are here?" Of course I give an answer of some kind. There have been many permanent contacts established by Negro migrants in the North. Many of them have been advantageous in the matter of better wages for all types of labor—common, semiskilled, and skilled.

Then, too, the matter of citizenship in the North has had a tremendous influence on the southern Negro since the great migration 17 or 18 years ago. He feels that he can better serve himself, his family, and his community when he is permitted to shoulder some of the civic responsibilities of his community. Once he experiences this privilege, he is reluctant to make any changes that tend to jeopardize this right.

Compulsory education for all people in the North—a thing too few rural Negroes in the South enjoy—has had a most telling effect in the Negro's decision to move. Recently the writer was attending a rural church, congregation of about 150, and a poll was taken as to just who had relatives in the North. Practically all hands went up (including mine). These contacts between rural Negroes and their relatives in the North keep a certain portion of the population on the move back and forth most of the time.

It is a common thing nowadays to go into rural districts, almost any county where the Negro population is heavy, especially at this time of the year, summertime, and see cars parked out by cabins with foreign license plates on them, Illinois, New York, away out in the fields. They have come back to see their kin people and sometimes they take them back with them.

In some instances it is felt that this condition has its good effects, because many of the Negroes who migrated to the North years ago have educated their children there, and now they are gradually filtering back into the South into the Negro colleges, high schools, and in many cases, rural schools. These folk represent a definite asset to the South, their home, and are calculated to enrich Negro community life wherever this condition exists.

I believe that the percentage of race friction between whites and Negroes in rural areas is higher in the fall of the year (harvest time) than at any other season—at least this has been my observation over a long period of years. This condition can be definitely traced in many instances (which can be verified) to disagreement in crop settlements. Hence, the need for a better lease or contract system between employer and employee, binding both to their obligations.

It is not necessary at this time to call attention to the matter of poor housing among Negroes in the South when public consciousness is more or less focused on this evil as the Report on Economic Conditions of the South to the President testifies. It is commonly conceded that the houses in which the southern rural population lives, especially the Negro, is one of its darkest blots. Comparable to this evil are poor health and the lack of recreational facilities for Negroes. In the State of Alabama, for example, there are no public parks to which Negroes are admitted without special permission. This fact alone is an encouragement to the mobility of the Negro. Many of the more fortunate Negroes in the South journey hundreds of miles away from their homes in order that they and their families and friends may enjoy a few weeks' outing. A similar situation exists in the matter of accommodations for Negro travelers. Along with poor health should be listed the lack of public hospitalization for Negroes in the South, and also accommodations and conveniences on public carriers, including railroad and bus transportation in the southern area (better now than in previous years in some sections, but there is much room for improvement).

Negroes love the South with all of its faults, but there is a growing tendency among them to cast about for a better chance elsewhere. [Reading of statement ends.]

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much for your fine presentation, Professor Campbell, and it will be very valuable for the committee to have it included in our report.

(The witness was thereupon excused.)

TESTIMONY BY ATHEY PIERCE, OF PRATTVILLE, ALA.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Athey Pierce in the hearing room?

(Athey Pierce came forward.)

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your name is Athey Pierce?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where do you live?

Mr. PIERCE. I live north of here on Smith's place.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You live in Montgomery County?

Mr. PIERCE. No, sir it is at Prattville.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It is in Autauga County?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are you a native of Alabama?

Mr. PIERCE. That is my home, Alabama.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where were you born?

Mr. PIERCE. Down there in Trickham.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What county is that in?

Mr. PIERCE. That is in Lowndes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old are you?

Mr. PIERCE. Forty-three, from my daddy's word, I don't know, but I might be older than that, I am just guessing, going on what my daddy said.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are not trying to get out of the conscription by that, are you?

Mr. PIERCE. I ought to be 60 to draw some pension.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you been raised on the farm?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir; I have been on the farm all my days. I have just been off the farm for 4 years.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your father was a farmer?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long did you live with your father?

Mr. PIERCE. Until I got 21.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Where did you go then?

Mr. PIERCE. I moved down on Mose Robinson's place after I married.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You married and then you made a crop of your own, is that correct?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How long did you work as a farmer then?

Mr. PIERCE. I stayed there for 4 years on that place.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And where did you go then?

Mr. PIERCE. I moved with a machine agent, and worked for him, and I stayed with him 3 years and 3 months.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What were you doing?

Mr. PIERCE. I was driving him around the country selling Singer sewing machines.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Was all of that in the State of Alabama?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You worked at that job a little over 3 years?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What did you do then?

Mr. PIERCE. I moved to the Reeves' place, the farm.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Of course, we are not familiar with these places that you name, but instead of naming the places that you move to, say whether or not you moved to another farm or to a city?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And you started farming there?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And how long did you continue to farm there?

Mr. PIERCE. I made four crops there.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Then where did you go?

Mr. PIERCE. I moved onto another farm.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Why did you move that time?

Mr. PIERCE. Well, the man wouldn't have the house fixed up that I was living in and every time it rained everything in the house would get wet.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You moved that time in order to better your conditions; is that correct?

Mr. Pierce. Yes, sir; to better my condition.

Mr. Sparkman. How long did you live on this farm that you moved to at that time?

Mr. Pierce. I made six crops there.

Mr. Sparkman. Then did you move to another farm?

Mr. Pierce. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. Why did you move that time?

Mr. Pierce. Well, I made four crops when I made six crops there—you see, I was staying there for 4 years, and the same man that I had been driving there for, you see, he was a Mason, and he came in and joined the Masonic lodge, and he died and he didn't will all that he had, something came up like that, and so he came back and, as I said, he was a Mason, and they wanted me to see after him before he died, and I seed after him until he ceased away.

Mr. Sparkman. And you became his caretaker; is that what you mean?

Mr. Pierce. Yes, sir; and I made two crops there after I stayed there for 4 years, and that made the six crops, and another landlord owned this place after this man had died—he told me that I need not move and told me that I could stay there, and I stayed there and I made the other two crops there with him.

Mr. Sparkman. And did you move after that?

Mr. Pierce. When I left there I went to Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Sparkman. What did you do in Cleveland, Ohio?

Mr. Pierce. I worked at the scrap yard on the truck.

Mr. Sparkman. What other work did you do in Cleveland? First, what year did you go to Cleveland?

Mr. Pierce. I went there in December 1936.

Mr. Sparkman. 1936?

Mr. Pierce. I went there in December 1936.

Mr. Sparkman. You were living on the farm after these farm benefits started coming in, weren't you?

Mr. Pierce. Yes, sir; I was living on the farm then, and I was living at the place where I had a crop for 8 years, and I plowed up cotton the second year that I was there.

Mr. Sparkman. The second year that you were there was when we had to plow up some cotton?

Mr. Pierce. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. Was the cotton acreage reduced from that time on?

Mr. Pierce. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. Did that have anything to do with your moving off the farm?

Mr. Pierce. Well, it just plowed up my best cotton and ruined it.

Mr. Sparkman. Now, Pierce, you see most of us are Democrats here, and don't you say too much about that. Did you get paid for it, for the cotton that you plowed up?

Mr. Pierce. No, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. I said, Did you get paid for it?

Mr. Pierce. No, sir; I ain't got nothing for it yet; I didn't get nothing for it.

Mr. Sparkman. Didn't you ever get any crop benefits paid to you?

Mr. Pierce. No, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. None of the years that you stayed there?

Mr. Pierce. No, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. Were you a cash tenant or were you a sharecropper or were you a farm laborer?

Mr. Pierce. I was renting the land and paying $100 rent.

Mr. Sparkman. You were paying money rent?

Mr. Pierce. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. Then weren't you entitled to the crop benefits?

Mr. Pierce. Yes, sir; I was entitled to it, but I did not get it.

Mr. Sparkman. Did you ever try to get it—did you ever talk to your county agent about that matter?

Mr. Pierce. No, sir; I never did have any talk with the county agent at all.

Mr. Sparkman. Did you ever discuss it with your landlord about your being entitled to any benefit payment?

Mr. Pierce. No, sir. I mentioned sometimes that I thought that I should get something; some of the others were getting something in different places, but I didn't get nothing.

Mr. Sparkman. Did that have anything to do with your going to Cleveland, or what made you go to Cleveland, Ohio?

Mr. Pierce. Well, I was renting cotton land and I was working cornland on the shares and when they gathered the corn, I didn't get none of it, and I didn't have nothing to live on and no feed for my mules and nothing for my mules at all, so I put the mules in the pasture and I went on up to Cleveland, Ohio.

Mr. Sparkman. Did you have any people in Cleveland?

Mr. Pierce. My wife had a brother up there and he had already sent her the money to go there, and so I didn't have nothing to do but to hustle up my fare and go on up there, and she had the children up there with her, so I went to Cleveland.

Mr. Sparkman. You turned the mules in the pasture and you went on to Cleveland?

Mr. Pierce. Yes. I got a job there in Cleveland after about 3 weeks, and after I got the job there I worked for about 8 months and then they commenced laying me off for 2 to 3 days a week, that would be all I would work, and I couldn't live on that and so my wife, she had done come to Dayton, Ohio, to see my oldest children, two of them was over there, she was over there on a visit, and I was working 1 straight week while she was over there on the visit and then the next 2 weeks I was only working 2 or 3 days in the week, so I just wrote to her and told her not to write to me any more, because the next time I would be the letter, I went to Dayton, Ohio, myself.

Mr. Sparkman. How long did you stay in Dayton?

Mr. Pierce. I stayed there until 1938. I came back here on December 20, 1938.

Mr. Sparkman. Where was your wife?

Mr. Pierce. She and I came back down here together.

Mr. Sparkman. And you have been here ever since?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir; I went to Dallas County and I stayed there a couple of days and I came here and I have been here ever since.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And you have been farming since then?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir; I work on the farm by the day.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are a day laborer now?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is your work steady?

Mr. PIERCE. No, sir; I haven't worked none now in over 2 weeks.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you work as you can find it?

Mr. PIERCE. No, sir; it is a big farm out there and when after you get the crops laid by, he ain't got nothing for all of them to do, and it ain't going to be nothing for a lot of us to do until the cotton opens and then we will work, and after we get the crop gathered, there ain't nothing much going on again.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What did you do last winter?

Mr. PIERCE. Last winter, I worked some in the vegetable garden over there; that is all the work that you can do over there. Some days the ground would be frozen up but if you wanted to make something at all you have to work. Some of the fellows get down with pneumonia.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you been on relief?

Mr. PIERCE. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you ever tried to get on relief?

Mr. PIERCE. No, sir; there wasn't no use to me trying in Ohio because you have to be there in one place for 2 years in order to get it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have managed to keep yourself and your family going without getting on relief, is that correct?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir; but I wish I could have gotten on it, I would have been right there now if I could, yes sir; I would have been there right now if I could have gotten on it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Don't you feel just a little better though at being able to make a living down here in some way and not having to go on relief?

Mr. PIERCE. If I had been on relief I would have had a better time than I am seeing right now. I would have had something to eat if I wasn't working because they will sure give you something to eat.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you had a hard time getting something to eat?

Mr. PIERCE. No, sir; I ain't having such a hard time, but it has to be paid for and when you ain't making enough money to pay for it, it gets pretty tight sometimes, when you ain't making more than 7 cents an hour, you can't pay up for the back time when you are not working, especially when you are just drawing it every night, you see.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you get paid by the hour when you are working?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You don't get paid by the hour when you are picking cotton, do you?

Mr. PIERCE. No, sir; they pay for picking cotton by the hundred.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What scale did they pay you for picking cotton?

Mr. PIERCE. Last year they paid us 40 cents a hundred and on Saturday for picking they paid us 50 cents a hundred.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Did you say that they paid you 50 cents a hundred on Saturday for picking cotton?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir; and they would have a lot more hands on Saturday because you could make more picking cotton on Saturday at 50 cents a hundred.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What work do you do in order to get 7 cents an hour?

Mr. PIERCE. I plow and hoe.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is in the planting and the cultivation of the crop, isn't it?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What other members of your family work, if any?

Mr. PIERCE. I have got two more workers in my family, and one of them gets the same an hour that I do and the other one gets 6 cents an hour when he works.

Mr. SPARKMAN. They are boys, are they?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How old are they?

Mr. PIERCE. One is 16 and the other is 17.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And that makes a total of 20 cents an hour that the three of you make when you are working?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you live on the place?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You don't pay any rent, do you?

Mr. PIERCE. No, sir; I don't pay no rent.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have a garden?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir; they give you a garden spot.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you raise any hogs for yourself?

Mr. PIERCE. Well, they don't hardly allow you to raise no hogs there. I have got hogs all right enough, I have got one; I ain't hardly allowed to have but one. You see, he can't run out and if you can't feed him, you can't do much with him and one is about all that I can keep up and feed.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have a cow?

Mr. PIERCE. No, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have any chickens?

Mr. PIERCE. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe that is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you very much. You are excused.

(Thereupon, Athey Pierce was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—AUGUST 14, 1940

(The committee reconvened at 2 p. m.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will please come to order.

James Earl Cambron is the next witness. Is he here?

(No response.)

The CHAIRMAN. What about Dr. Hoffsommer—is he here?

(No response.)

(Discussion had off the record.)

TESTIMONY OF SAMUEL FRIEDBERG, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Samuel Friedberg present?

(Mr. Friedberg came forward.)

The CHAIRMAN. Give your name to the reporter.

Mr. FRIEDBERG. My name is Samuel Friedberg.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you live, Mr. Friedberg?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. I live in Birmingham, Ala., 1516 Fifth Avenue North, Birmingham, Ala.

The CHAIRMAN. Congressman Osmers will examine you, Mr. Friedberg.

Mr. FRIEDBERG. All right.

Mr. OSMERS. Where were you born?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. New York City.

Mr. OSMERS. When?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. 1910.

Mr. OSMERS. Where did you receive your education?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. In New York City, at the College of the City of New York.

Mr. OSMERS. Did you graduate?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. I did.

Mr. OSMERS. What, if anything, did you specialize in?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. I took history.

Mr. OSMERS. When did you leave college?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. I left college in the fall of 1932.

Mr. OSMERS. Will you tell the committee what you have been doing since that time?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. I worked in New York City for a year and a half.

Mr. OSMERS. Doing what kind of work?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. I obtained a position in a laundry, one of the larger laundries in New York City.

Mr. OSMERS. Were you doing manual labor?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. No; as office manager.

Mr. OSMERS. I see.

Mr. FRIEDBERG. When that job gave out I obtained a job in West Virginia and I worked in West Virginia for 6½ months. When this place closed down——

Mr. OSMERS. What line of business was that?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. That was in the clothing business.

Mr. OSMERS. Was it in a factory or in a retail establishment?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. It was in a retail clothing store. And when this work gave out, I went to another State and I tried to find employment there and I succeeded, and I stayed in that line of work for 8 or 9 months.

Mr. Osmers. Where?

Mr. Friedberg. Illinois.

Mr. Osmers. And what kind of work were you doing there?

Mr. Friedberg. The same kind of work. I stayed in Illinois for 8 or 9 months, and I lost that job also and finally my money gave out and I went over to Indiana, to Indianapolis—I believe it was the Indianapolis Unemployment Committee—and I enrolled there. I was given a blank, and I filled it out, and I was told to stay there and that they would subsequently find me a job.

I explained to them that it would be rather hard for me to remain in the city as I didn't have too much money. Thereupon, they said, "There is nothing we can do about it." Finally, I was forced to go on what they call the "bum." I went from one State to another in search of employment, one city to another. If I did find employment in one city, the job would be of short duration.

Mr. Osmers. What was the nature of the various jobs that you had when you were on the road or on the "bum," as you put it?

Mr. Friedberg. They were odd jobs of all types, all descriptions, all kinds of jobs that a fellow could take to keep him going and to keep him alive.

Mr. Osmers. What are you doing now?

Mr. Friedberg. I am with the Salvation Army in Birmingham, Ala. I have been there for only a short time.

Mr. Osmers. What is the nature of your job there?

Mr. Friedberg. I am employed in the salesroom, I suppose you would call it, as foreman.

Mr. Osmers. Is that a regular job?

Mr. Friedberg. Yes, sir; that is a regular job, they have from 25 to 30 men who are regularly employed there.

Mr. Osmers. How did you happen to end up in Montgomery?

Mr. Friedberg. You mean in Birmingham, don't you?

Mr. Osmers. Yes, sir.

Mr. Friedberg. I was working for the Salvation Army in New Orleans and when the adjutant in charge of the social service branch there was transferred to Birmingham he asked me to accompany him to Birmingham. And that was about 8 weeks ago that I went to Birmingham, and I am down here today.

Mr. Osmers. Do you have other men working under you?

Mr. Friedberg. I have eight men immediately under me. These men are employed in various capacities. They have the job of baling, handling, and disposing of and selling the materials that come in to the Salvation Army there, such as waste paper, rags, furniture, and any other commodities.

Mr. Osmers. In your travels around the country, have you met a great many others in substantially the same position that you were in?

Mr. Friedberg. Well, any person traveling around, traveling on the road, is bound to come in contact with hundreds and hundreds of these men. Primarily, they are all in the same circumstances.

Mr. Osmers. Would you tell us what you found as the major factor that contributed to these men taking to the road—traveling from place to place?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. Well, I believe I can best explain that by saying that most of the men on the road today are men who received a haphazard sort of trade training—you might classify them as semiskilled men. They did have a job, and when that job gave out, they found it impossible to find employment in that line; they were lost.

Mr. OSMERS. When they were on the road, were they looking for work in their own line, or were they looking for work in any line at all?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. In the main, they did try to get work in their own line because it was the work that they knew best, and they did have the best chance of getting a job if one arose, but on the road, these men must take what is offered to them and where it is offered to them.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, presuming that a man is in Montgomery this afternoon, what would persuade him to go from here to New Orleans, for example—if he were unemployed, I mean?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. Let us suppose that this man is entirely destitute, he has no funds—he probably doesn't have even the dollar that is required in some States to enable a man to stay in that State and still not be arrested. If he is entirely destitute, he must leave. He faces being arrested and being given an indeterminate sentence on a charge of "vagrancy," ranging from 8 to 30 days depending upon the discretion of the court.

Mr. OSMERS. That is just a partial answer to what I had in mind. The reason that I mentioned the two specific places that I did was that I wanted to get your opinion as to why would a man leave here and imagine that there would be employment available for him in New Orleans, for example? How would he hear about it?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. He would either hear about it by word of mouth or else by just a hunch, a hope that when he got to New Orleans there would be a job there for him.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you say that the great majority of those men that you met on the road were honestly seeking work or trying to find employment or would you say that they were permanent floaters?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. I would say that at least 55 or 60 percent of them are men who are honestly trying to find work, and that the remaining percentage are just floaters.

Mr. OSMERS. Why is it that they don't locate permanently some place and take up a regular job and stay with it?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. That would, of course, entail the necessity of having a regular job, and then they have no security of jobs. They don't know that they will be able to keep a job. They have no resources in case that job played out. They have no classification. They must drift because they can't stay in one place if they are without funds.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you say that it was the scarcity of jobs that explains their continual traveling?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. The scarcity of jobs is the main reason.

Mr. OSMERS. In the course of your own travels, have you met a great many men who were regular migrants, and I use that term to mean those who migrated with the seasons and with the crops.

Mr. Friedberg. Yes, sir; I found quite a few men who traveled from one place to another, from one part of the country to another, following their trade or their line of work. Some of these men—well, you have your agricultural workers and they would travel, let us say, from the Southeastern part of the country over to the Midwest in pursuance of their trade.

Mr. Osmers. You mean following the crops?

Mr. Friedberg. Yes, sir; I mean following the crops as they come up. And then you have your mine workers who travel from the mine fields in West Virginia and come down South in the hope of finding work down here, and then you have your hotel and restaurant workers who travel from up North down South—they stay there in the summertime, in the North, and then they come down South in the wintertime.

Mr. Osmers. Now, this group of people who travel with the crops or who travel with the resort season, do they have or do they claim a residence in any one particular place?

Mr. Friedberg. No; they don't.

Mr. Osmers. The committee has spent quite a little time on that subject. Have you had any experience at all with either the city, State, or United States employment offices?

Mr. Friedberg. In my own experience, I have been to a few of them. In each instance, I have registered with the local office and hoped thereby to get a job. But, in the main, it didn't work out for one very good reason—you couldn't stay in a city long enough. I have found this, if there is any chance of a job, they do give a bit of preference to these men who are in need, if you will explain to them about the circumstances.

Mr. Osmers. You think that they are generally of help or assistance.

Mr. Friedberg. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. But not generally as good to the man that travels as to the man that is located in one place.

Mr. Friedberg. I think that is right.

Mr. Osmers. Can the relief agencies help with these migrant workers?

Mr. Friedberg. They can help a great deal, but it would come down to this—that they would, in some manner, have to maintain a place or an institution of some sort where they could keep these men off the road as much as possible. The inclination of a man to travel is due to his inability to find employment—for the most part, anyway. If they could keep him in one place until he could rehabilitate himself, until he could find a job, then they would be doing a great service.

Mr. Osmers. What are your annual earnings now?

Mr. Friedberg. My annual earnings now, taking into account room and board and wage comes to about $250 a year.

Mr. Osmers. About $250 a year?

Mr. Friedburg. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. What would you say your average annual earnings were when you were on the road moving from place to place and getting temporary employment?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. It might vary anywhere from $100 a year to $150 per year depending upon your luck.

Mr. OSMERS. Are you married or single?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. I am single.

Mr. OSMERS. That's all the questions I have, Mr. Chairman. Just a minute. Did you have any difficulty crossing any of the State lines?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. No, sir; you don't have difficulty in crossing State lines. As a matter of fact, the police are always glad to have you leave one State to go to the other.

Mr. OSMERS. How about the police of the State that you are going into? Are they just as glad to have you come in?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. As a rule, they don't see you when you come in.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you have a legal residence in any State?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. Well, I suppose right now I wouldn't, because I have come from the State of Louisiana, and I had been there for 2 years or a little longer, but I have only been in Alabama for 8 weeks now. That wouldn't give me a legal residence.

Mr. OSMERS. And Louisiana wouldn't again receive you as one of her own citizens?

Mr. FRIEDBERG. I don't know just how long it is that you are allowed to stay away, but I know that it is a certain period of time.

Mr. OSMERS. That's all that I have with this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. You are excused.

(Thereupon, Mr. Friedberg was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF DR. HAROLD HOFFSOMMER, PROFESSOR OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY, LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY, UNIVERSITY, LA.

The CHAIRMAN. Let the record show that Dr. Harold Hoffsommer, professor of sociology, Louisiana State University, will make a statement for the record at this time. We are glad to have you come here today, Doctor. Congressman Parsons will interrogate you. You have a copy of your statement already written out, I believe.

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. Yes, sir; I have a copy of it right here.

The CHAIRMAN. Just proceed the way that you want to. Would you want to summarize what you have in your statement?

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. I had perhaps better do that as it is a rather lengthy paper and it goes into some detail and covers several different subjects.

The CHAIRMAN. We are familiar with the paper that you are submitting and suppose you summarize it and we will check back on certain points and ask you some questions relative to certain features of your statement.

(The statement referred to, parts of which were read into the record later by Dr. Hoffsommer, is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY DR. HAROLD HOFFSOMMER

The information which I have that might be properly applied to the problems of interstate migration of destitute citizens falls under several broad headings:

A. Changing agricultural conditions which tend to cause mobility of agricultural workers.

1. Increasing population.
2. Crop reduction.
3. Mechanization.
4. Specific crop conditions which demand a heavy labor supply during the harvest season.

All of these items result in mobility of population. Since the range of modern transportation is considerably extended by good roads and modern means of conveyance an increasing amount of this mobility results in crossing State lines. Obviously not all of these migrants are destitute citizens. On the other hand, economic poverty is well known to be a primary cause of much rural mobility. Once on the road available resources may soon be depleted and reliance on relief the only alternative. Greater ease in qualifying for relief in the home locality has sometimes acted as a deterrent to distant migrations although this is probably partially offset by rumors of jobs or higher relief rates elsewhere.

In dealing with migration it is necessary to keep in mind two general types of migrants, the confirmed migratory-casual laborer and the depression migrant. Depression migrants are more numerous in the South and also probably provide relatively greater relief problems.

Basically, migration represents population movement in response to real or imagined differences in opportunity. In periods of prosperity this fact is never questioned. Migration in good times is obviously the response to a greater opportunity in some community other than the one of residence. In periods of depression, however, the opportunities of prosperous times, and particularly the economic opportunities, approach the vanishing point in all communities. Nevertheless, relative opportunity remains the motive force back of depression migration, even though the response on the part of the migrant was largely the result of comparing the fact of no opportunity in the place of residence with the hope of some opportunity in another community.[1]

The following discussion illustrates how increased population, acreage reduction and mechanization influence the movement of rural population.

INCREASING POPULATION

Birth rates in the rural South are well known to be among the highest in the country; and as pointed out by the National Resources Committee, the Southeast is a principal area of population replacement for the rest of the country. Prior to 1930, migration drained off most of the increase in southern population, but these people are now confronted with unemployment in the cities and the absence of an agricultural frontier. Even if normal migration were resumed, the National Resources Committee computes that the resulting adjustment would still leave a hypothetical 4 or 5 million surplus population in the Southern States.[2]

The relation of this population pressure situation to migration may possibly best be illustrated by the actual case of a Mississippi family.

Mr. M, now past 65, emigrated from Nebraska to Covington County, Mississippi, as a young man of 20. Shortly after marriage, his wife, who was the daughter of a pioneer settler in the area, inherited 47 acres of land. On this they built a home and reared a family of 5 boys and 4 girls. The eldest child is now 40 and the youngest 16. Of the 47 acres in their farm, 30 are now in cultivation.

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[1] John N. Webb and Malcolm Brown, Migrant Families, Research Monograph XVIII, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D. C.

[2] For further discussion along this line, see Harold Hoffsommer, Human Relations in the Changing Conditions of Southern Agriculture, a paper presented before the Southern Agricultural Workers, February 1940, Birmingham, Ala. In process of publication at Louisiana State University Experiment Station, University, La.

Mr. M came to this section with a good knowledge of farming, and although industrious he has had some difficulty in making a living, obviously partially because of his large family. At the present time he has a mortgage of $800 on his farm, which will hardly be paid off during his lifetime. He and his wife, however, are getting along rather well, but it is their five grown sons who create the problem. The father is getting old and needs help of one of these sons on the farm, but the other four are either largely out of work or dependent upon casual employment and relief. The farm income is insufficient to support them, and yet there seems to be no other definite occupation for which they are fitted or regular jobs available. So far as the local farming situation is concerned, the county agent reports that there are already a third too many farmers in the county.

John, the eldest boy, worked on the farm as an unpaid family worker until James, the next eldest, was large enough to work. John then secured a job as clerk in the large sawmill nearby and remained there until 1930, when the mill "cut out"—to use a local expression—and his job ended. He has been largely unemployed since, with only occasional employment on the Works Progress Administration.

James, the next son, married young and continued to farm and rear a family of his own, which necessitated George, next in line, to move out earlier. George managed to enroll in the C. C. C. and remained there until his age made him ineligible. He was stationed in California, and after a brief stay at home in an effort to become readjusted after his discharge, hitchhiked back to California and is among those unemployed there at present. His father has just received a letter that he will be back soon and requests that he help him find something to do.

Walter, next in line, after finishing high school, went to Hattiesburg, Miss., and lived with a sister who had married a mechanic in an auto-repair shop. He has never married and does odd jobs, painting, carpentering, etc., and manages to get along.

Clyde stayed on the farm his required time and just this past year entered the C. C. C., leaving the old gentleman with the youngest boy, who is now 16 and who will in all probability help his father through his last days.

The three girls, Myrtle, Kate, and Grace, all married well and live in Hattiesburg, a neighboring city. None of them married farmers.

Mr. M has always taken an active part in the local church and school, and his family is regarded and respected as being one of the fine families of the community. All of the children attended high school.

This situation, on the level of individual family experience, illustrates the impact of an increasing population on the means of living in an area of limited agricultural, industrial, or other employment resources.

ACREAGE REDUCTION

No figures are available showing the total effect of the acreage reduction on mobility. There is considerable evidence, however, that a large number of cropper and tenant families have been affected. Some of these have moved to distant points outside of their former States of residence. Others have moved to nearby villages and now obtain their livelihood from relief and seasonal labor. The following case illustrates the situation of a Louisiana cotton farm.

This farm has 115 acres of cropland and supported seven colored tenant families up until the period of cotton acreage control. The farm is now farmed by four tenant families. The circumstances under which each of the tenants moved off was explained in detail to me by the landlord. All of the families had lived on the farm for a number of years and the landlord knew intimately the characteristics and working abilities of each. Naturally some of these families were more suitable for the job than others. Thus when acreage was reduced and it became desirable to have fewer families on the farm the landlord made it easy for the less efficient tenants to leave. These tenants were not evicted, and under other circumstances their leaving would fit perfectly into the pattern of mobility as found generally among these people.

Of the three families who discontinued their former status with their landlord, one was that of an old Negro, too old to work satisfactorily. He is now permitted to live, rent free, in the same cabin that he has occupied for a number of years and receives old-age assistance from the parish welfare agency. This old man owes the landlord approximately $300 on back credit and furnish, but since he now has no way of earning money the landlord has little expectancy of collecting the debt. It is quite agreeable to the landlord for this man and his aging wife to occupy the house since there is no other use for it.

The case of the second tenant who discontinued his relation to the landlord is of a different nature. This man had certain family troubles and in the end separated from his wife. During the process, however, the family was broken up to such an extent that it did not constitute a suitable labor unit to do the work necessary to maintain the farm. As a result the family moved off. Since leaving the farm this man has made a suitable marital adjustment and is getting along satisfactorily on a neighboring farm.

The third tenant who has discontinued his relation to this farm simply came to the conclusion that he could make more and would rather work for the W. P. A. than remain on the farm. He is now taking his chances on supporting himself and family from relief employment.

Obviously the above account does not furnish all of the details that one might wish to know regarding the attitudes of landlord and tenants in the separations of these families from the land. But several points are fairly clear. The landlord was convinced that the amount of cotton acreage which would have been available to each of his seven tenants after the introduction of the control program was not sufficient to support them. They would have averaged 6 acres of cotton per family, which he maintained was not enough to support a family. Consequently he looked for some way to relieve the situation. This was accomplished as explained above.

The pertinent facts are that 10 years ago there were 7 tenant families gaining a living off of these acres—now there are 4. It is inaccurate to say that these families have been displaced since one of them has retired and another is on a neighboring farm. The significant thing is that they are not being replaced. If such were the case there might conceivably be room for some of the sons mentioned in the previous illustration. But this landlord and thousands more like him are not making replacements.

MECHANIZATION

The relation of farm mechanization to labor displacement has been widely discussed. In a study now being carried on at the Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, 120 landlords from all parts of the State commented on the question: What effect will the use of tractors and other labor-saving machinery have on leasing arrangements? The replies were classified as follows:

	Number	Percent
Total	120	100.0
No effect	43	35.8
No effect if handled right	6	5.0
Result in more tenants	4	3.3
Result in less tenants	47	39.2
Help the owners only	1	0.8
Help the tenants only	0	0.0
Help both owner and tenant	12	10.0
No effect on small farms but would displace tenants on large farms	2	1.7
Other remarks, not classified	5	4.2

It should be noted that the question does not specifically inquire into the matter of tenant displacement. Nevertheless nearly 40 percent of those replying volunteered the information that increasing mechanization would decrease the number of tenants.

Typical comments of landlords were as follows:

(1) Bossier Parish: "If I did not have my Negroes on place that has been with me for a number of years I would prefer to work the place by tractor and hire the labor as I need it but I will keep my Negroes as long as they wish to remain on place."

(2) West Carroll Parish: "Mechanized farming will tend to displace tenants and cause landowners to use day laborers."

(3) Caddo Parish: "I was fortunate in my decision to change from sharecropper to day-labor basis in 1933. Since that time I have greatly improved the general condition of my farm and have been able to run it on a business-like basis. I furnish homes and equipment for my day laborers and pay off every Saturday. I have found that the average Negro farm laborer is far better satisfied if he receives cash every Saturday."

"Any business (including farming) must take advantage of anything that tends to lower the cost of production if they expect to operate at a profit. My experience with tractors has been very satisfactory and I believe that tractors will soon replace mules on the larger plantations; 1 tractor and driver will replace about 10 mules and 5 men."

A certain amount of insight into the detail of just who these people are who have recently become separated from their usual relation to the land may be gotten from a study, now in process of publication, of 500 of these families now living in northeast Louisiana.[3]

The 500 families interviewed probably represent a fair cross section of those families who became separated from plantation activity during the period 1930–38. The purpose of the study was to find out who these people were and how they are now making a livelihood. In actually carrying out the study, however, it was found practically impossible to sample in relative numbers the families who were unemployed, working on W. P. A., those who had gotten industrial or other types of jobs, and those who had gone to other sections of the county in search of work. On the other hand, the greatest single congregation of these families was found to be on the edges of the upper Mississippi Delta where settlement had taken place on cut-over timberland in tracts averaging around 40 acres each. After considerable investigation it would appear that these families are representative in the main of all those families who became separated from Louisiana and Mississippi cotton farms during the period 1930–38.

Certain pertinent facts stand out with respect to these families who have become separated from their usual relation to the land. In the first place although the bulk of these families had last lived within and immediately surrounding the area in which settlement took place, 62 of them came from Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas. Of those from Louisiana more than three-fourths came from the Mississippi Delta and an additional number (20) from the Red River Valley. Less than one-fourth came from the hill section of the State.

An interesting situation is observed in studying the location of the last plantation of the families migrating from Mississippi. In the light of the fact that the Mississippi River presents a tangible barrier to the migration of these people, it can be seen that the counties from which the families migrated group themselves somewhat about a point of entrance into Louisiana. The main gateways are the ferry just below Greenville in Washington County, the bridge at Vicksburg in Warren County, and the ferry at Natchez in Adams County.

Somewhat similar to the above situation, the counties in Arkansas from which migrants came are located adjacent or near to the Louisiana parishes of settlement.

The period of residence on the last farm of residence indicates something further of the general pattern of mobility among these families. The average period of residence was 3.6 years; 3.5 years for the whites and 4.1 for colored. Although of the total group more than three-fourths had remained on the last farm of residence 4 years or less, it is also significant that 5 percent of these families had been on these farms 9 or more years. In the case of the Negroes this percentage advanced to 12. Former croppers stayed on the previous plantation for relatively shorter periods than the higher tenure groups. The data also indicate that these croppers had usually moved, during their farm experience, more often than those of higher tenure status and that the whites in all tenure classes had moved more frequently than the Negroes.

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[3] Harold Hoffsommer, New Ground Farmers in the Mississippi River Delta, A Social Study of 500 Former Cotton Tenants and Croppers. In process of publication by the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D. C.

Of equal importance with horizontal or spatial mobility of the settler is vertical mobility, the movement of individuals from one position to another in social and/or economic status. One indication of vertical mobility is change in tenure status.

Of the 500 settlers interviewed, two-thirds were formerly croppers (65.2 percent), the remainder share and cash tenants, the latter comprising 6 percent. Negroes had been croppers to an even greater percent (73), and had been cash renters to a substantially less degree (3).

The large bulk of the heads of the 500 families are in the age group 35 to 54. These make up nearly 25 percent of the male population which is in excess of the male population of these age groups in the Delta parishes as a whole.

Taking the whole group together one of its most striking features is its youth. The age groups under 20, both male and female, make up a disproportionate part of the population pyramid. This group contains 53 percent of the male and 49 percent of the females. Similar age groups in the Delta parishes as a whole contain 41 percent and 42 percent respectively of the population.

Roughly, four out of five of these families are white. This shows a disproportionate number of whites as compared with the region. It could not be maintained that this represents an absolutely correct ratio of white and colored among these families but it is rather definite evidence that the whites are preponderant. Generally speaking, the average cotton farmer prefers colored to white croppers and tenants, which might, in some measure, account for this situation.

Of the 500 families studied only 22 were broken families, that is, either husband or wife absent. The fertility ratios for this group and for the Delta parishes as a whole show little difference. There are, however, significant racial differences. The fertility ratio for the white families of the cut-over area is higher than that for the white families of the Delta, while the fertility ratio of the Negro families is lower than that of the Negro families of the Delta parishes as a whole. The white fertility ratio for the Delta parishes is 717.3 as compared with 446.0 for the Negroes.

In general these families are slightly smaller than for the area in general. This might be expected, however, from their lower fertility ratio and the relatively young age grouping. Sixteen percent of the households are composed of but two members, with a relative preponderance in this group among the Negroes. Thirty-five percent of the families have three or fewer members. Large families are rare, only 5 percent have 8 or more members. These large families are relatively more frequent among the whites than among the Negroes.

The educational status of these families leaves much to be desired although it would appear that they compare rather favorably with the corresponding population in the area. As compared with the laborers, croppers, and tenants in the sugar area of Louisiana, these families appear to have had somewhat better opportunities. Of the male heads of laborers, croppers and tenant families in the sugar area, nearly one-half had received no formal education as compared with only 16 percent for the family heads in the group here under consideration.

The disparity between the white and Negro heads is fairly wide, only 6 percent of the whites never having attended school as compared with 57 percent of the Negroes; 43.7 percent of all the settlers, men and women, have either never attended school or have not passed beyond the third grade. This group includes nearly a third of the whites and almost all of the Negroes.

New ground farming in the Mississippi River delta represents one of several means by which families who have been unsuccessful as tenants or croppers on other farms are attempting to make a new adjustment. Most of these people are relatively young, have had no experience other than farming and have migrated only a short distance. The bulk of them are white and there are exceedingly few broken homes. They have come to the new ground farms from larger farms on which they were for the most part sharecroppers. A number of them had been laborers at a previous period in their careers but none reported the status of laborer immediately prior to settling on the new ground. The presumption here is that agricultural wage laborers, either part or full time, would hardly attempt such a difficult task as clearing and breaking new ground so long as some support was available from their old jobs. The new ground settlers have made a clean break with their previous agricultural connection. For most of them there was no alternative. They knew of nowhere else to turn. Few had any managerial experience; few had cash for a down payment on the land, not to mention the means for living. With mounting interest and the general uncertainties of their agricultural situation their task is indeed difficult. They are, however, a relatively young group and probably of more than average initiative, else they would hardly try such a hard task. In view of their attempt to help themselves, as contrasted with such a large proportion of the disadvantaged who rely on others, it would seem that every aid and encouragement which may be extended to them would be well placed.

So far the discussion has dealt with the general changes in agricultural conditions which give rise to migration. It remains to show the relation of migration to specific crop needs. The volume and distance of migration of harvest labor is contingent not only upon the specific labor needs of a given crop or locality but also on the availability of a labor supply in that locality.

It has already been stated that the South is faced with a problem of excess population. Many agricultural workers, unable to maintain their conventional relation to the land because of acreage reduction or mechanized farming have moved to nearby villages where they constitute an available labor supply for harvest season labor for the surrounding area. It would seem therefore that increasing mechanization need not result in any great increase in migratory casual workers but might be expected to result in more short range commuting from villages to surrounding farming areas during the rush seasons. Although quantitative data are unavailable, recent visits to the Mississippi delta incline the writer to the belief that cotton growers are increasingly depending for their pickers on the laborers residing in nearby villages. Most of these laborers are Negroes and Negroes for the most part have not entered the streams of migratory-casual laborers in the South. Cane growers in the Louisiana sugar bowl have long since depended on a fairly local labor supply for the cane-cutting period.

LABOR DEMAND IN SUGARCANE FARMING (LOUISIANA)

The work on a sugarcane plantation may be roughly divided into four seasons:[4] (1) The planting season which is centered about the period from the middle of September to the middle of October; (2) the cultivating season which extends from February to about July 1; (3) the general farm work season after the crop has been "laid by" extending from July 1 to early October. This period is largely taken up with general work about the farm, ditching, and draining, gathering corn, cutting hay, hauling in wood and the preparation of the land for fall planting; (4) the grinding or cutting season, sometimes referred to as the "rush" season, extends roughly from the middle of October to the first of the year. During this period it is necessary for the farm operator to bring in a considerable amount of outside help for the purpose of harvesting his crop. The time for harvesting the crop is limited by the general nature of the seasons but the normal harvesting period is often interrupted by untimely frosts and rains.

The sugarcane farm is conducted largely on a laborer basis, that is to say, laborers residing in "quarters" on the farm. These are referred to as resident laborers. Many of the farms have tenants and share croppers, but the prevailing method of conducting the plantation is on the labor basis. Of a total of 1,086 families (exclusive of owners and special workers) living on 100 farms farms studied, 83 percent were resident laborers, 3 percent sharecroppers, and 14 percent tenants.

Some of the chief reasons given by planters for preferring the resident laborer type of farm organization were that resident laborers are better workers, more dependable, and that they are more accessible for work when needed than other types of laborers and tenants.

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[4] The following statement on the general organization of the sugarcane farm is adapted from the author's bulletin, The Sugar Cane Farm, A Social Study of Labor and Tenancy, Louisiana Bulletin No. 320. Other phases of the subject will be dealt with in forthcoming bulletins now in preparation entitled, "The Resident Laborer on the Sugar Cane Farm and Seasonal Sugar Cane Laborers."

A major consideration, therefore, on the sugar plantation is the resident laborer, whose position is somewhat analogous to that of the sharecropper on the cotton plantation. In contrast to the sharecropper, however, the resident laborer is paid wages rather than a share of the crop and works on the sugar plantation at large rather than on an acreage assigned particularly to him. He normally receives certain perquisites from his landlord such as house, garden space, wood, and use of team for plowing his garden and hauling wood much the same as the cotton sharecropper. In distinction to the dispersed dwellings of the cotton croppers, however, the resident laborers' dwellings typically form a group of houses at some convenient location on the plantation, usually near the sugar mill if the plantation has such.

In addition to resident laborers, the plantation operator must also utilize nonresident or independent laborers during the cutting season. These he procures from rather close around, but in some instances it is necessary on the larger plantations to import laborers by truck from neighboring parishes or even from a neighboring State. The nonresident laborers may be classed in two groups: Those who own their homes and those who do not. Roughly, two-thirds own their own homes and commonly have a small garden plot in connection. It is this group which forms the mainstay and most constant supply of seasonal labor for the farms, reporting back as they do to the same farms year after year to work during the harvest season. In some instances, the farm owner takes a certain amount of responsibility for these laborers during the off-seasons but this practice is not typical. The relative stability of this source of seasonal labor is indicated by the average length of residence in their present houses, which for the home owners was 16 years and for the nonowners, 5 years. Roughly, only 3 percent of the 303 laborers in the present sample had ever had a farming tenure status other than that of laborer.

In general, the labor demand is heaviest in the last 3 months of the year which constitutes the harvest season. It is lightest in the summer months of July, August, and September just preceding the harvest season. This slack season is the period after which the cane has been laid by.

Roughly speaking, the demand is three times greater in December, the busiest month, than in July and August, the slackest months.

As a general thing, the farmers who grow sugarcane almost exclusively and have very little need for labor during certain seasons make a special effort during these slack seasons to give their resident laborers at least a day or two of work each week even though some of this work may not be particularly necessary at the time. For this reason it is probable that the variations in demand for labor in sugarcane, so far as the actual needs of the crop are concerned, have even a greater fluctuation than these data would seem to indicate. For the most part, resident laborers on a sugar farm work only on that particular farm. Only 7 out of the 75 owners reporting stated that any of their resident laborers worked elsewhere during any part of the year. Since the slack season occurs at the same time for all farms, naturally it would be difficult for field laborers to secure work elsewhere during this period.

Roughly one-half of the total days of labor were concentrated in the three harvest months of October, November, and December.

It has already been pointed out that a part of the labor used in the production of sugarcane resided off the farm. These nonresident laborers contributed roughly one-third of the total days of labor during the year. Their greatest contribution was during the harvest season. During the months of October, November, and December more than one-half of the days of labor were contributed by nonresident laborers.

This dropped to less than 10 percent for the months of January and February, with July and August showing 11 and 13 percent, respectively.

The above figures include members of both races, females and children. Of the total number of days worked, 82 percent were contributed by men, 15 percent by women, and 3 percent by children.

Obviously the demand for resident labor is much steadier than that for nonresident. As has been already pointed out, nonresident laborers are brought in largely for work during the grinding season. Resident laborers, on the farm the year around, put in more days during this season, but their labor is distributed more evenly over the entire year. It should be understood that in the case of the resident laborers the operator maintains the same number throughout the year, but that during the slack season the employment given them is at minimum, and since they are paid by the day their earnings fluctuate accordingly. August is the lightest month and December the heaviest, the former affording 6.6 percent of the resident days for the year and the latter 11.7 percent.

Roughly three-fourths of all nonresident labor employed is employed during the months of October, November, and December with employment reaching its peak in November. More than 25 percent of the total days of nonresident labor is employed during that month as contrasted with less than 2 percent in each of the months of July and August. Other than the grinding season the greatest demand for nonresident laborers comes during the cultivating season in the months of March, April, and May, but this demand is relatively light.

One-half of the nonresident laborers came from a distance of 5 or less miles. Larger growers tended to get relatively more laborers from distances over 10 miles. Only 3 out of 89 growers stated that they went outside of the State to get any of their nonresident laborers.

A study of more than 300 of these independent laborers living in and close around the Sugar Bowl area show that they do a variety of jobs during the interim between cane-cutting seasons. On the other hand it would appear that they made considerably more at cane cutting than at any of the other jobs. They reported living an average distance of only a mile and a half from the cane fields where they worked and reported no jobs more than 3 miles from home. Practically all of them were Negroes. Other day-wage jobs reported by these laborers were, in the order of their frequency: hoeing and plowing cane, cane-factory work, hauling cane, direct and work relief, harvesting corn, cutting rice, ditching, picking moss, cutting hay, clearing land, various jobs in town, derrick work, picking cotton, digging potatoes, grassing rice, making railroad ties, cleaning yards, railroad work, construction work, sawmill work, and hoeing cotton. More than three-fourths of the planters obtained their harvest-season laborers through personal search.

One of the most persistent problems in the Sugar Bowl is that of providing sufficient year-round employment to support the labor population in the area.

INTERSTATE MIGRATION OF LOUISIANA STRAWBERRY PICKERS

Strawberry production is highly seasonal and demands a disproportionate labor supply during the picking season. In the Hammond, La., area this season lasts for about 6 weeks during the months of March to May. There are roughly 3,500 strawberry farms in the area with a total estimated labor demand of 17,000 pickers during the harvest season. Probably 7,000 of these pickers are supplied by the operator's family, the remaining 10,000 being hired from the outside. These figures must be interpreted as tentative since the seasons vary greatly from year to year and also since accurate data on the total labor demand are unavailable. Estimating from a sample study during the harvest season of 1939 it would appear that during a normally good strawberry season, from 1,500 to 2,500 laborers are imported into this area from outside the State for harvesting the crop. Of these roughly one-half come from across the line in nearby Mississippi.

During the 1939 picking season, 52 growers in the Hammond area were interviewed with respect to their labor supply. These 52 producers hired a total of 304 workers some hiring as high as 20 laborers at one time. Of the total 304 workers, 48 or 16 percent came from States other than Louisiana. Twenty percent resided locally in the county in which they were working and the remaining 65 percent came from adjoining counties in Louisiana. The employers of 37 of these laborers reporting on the method by which they had made contact with the laborers stated that three-fourths of them had been contacted by personal search of the employer and the remaining one-fourth had applied at the farm for work. In most instances where the growers sought out their laborers personally the laborers came from the adjoining State of Mississippi.

More detailed information as to the identity of these laborers was secured through interviews with 87 of the out-of-State laborers themselves. Roughly, one-half of these, 39, gave Mississippi as their permanent residence. Residents from other States in the order of their numbers were Alabama and Arkansas with 8 each, Missouri, Texas, Kentucky, Tennessee, California, Georgia, North Carolina, Kansas, Florida, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Washington, and Wisconsin. One had no permanent address.

The color of the out of State laborers was roughly equally divided, 40 of the 87 being Negro. More than 9 out of 10 of the Negro workers, however, come from the neighboring State of Mississippi and do not in this sense qualify as migrants. Of the 47 out-of-State white laborers, only 2 came from Mississippi, the remainder coming from more distant States. The long-distance migrants therefore are composed almost entirely of white people.

Three out of four of these migrants had no families with them. Of those who had families along all but one reported that one or more members other than the head worked for wages. For those families with other than the head working, the average additional workers was two, with five additional workers the largest number reported. Roughly, one-half of the heads with families reported nonworkers in these families but, as indicated above, these families also included additional workers save in one case.

Less than 1 out of 15 of the migrants reported dependents at home. It is fairly obvious therefore that these workers are a relatively foot-loose group, Where there were families there was nearly without exception more than 1 worker.

The total number of States in which these laborers had worked from January 1938 to March 1939, the time of the interview, varied from two to five. One out of three stated that they followed the same route of work each year. This suggests that the patterns of migration of this group are not very definitely set. Many of them are young people without a previous occupational history and appear to be traveling about to see the country as much as anything else.

Most of them expect to settle down in the future. Several stated that they purposely did not follow the same route each year because they wished to see more of the country. However, some of the older workers appear to be real migrant laborers, following the crops and sticking to the same route year after year, several reporting that they had been doing this for as much as 10 years.

The occupational background of these people is extremely varied. Many of them have had a great variety of jobs and it is difficult to classify them in any one occupation. It would appear, however, that roughly 4 out of 10 have definitely followed agricultural occupations most of their lives. Three reported that they had been owners, 2 tenants, 10 croppers, and 20 farm laborers. In the case of the croppers a part of them were cropping that year and only working away from their crop during the off season. On the other hand, some of these agricultural workers seem to have been displaced from their regular agricultural connection through mechanization and several reported restricted cotton acreage as the cause of their displacement.

The occupational background of the other than agriculturalists varies very greatly. The following are illustrations: Bell hop, machinist, cowboy, railway laborer, truck driver, ship carpenter, tailor, longshoreman, sawmill laborer, teacher, industrial worker, carpenter's helper, textile worker, steel worker, and fisherman.

Of the total group of workers 1 out of 7 stated that they did not expect to settle down anywhere permanently. Many of them seem to be pessimistic as to their possibilities and therefore have adopted a fatalistic attitude. They live from day to day, realizing that their condition is unsatisfactory but feeling helpless to improve it; 1 out of 12 of these workers had a relief history.

COTTON PICKERS IN THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER DELTA

The data herewith presented were gathered largely in Concordia Parish, La. The labor conditions in this parish are assumed to be typical of those for the delta section along the Mississippi River in the States of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Arkansas. A total of 27 plantation operators and 254 of their farm laborers were personally interviewed during the month of September 1937. Of the 254 farm-labor schedules secured, 244 were Negro.

The large cotton plantations continue today in the same areas of Concordia Parish that had large slave holdings and large cotton plantations in 1860. The Negro slaves who formerly worked most of the plantation land have been replaced by the Negro and white wage hands and tenant farmers.

More than 90 percent of the farm laborers were born either in Louisiana or across the line in Mississippi. Fewer were 65 years of age or over than in the total Negro population of the parish or the Negro population of the State and more of the laborers were from 20 to 34 years than in these other classifications.

Slightly over half of the Negro farm laborers had dependents, the average number for the whole group being 1.2. Of those who had dependents the average number was twice as large, or 2.4. The separated families had the largest number of dependents while the widowed and single groups had the smallest. Using the number of dependents as a rough index to the size of family, it appears that Negro farm laborers have neither large families nor a disproportionately high fertility. More than one-half of the Negro children between the ages of 10 and 14 were working, although the average contribution to the households for all dependents was less than $20. One-fifth of the children between 5 and 9 years of age were working.

The Negro farm-laborer family derives its total income from several sources. In 33 percent of the cases other members of the household contributed to the total income, 40 percent received a part of their income from sharecropping, 29 percent received a part from nonagricultural labor, and 12 percent a part from direct and work relief. The total average cash income for Negro males from all sources and including the earnings of dependents was $178. One-half of them made $150 or less, a third from $150 to $200, and the remainder (15 percent) upward of $250. The laborers in the higher total income brackets receive a greater percentage of their income from nonagricultural sources than those earning the lower incomes. In general, it appears that a minimum only is made from agricultural labor. Additional income must come from elsewhere. The larger portion of the laborers had an income of less than $150 from agriculture. The laborers who had been on either direct or work relief during the past year received twice as much of their total income from relief as from agricultural employment. Of the total reporting, 72 percent received perquisites of one kind or another.

The majority of the Negro laborers obtained their jobs by personal search. None reported using an employment agency. The majority of operators also reported obtaining their laborers by personal search or by sending an employee to recruit them. The time and the expense lost by both laborers and operators would be appreciably reduced were there a coordination of placement facilities in this area.

The amount of labor employed on the cotton plantations fluctuates markedly from season to season. During the slackest months the number of laborers employed averaged 6 per plantation while during the busiest months it rose to 40. Because of cotton picking, the month of September offers nearly 7 times as much employment to hired laborers as the other months. The crop season offers about one-fourth as much employment as the harvest season.

The cotton plantations offer approximately 26 weeks of employment during the crop and harvest season. The average length of harvest employment was 10 weeks, and crop season employment 16 weeks. The Negro farm laborers had held on the average of two wage-paid jobs during the preceding year.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF WHITE FARM LABOR CONDITIONS IN COVINGTON COUNTY, MISS., 1940

Covington County is located in the south central section of Mississippi and is representative in general of the cut-over area of the State.

E. R. Seminary, R. F. D., 26 years old, his wife, 17 years, and a baby, 8 months, lived in a house rent free. He walks 2 miles morning and evening and draws $15 per month as wage hand. He furnishes his own living.

J. S., single, 22 years of age, works for D. C. as wage hand and draws $10 per month. He is furnished a bed and meals.

O. H., single and 17 years of age, works for H. G. as wage hand and draws $8 per month. He is furnished bed and meals.

J. G., 30 years of age, single, works for W. M. and receives $10 per month and board. He lives with a brother who furnishes him a place to stay.

TESTIMONY OF DR. HAROLD HOFFSOMMER—Resumed

Mr. **Parsons.** I read Dr. Hoffsommer's statement with a great deal of interest and I wish to state for the record that he has covered two or three phases of the problem very well. Your paper, I think, is a splendid contribution to the committee. There may be one or two of the members here that have not had an opportunity to read it carefully, and I would like to have you summarize your statement for the benefit of the full committee.

Dr. Hoffsommer. The information which I have that might be properly applied to the problems of interstate migration of destitute citizens falls under several broad headings:

CAUSES OF MIGRATION

A. Changing agricultural conditions which tend to cause mobility of agricultural workers.

1. Increasing population.
2. Crop reduction.
3. Mechanization.

Now, with respect to those three points, I have attempted to treat the matter of increasing population on the level of the individual family. I don't believe that I have anything to add to what Dr. Vance very ably gave this morning, excepting I do take a typical Mississippi family and show what happened to the children in that particular family.

Mr. Parsons. I think that might be of interest if you would illustrate that case for us.

Dr. Hoffsommer. I have discussed that under the heading of Increasing Population.

Birth rates in the rural South are well known to be among the highest in the country; and as pointed out by the National Resources Committee, the Southeast is a principal area of population replacement for the rest of the country. Prior to 1930 migration drained off most of the increase in southern population, but these people are now confronted with unemployment in the cities and the absence of an agricultural frontier.

Even if normal migration were resumed, the National Resources Committee computes that the resulting adjustment would still leave a hypothetical four or five million surplus population in the Southern States.

A SPECIFIC EXAMPLE

The relation of this population pressure situation to migration may possibly best be illustrated by the actual case of a Mississippi family.

Mr. M, now past 65, immigrated from Nebraska to Covington County, Miss., as a young man of 20. Shortly after marriage, his wife, who was the daughter of a pioneer settler in the area, inherited 47 acres of land. On this they built a home and reared a family of 5 boys and 4 girls. The eldest child is now 40 and the youngest 16. Of the 47 acres in their farm, 30 are now in cultivation.

Mr. M came to this section with a good knowledge of farming, and, although industrious, he has had some difficulty in making a living, obviously partially because of his large family. At the present time he has a mortgage of $800 on his farm, which will hardly be paid off during his lifetime. He and his wife, however, are getting along rather well, but it is their five grown sons who create the problem.

The father is getting old and needs the help of one of these sons on the farm, but the other four are either largely out of work or dependent upon casual employment and relief. The farm income is insufficient to support them and yet there seems to be no other definite occupation for which they are fitted or regular jobs available. So far as the local farming situation is concerned, the county agent reports that there are already a third too many farmers in the county.

John, the eldest boy, worked on the farm as an unpaid family worker until James, the next eldest, was large enough to work. John then secured a job as clerk in a large sawmill nearby and remained there until 1930 when the mill "cut out"—to use a local expression—and his job ended. He has been largely unemployed since with only occasional employment on the Works Progress Administration.

James, the next son, married young and continued to farm and rear a family of his own which necessitated George, next in line, to move out earlier. George managed to enroll in the C. C. C. and remained there until his age made him ineligible. He was stationed in California and after a brief stay at home in an effort to become readjusted after his discharge, hitchhiked back to California and is among those unemployed there at present. His father has just received a letter that he will be back soon and requests that he help him find something to do.

Walter, next in line, after finishing high school, went to Hattiesburg, Miss., and lived with a sister who had married a mechanic in an auto repair shop. He has never married and does odd jobs, painting, carpentering, etc., and manages to get along.

Clyde stayed on the farm his required time and just this past year entered the C. C. C., leaving the old gentleman there with the youngest boy, who is now 16 and who will in all probability help his father through his last days.

The three girls, Myrtle, Kate, and Grace, all married well and live in Hattiesburg, a neighboring city. None of them married farmers.

Mr. M. has always taken an active part in the local church and school, and his family is regarded and respected as being one of the fine families of the community. All of the children attended high school.

This situation, on the level of individual family experience, illustrates the impact of an increasing population on the means of living in an area of limited agricultural, industrial, or other employment resources.

Mr. PARSONS. Is that illustrative case typical of hundreds of thousands of families in the southeastern region?

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. I think it is typical in the sense that the children don't know exactly what to do. The size of the family is not typical. It is an extraordinarily large family, but it is good for illustrative purposes. Smaller families are up against the same thing.

Mr. PARSONS. I notice one or two other typical cases of family groups.

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. Yes, sir.

A STUDY OF FARM MECHANIZATION

Mr. PARSONS. Your statement with reference to mechanization impressed me particularly. Would you care to elaborate upon that question of mechanization? I understand that you are making an extensive study of that question and that a report will be made later on but I thought that you might have some pertinent figures at the present time that you could give to the committee.

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. The study, as indicated, is not completed. I would be glad to reiterate the figures which I have already put into the record for the benefit of the committee.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you expect that study to be completed and the report finished this fall, Doctor?

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. Yes, sir; it will be finished some time in the winter.

Mr. PARSONS. Will you see to it that the committee has a copy of that when it is completed?

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. Yes, sir; I shall.

Mr. PARSONS. It will be a very fine contribution to the committee, I am sure. You may proceed with your discussion of mechanization.

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. The relation of farm mechanization to labor displacement has been widely discussed. In a study now being carried on at the Louisiana Agricultural Experiment Station, 120 landlords from all parts of the State commented on the question: What effect will the use of tractors and other labor-saving machinery have on leasing arrangements? The replies were classified as follows: No effect, 35.8 percent; no effect if handled right, 5 percent; result in more tenants, 5 percent; result in less tenants, 39.2 percent.

There are several other classifications of very small percentages which I will omit.

It should be noted that the question does not specifically inquire into the matter of tenant displacement. Nevertheless, nearly 40 percent of those replying volunteered the information that increasing mechanization would decrease the number of tenants.

Mr. PARSONS. What percentage would be your guess, from your studies that you have made, that mechanization will displace farm labor?

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. What percentage of the total number of present laborers would be displaced?

Mr. PARSONS. Yes, sir.

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. I would not like to attempt to make a statement on that. I could refer to one or two studies that have been attempted on that subject in order to make a statement in regard thereto; one, a study made by Mr. Thibodeaux, of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, on the mechanization in the Delta area is a very good statement on that subject. The effect of mechanization, of course, is difficult to determine since it takes place under varying conditions and degrees of intensity.

Mr. PARSONS. Some statement was issued by a foundation that was making a study of this problem last year that during the period 1929 to 1939 the farm labor, manpower had been displaced to the extent of 41 percent by mechanization. Now, that is a very high percentage—even if it is half that much, even if it is only 20 or 22 percent, it presents a very serious unemployment problem. You would guess that it would be at least 20 percent, would you?

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. I would certainly guess it as high as that However, it would be a pure guess upon my observation which leads me to believe that it is that much.

THE PROBLEM IN THE LOUISIANA SUGAR FIELDS

Mr. PARSONS. Doctor, you have been in the sugarcane country of Louisiana, and I would like for you to touch upon that subject and discuss what employment problems they have in that locality and what problems they have in obtaining their laborers and what are the health conditions existing in that area.

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. With your permission, I will give a brief background of sugar farming as I presume many of these people here have no idea of the seasons, and so forth.

Mr. PARSONS. Very well; proceed as you see fit.

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. The work on a sugarcane plantation may be roughly divided into four seasons: First, the planting season, which is centered about the period from the middle of September to the middle of October; second, the cultivating season, which extends from February to about July 1; third, the general-farm-work season, after the farm has been "laid by," extending from July 1 to early October. This period is largely taken up with general work about the farm, ditching and draining, gathering corn, cutting hay, hauling in wood, and the preparation of the land for fall planting. Fourth, the grinding or cutting season, sometimes referred to as the "rush" season, extends roughly from the middle of October to the first of the year. During this period, it is necessary for the farm operator to bring in a considerable amount of outside help for the purpose of harvesting his crop. The time for harvesting the crop is limited by the general nature of the seasons, but the normal harvesting period is often interrupted by untimely frosts and rains.

The sugarcane farm is conducted largely on a laborer basis, that is to say, laborers residing in quarters on the farm. These are referred to as resident laborers. Many of the farms have tenants and sharecroppers, but the prevailing method of conducting the plantation is on the laborer basis. Of a total of 1,086 families (exclusive of owners and special workers) living on 100 farms studied, 83 percent were resident laborers, 3 percent sharecroppers, and 14 percent tenants.

The major consideration, therefore, on the sugar plantation is the resident laborer, whose position is somewhat analogous to that of the sharecropper on the cotton plantation. In contrast to the sharecropper, however, the resident laborer is paid wages rather than a share of the crop and works on the sugar plantation at large rather than on an acreage assigned particularly to him. He normally receives certain perquisites from his landlord, such as house, garden space, wood, and use of team for plowing his garden and hauling wood much the same as the cotton sharecropper. In distinction to the dispersed dwellings of the cotton croppers, however, the resident laborers' dwellings typically form a group of houses at some convenient location on the plantation, usually near the sugar mill if the plantation has such.

In addition to resident laborers, the plantation operators must also utilize nonresident or independent laborers during the cutting seasons. These he procures from rather close around but in some instances it is necessary on the larger plantation to import laborers by truck from neighboring parishes or even from a neighboring state. The nonresident laborers may be classed in two groups: Those who own their homes and those who do not. Roughly, two-thirds own their own homes and commonly have a small garden plot in connection.

Mr. Parsons. Do they own homes on nearby plantations?

Dr. Hoffsommer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. That is more or less the resident labor?

Dr. Hoffsommer. By resident labor, I mean those who are living on the actual plantation and who receive definite perquisites from the plantation operator; they work the year around and live there the year around.

Mr. Parsons. They spend three-fourths of the year working in the sugarcane alone.

Dr. Hoffsommer. All the work that they get they get from the sugarcane farm.

Mr. Parsons. What is the average revenue per family of that type?

Dr. Hoffsommer. I have very detailed information of that type which is published and I would refer to my publication, The Sugarcane Farm, bulletin No. 320, Louisiana Experiment Station which shows the average income for the families that we studied. I believe that it was somewhere around $250, but I would like to have that corrected by the actual figures.

Mr. Parsons. Is the house to live in, heat or food or anything else furnished to the individual laborer or individual family?

Dr. Hoffsommer. All of them have houses to live in furnished, and almost all of them have a little garden plot and a very high percentage of them receive wood and a team for doing the necessary operations in connection with their gardening and the hauling of the wood.

Mr. Parsons. If that were counted in in addition to the cash that they receive, the revenue would probably run up to as much as $350 or $400 per year, would it not?

Dr. Hoffsommer. It is very difficult to estimate the value of those perquisites. In the study that we have recently completed, the owners' valuation of the perquisites and the people who received them were very greatly different, but I presume that $75 would just about cover the situation in that regard.

Mr. PARSONS. That is furnished by the plantation owner?

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. That covers the sugar plantations. Now, in Hawaii, they have big plantations that have central points where all of their labor lives; they may be Japanese or Chinese or they may be Hawaiians, or a mixture. Now, these laborers on these large plantations over there are furnished their quarters by the plantation owners and they are equipped with electricity. It is figured that their total pay wage on a 300-day year basis was about $2.40 per day, including what is furnished them free by the plantation owner. Of course, in that case, there are a few big corporations that own practically all of the land and they take care of these croppers very economically for themselves, but after all, if it had to be paid for by the individual laborer, his house rent and other things that are furnished, it would run four or five hundred dollars per year that the company furnishes, and I assume that you have some of those conditions existing in Louisiana.

MIGRANT LABOR IN PICKING STRAWBERRIES

Now, you mentioned something about the handling of the Louisiana strawberry situation and labor and crops. Please comment on that, as to what problems it presents.

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. I may say that it is claimed, and I think that it is essentially correct, that about 40 percent of all the strawberries shipped to market come from this Hammond, La., strawberry area.

Strawberry production is highly seasonal and demands a disproportionate labor supply during the picking season. In the Hammond area, this season lasts for about 6 weeks during the months of March to May. There are roughly 3,500 strawberry farms in the area, with a total estimated labor demand of 17,000 pickers during the harvest season. Probably 7,000 of these pickers are supplied by the operators' families, the remaining 10,000 being hired from the outside. These figures must be interpreted as tentative since the seasons vary greatly from year to year, and also since accurate data on the total labor demand are unavailable. Estimating from a sample study during the harvest season of 1939, it would appear that during a normally good strawberry season, from 1,500 to 2,500 laborers are imported into this area from outside the State for harvesting the crops. Of these, roughly one-half come from across the line in nearby Mississippi.

During the 1939 picking season, 52 growers in the Hammond area were interviewed with respect to their labor supply. These 52 producers hired a total of 304 workers, some hiring as high as 20 laborers at one time.

Mr. PARSONS. What would the pay for these laborers run during the strawberry picking season?

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. I think they would make—I have got detailed information on that, but I believe that it would run about $1.50 per day.

Mr. PARSONS. How long is the season?

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. For about 6 weeks.

Mr. PARSONS. Those laborers are about 40 percent in the vicinity and about 60 percent imported, I believe you said?

Dr. Hoffsommer. Yes, sir; imported from outside; however, as to those imported from the outside, I stated about one-half of those come from the adjacent State of Mississippi, and possibly they don't come as far as they would from other sections of Louisiana.

Mr. Parsons. Are they pretty much the same people each year or of the same families or members of the same families or from the same communities that come over each year for the strawberry picking season?

Dr. Hoffsommer. Yes, sir; I think there is a good deal of repetition—that is, those who come one year, come the next. That is more true for those from the surrounding parishes than for the migrants.

Mr. Parsons. Both men and women are pickers; is that correct?

Dr. Hoffsommer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Do they present any law enforcement problem or health problem?

Dr. Hoffsommer. I have a statement here that I believe would be of interest in that connection from one of our field workers who made some comment on that subject. We haven't any real definite information. He says that health is not an acute problem among the hired farm labor according to doctors. Very little treatment is needed, but there are no great needs. Doctors' fees are low and the farmers usually bring their sick workers in to the doctor and pay the doctor's fee and then deduct the fee paid to the doctor from their wages in small amounts each week.

Mr. Parsons. Are children used in the strawberry picking fields?

Dr. Hoffsommer. Yes, sir; to quite an extent.

Mr. Parsons. Do they comply with the wages and hours law and the ages particularly with reference to the children?

Dr. Hoffsommer. I think in general they do. The children of long-range migrant workers, in such cases where they are long, are more likely to be employed than the children of local parents.

Mr. Parsons. Is any contract labor imported by contractors that contract to harvest the owner's crops for them at so much per crate and who bring in contract labor in order to do it?

Dr. Hoffsommer. It is not done exactly that way. It is largely on a personal basis. I think again that the statement of the field worker relative to that matter is interesting. I will only quote very briefly. Of course, the migrant workers enter into the picture to a certain extent but if any strawberry farmer needs additional labor it is usually made by contact with certain persons living in nearby sections with whom he has had previous contact. Briefly stated, if a farmer anticipates the need of some labor for strawberry picking he will get in touch with someone at Baton Rouge or in some other town whom he has known for several years. He gets in touch with this party just before berry picking time and he notifies this man to get a dozen or so pickers together for him and that he will come back and pick them up at a certain time.

Mr. Parsons. Are those mostly colored laborers or whites?

Dr. Hoffsommer. Most of the nearby laborers are colored but the bulk of the long-range migrants are white.

SITUATION IN LOUISIANA RICE FIELDS

Mr. Parsons. The committee has a letter from the vice president of the American Rice Growers Organization in which he replies to an invitation that was extended them to appear here, and in this letter he said that there was no problem in the rice fields relative to migratory workers and said that there was no occasion for them to appear at this hearing. Do you know of any problems in the rice fields of Louisiana?

Dr. Hoffsommer. We are now preparing to make a study of the rice labor situation, not because we believe there is any problem existing there, but simply to round out our knowledge of the labor situation in the State. So far as I know, there is not any pressing or immediate problem in connection with rice labor. The laborers who work in the rice fields also, or a great many of them, at least, work in the sugarcane crop and they also pick strawberries in the strawberry-picking season. Those three things can be handled together and they work very well in that way. Those three crops come at different seasons of the year, so some laborers have an opportunity to be profitably employed during most of the year if they can obtain work in the sugarcane, the rice, and the berry business. That would be more true if it were not for the fact that we have more laborers than we need. The migration of laborers back and forth in the State is really not very great. Most of the seasonal sugarcane laborers come from nearby. As the rice area adjoins the sugar area, there is some interchange of labor.

MECHANIZATION ON LOUISIANA FARMS

Mr. Parsons. Has the mechanical cane cutter been used much yet on the sugar plantations or in the sugar fields in Louisiana?

Dr. Hoffsommer. It seems to be in a very preliminary experimental stage. So far as I know this season it was not used to any considerable extent. I think it is something that is coming. The mechanical difficulties are fairly great in getting the thing to work properly in our section.

Mr. Parsons. How many men will one machine of that kind displace if they ever get it improved to the point to really do the work properly?

Dr. Hoffsommer I would really hesitate to say, but it would displace a great many people. The most serious aspect would be, however, that the grinding season does represent, of course, the peak labor load for the year, and if that could be cut down, it would definitely displace a great deal of labor that is being kept around there for that peak load now.

Mr. Parsons. Do they use loading machines?

Dr. Hoffsommer. Yes, sir; they are very commonly used now.

Mr. Parsons. And that displaced a number of men about 8 or 10 years ago, when they began to use them?

Dr. Hofsommer. Yes, sir; that is true.

Mr. Parsons. To me, that is one of the big problems, mechanization. Of course, you can't halt progress. We have always welcomed labor-saving machines, but there is a vast difference between labor-saving machines and labor-displacing machinery, and I think that is one of our problems at the present time.

I will compliment you on the statement that you have prepared and submitted to us, Doctor. It is a very fine statement.

SHOULD FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HELP IN LOUISIANA?

Mr. Osmers. In looking over the entire migrant situation in Louisiana, would you say that it was a satisfactory situation or that there was implied in the situation there some action necessary by the Federal Government?

Dr. Hoffsommer. Well, with respect to the sugar laborer situation, I don't believe there is anything that the Federal Government could do immediately. That is, from the standpoint of migration. The peak demand for cane cutters is rather well taken care of from the families nearby, as I have heretofore stated.

In the strawberry situation, the figures which are referred to here were taken from our survey of a year ago this picking season—it was a better picking season than this one—I went over there this year during the picking season and found not so many long-distance migrants this year as for the year before. This study was made in order to find out whether there was a need for further migratory laborers in this locality.

Mr. Osmers. Would you say that the Federal restrictions on the production of cane sugar in Louisiana have had any effect upon the sugar production or sugar prosperity in that State?

Dr. Hoffsommer. It has certainly, without doubt, had an effect upon the sugar prosperity in that State and it has made it more difficult for a great many of the laborers. I don't mean to say that the sugar labor situation in Louisiana is all rosy, but from the standpoint of migration, I think the fact that a large number of these seasonal laborers are pretty well located there and have their little homes and their little garden plots is a highly interesting development.

Mr. Osmers. At least, it is a better situation than is found in some of the other States; isn't it?

Dr. Hoffsommer. Yes, sir; I think the situation is better than that found in the cotton parishes of Louisiana.

Mr. Osmers. I believe that is all.

Mr. Curtis. I was interested in your discussion of machines displacing labor. Do you know of any studies that have been made with reference to the other side of the ledger showing what the balance is between jobs destroyed by the coming of the machine and jobs made by the coming of the machine? I am referring to the radio, television, air conditioning, filling station business and all that sort of thing. Have there been any studies made along that line?

Dr. Hoffsommer. I have read at least references to such studies, but I wouldn't be able to give the exact names of such studies to you. I haven't personally been as much interested in that particular picture as I have been from the purely farming aspect of the thing. That is a rather moot point.

Mr. **Curtis.** I think from the farm standpoint there is no question but what it has eliminated some labor.

Dr. **Hoffsommer.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons.** I want to comment on that score a little bit. When I was a youngster on a farm, that farm had 19 or 20 head of horses and mules that consumed hay and corn and oats in the wintertime when they weren't working as well as in the spring and the summertime. Today those horses and mules are all gone and in their place a tractor using gasoline and oil is found. That is one of the things that makes our big surplus in wheat and oats and corn in the real farming belts of Illinois, Iowa, Nebraska, and other places. In my part of the country, we used to send hundreds of carloads of mules south every year and in the spring we sent hundreds of thousands of tons of hay South to feed those mules. No such industry as that exists in my State any more, as you are not buying our mules and hay and corn. Mechanization has not only displaced farm labor but it has displaced the thing that used to consume so much of what we produced on the farm. That is what has made our surplus. Of course, we can't stop progress, but I think if we had a little holiday upon labor being displaced by machinery that we might get a little better hold on things sometimes. What do you think about that?

Dr. **Hoffsommer.** I would disagree with that. I wouldn't want to stop the labor-saving devices or the invention of them. I think that it is unthinkable to think along those lines. There is no question but what those things create problems but it seems to me with proper management we should be able to turn those labor-saving inventions into desirable things and we should put the emphasis on that.

Mr. **Osmers.** My feeling in that matter is quite contrary to that of the member from Illinois. I think that we should develop it to the fullest extent because, in the long run, it creates more employment, but be that as it may, would you say in your opinion that the Federal Government should attempt to regulate the displacement that occurs when some revolutionary saving device, such as the cotton picker and cane cutter, comes along—would you say that it was the duty of your Federal Government to take cognizance of such progress?

Dr. **Hoffsommer.** I don't really see how the Federal Government can avoid taking some notice of that. In another part of my report here I analyzed some of the social and economic characteristics of 500 families who have been displaced for one reason or another. This particular group of 500 families happened to be living on some new ground area, cut-over land that they have gotten from lumber companies and they are trying to become small-farm owners. That is a definite result of displacement by crop reductions or mechanizations or whatever you want to call it. Now, a great many of those people are not going to be able to make good on this new land, particularly in view of the rainy season this year. So, it does seem to me that the Federal Government should take cognizance of their situation, probably. They are either direct relief clients or should be given aid so that they can help themselves.

Mr. **Osmers.** Would you say that the Federal Government could largely follow out a subsistence homestead program to settle people who are displaced by machinery until such time as other opportunities would open up, on small subsistence farms?

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. I would favor such a plan as that myself. Now, I don't want to be misunderstood there. I don't think that is the ideal situation. The situation is that it is either direct relief for a great many of those families, or such a scheme as might come out of your suggestion; and there seems to be no other alternative; it seems that the subsistence homestead proposition holds a great deal of hope at the present time.

The CHAIRMAN. Just a question or two. You can readily see from the studies that you have made of this problem that the problem must be national or this committee has no jurisdiction—you understand that. Now, from what studies that you have made of it, do you think that it is a national problem—this migration of destitute migrant citizens going from State to State?

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. I think very definitely that it is a national problem. In the spot study data which I have presented here, excepting that concerning strawberry workers, I have not emphasized the migration aspect. But the situations described give rise to movement which frequently is between States. The problems of Missouri, Arkansas, and Oklahoma particularly have given rise to western migration. We in these States over here, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana, have very little of that westward migration. There is some of it, and it may increase, but there hasn't been a great deal of that out to California as yet.

The CHAIRMAN. But we don't know just when migration will hit Louisiana or Alabama, do we?

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. No, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. We started in in the State of New York, instead of going to California, my State, and we discovered that they had a migration problem over in the State of New Jersey. We found out that in the State of New York they had spent something like $3,000,000 in the last year for the purpose of taking care of destitute migrant citizens from other States. We found out that they had deported 5,000 such migrants and that the Court of Appeals of New York, on July 19, 1940, said that it was legal to deport an Ohio family. In the face of the Constitution, we are not arguing whether it is right or wrong. But as sure as the world, you are not only a citizen of the State of Louisiana, but under the Constitution you are a citizen of the other 47 States in our Union, are you not? For instance, in California in the last 8 years alone, 850,000 people have gone out there destitute. Suppose that 850,000 destitute people in the next 5 years should come into the State of Alabama or into the State of Louisiana. it would certainly be the concern of the National Government to see that the States of Alabama and Louisiana didn't go broke handling that situation, wouldn't it?

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. I certainly would agree to that, so far as our southern problems are concerned. Practically all of them are interstate. Excepting for strawberries and sugarcane which are largely peculiar to Louisiana, our southern crops extend across State lines. The Delta situation, for example, in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Mississippi is pretty much the same. I don't think of it as a problem of a particular State, but as the problem of the region.

The CHAIRMAN. There has been some attempt on the part of certain States to set up a barrier against the free flow of goods, and it never got anywhere, that is, for instance, coal, iron, and steel—that is protected nicely—but there are barriers against the free flow of interstate commerce of human beings—they have settlement laws running from 6 months up to 5 years, and I speak for myself when I say I would like to see if we could get some statute passed in order to protect these citizens and good people—we have got to realize that they are just good American people, the majority of them—to give them some status where they could go into some other State and not be outcasts. I think that we are on the right track if we can get at what we are trying to do here. We haven't gotten the answer so far to this problem, but we are certainly very appreciative to you for giving us your views on it. The reason that I am making these remarks to you is to tell you our objective. You can't have 4,000,000 people continuously going from State to State and after they get there be Stateless, and homeless, and friendless, unless you strike them out of the United States. They must have some status. What is your idea along that line?

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. I agree with you on that. I think that it creates quite a problem in our country, regardless of what has caused it, but since these people are in such circumstances, and some of them have started out with something and lost what they had while in transit and on the road—it does seem to me that their problems could be best solved closer to home. Just traveling on the road will not solve their difficulties and it seems to me that some sort of placement service or some kind of an organization for the dissemination of information regarding job possibilities in the various parts of the country is a very desirable thing to have.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, we will address ourselves to that. And we are advised that some employment agencies send these people across State lines without any job when they get there, and when they go across a State line, then we have jurisdiction of the matter. We have taken care of coal, iron, and steel in regard to these interstate matters, but we have not taken care of the human migration before. You agree with that statement, do you not?

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. Yes, sir; I agree to that. If from my cases it would seem to indicate otherwise, I did not mean it that way, but it was simply emphasizing the loss that occurs from indiscriminate travel.

The CHAIRMAN. We have included in this record your entire statement which you have submitted to us, together with the chart that you want to offer as an exhibit for the record.

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. The statement contains material which I hope will be valuable to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything else you want to say to the committee, Dr. Hoffsommer?

Dr. HOFFSOMMER. I believe that is all.

The CHAIRMAN. If you have nothing further, you may be excused.

(Whereupon, the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MRS. JANIE HARRELL HAMILTON, OF SELMA, ALA.

Mr. CURTIS. Will you please give your full name to the reporter?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Do you mean my maiden name?

Mr. CURTIS. Both.

Mrs. HAMILTON. My name is Mrs. Janie Harrell Hamilton.

Mr. CURTIS. Where were you born?

Mrs. HAMILTON. McComb, Miss.

Mr. CURTIS. What year?

Mrs. HAMILTON. 1891.

Mr. CURTIS. Just a word about your early training. Where did you go to school?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Well, mostly it was there in McComb, Miss.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did you attend school?

Mrs. HAMILTON. About—I went to the sixth grade.

Mr. CURTIS. At what age did you start work?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Well, it was in my eleventh year as well as I remember it.

Mr. CURTIS. It was just sometime before you were 12 years old, is that correct?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Where was that?

Mrs. HAMILTON. That was in McComb.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did you continue your employment at McComb?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Well, I would say about the first—when we first went there, it was 1 year and then we went 7 miles south of there to Magnolia.

Mr. CURTIS. To Magnolia, Miss.?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir; and I worked 3 years there, and then went back to McComb, and I worked about a year or two, and then in 1911 we moved to Winona, Miss., my father died in 1910, and in 1911 we moved to Winona, Miss., and we stayed there until 1913, in January.

Mr. CURTIS. From the time that you were 11 years old up until you were 21, your employment was more or less continuous, was it?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. At what age were you married?

Mrs. HAMILTON. I was married in June before I was 21 years old or 22—I don't remember which it was—at any rate I was married in August, I married in 1913.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did you live following your marriage?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Mostly in Winona.

Mr. CURTIS. That is in what State?

Mrs. HAMILTON. That is in the State of Mississippi.

Mr. CURTIS. Following your marriage, did you continue working?

Mrs. HAMILTON. No; I only worked about 8 months in 1924.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, this employment at these various places in Mississippi, what kind of employment was that?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Spinning in a cotton mill.

Mr. CURTIS. What family do you have?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Do you mean my individual family?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes, ma'am.

Mrs. HAMILTON. I have two children living and one dead.

Mr. CURTIS. What are the ages of your living children?

Mrs. HAMILTON. The girl is 21 this past May and the boy was 13 this past March.

Mr. CURTIS. Where are you living now?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Selma.

Mr. CURTIS. Selma, Ala.?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. How old was the child that died?

Mrs. HAMILTON. He died in March before he would have been 24 in May. He died in 1938.

Mr. CURTIS. What of?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Tuberculosis.

Mr. CURTIS. You said that following your marriage you only worked about 8 months?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Was that cotton-mill work?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Was your husband's name Artman?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. Is Mr. Artman living?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. You are divorced?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. When was that?

Mrs. HAMILTON. We were divorced in 1933.

Mr. CURTIS. You mean that you worked 8 months in that period up to the time of your divorce; is that what you meant?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir; I only worked 8 months in that period.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you seek employment following your divorce?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Well, yes—not in a cotton mill though because I didn't go to a cotton-mill city; I went to Montgomery—I went to Jackson, Miss., and to Memphis, and he followed me and made some trouble, and I had to leave him.

Mr. CURTIS. What was Mr. Artman's job or what was his business?

Mrs. HAMILTON. He was a plumber and electrician.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you leave Memphis?

Mrs. HAMILTON. In 1931. I went back to Winona. You see my oldest boy—I went to his graduating exercises. He stayed with his grandparents until he finished school.

Mr. CURTIS. And your divorce was in 1933?

rs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir; I went to work in a cotton mill there again in Winona in 1931.

Mr. CURTIS. What employment have you had since 1933?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Well, I haven't had any outside of cotton mill work.

Mr. CURTIS. Where was the first job that you had following 1933?

Mrs. HAMILTON. I was working in Starkville at that time when I got my divorce; Starkville, Miss.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did you continue working there?

Mrs. HAMILTON. I married in June 1934 and in July I went north with my husband, Mr. Hamilton.

Mr. CURTIS. You married Mr. Hamilton in June of 1934; is that correct?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. And you went where then?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Well, we went to Missouri; we went up north.

Mr. CURTIS. He had come down from Missouri?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir. Well, I don't know if it was just from Missouri or not. In the cotton-mill language, he is quite a rambler or quite a rounder, as they put it.

Mr. CURTIS. He was a cotton-mill employee, too?

Mrs. HAMILTON. No; he was a painter.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did you stay in Missouri?

Mrs. HAMILTON. We went up there in July and I came back to Starkville in January.

Mr. CURTIS. What year?

Mrs. HAMILTON. 1934.

Mr. CURTIS. And you came back to Starkville when?

Mrs. HAMILTON. In January of 1935 is when I came back to Starkville.

Mr. CURTIS. What State is Starkville in?

Mrs. HAMILTON. It is in Mississippi.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did you stay there?

Mrs. HAMILTON. I stayed there until March 2 and then I came over to Selma, Ala.

Mr. CURTIS. March 2 of 1935; is that correct?

Mrs. HAMILTON. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. And you are still at Selma, Ala.?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. What work have you had since you have been at Selma, Ala.?

Mrs. HAMILTON. I worked in the California cotton mill in Selma from the time that we moved there in March until along about April of the next year, in 1936, and I had an accident there, and I was out for about 6 weeks, and when my hand got well and I went back they had too many spinners—and that is all that I know how to do in the mill was to spin, and they couldn't put me back to work, and I went to Uniontown, where there is also a California mill.

Mr. CURTIS. Where is Uniontown located?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Well, it is about 30 miles south of Selma; I guess it is south, because it is down toward Mississippi; at any rate, it is about 30 miles from Selma.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you work there?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. How long?

Mrs. HAMILTON. I worked there for about 6 months, and then they shut the night shift down and laid us off—several of us who were working there and living in Selma; they laid us off, and then I went back to work then in January of 1937; at any rate, it was right after Christmas, and——

Mr. CURTIS. January of what?

Mrs. HAMILTON. 1937. And my son was taken sick with TB on the 22d of January, and I had to quit work and go home and take care of him. I went back and forth at night, and the doctor wouldn't let me move my son from Selma for quite a long time, and the doctor sent him to the hospital in California finally, and he died out there in 1938. He left there on June 3, 1937, to go to California and my husband left me in June, and so I left that place then in July and went over to Mississippi.

Mr. CURTIS. Just a minute. Your husband left you when?

Mrs. HAMILTON. In July 1937.

Mr. CURTIS. Following the death of your son?

Mrs. HAMILTON. No; following his trip to California. My son didn't die until 1938.

Mr. CURTIS. He went to California to the hospital?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir; and he died out there.

Mr. CURTIS. And your husband left you in July of 1937?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Has he been back?

Mrs. HAMILTON. I haven't seen him.

Mr. CURTIS. What work have you had since the death of your son?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Well, I left Selma in July 1937, after my boy went to California, and I went to Meridian, Miss., to see some of my people who were over there, and one sister who was there asked me to stay there with her for awhile and help her along with my mother. My daughter had married in the meantime and I left her in Selma and I stayed in Meridian for about 8 months and worked at night in the Sanders Cotton Mill there, and the night shift shut down and my boy died on the 6th of March and I worked 4 nights after he died. Then the night shift shut down and I came back here.

Mr. CURTIS. When did you go to Texas to find work?

Mrs. HAMILTON. I went in February 1939.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have any success in finding a job out there when you went to Texas?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir; I had a job out there before I went, because it was too far for me to go out there without having one.

Mr. CURTIS. How long were you out there at that time?

Mrs. HAMILTON. I was out there about 8 months. I came back here on December 11.

Mr. CURTIS. Did the mill close down?

Mrs. HAMILTON. No; when I went to McKinney, Tex., I worked until about October 15, I imagine, and they never did tell me exactly why they laid me off—they said that they were satisfied with my work and all that and they just said that they were going to lay me off awhile, for me to rest up for a few weeks or a month, and I just imagine that the doctor had them to lay me off because I wouldn't lay off myself. He wanted me to stop for a few months or a few weeks, and I told him that I couldn't afford to, and I don't know that he did it, but I suppose that he just called the company up and asked them to lay me off for a rest-up.

Mr. CURTIS. And you came back to Selma then?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir; and I started back, and I stopped over in Dallas, Tex., to see an old friend of mine that I used to work for in Mississippi, and he asked me to help him out there for a few weeks, and I did.

Mr. CURTIS. What kind of work?

Mrs. HAMILTON. It was a cotton mill, the Texas Textile Co., it was the Love Field Cotton Mills.

Mr. CURTIS. And when did you arrive back in Selma?

Mrs. HAMILTON. It was on the 11th of last December.

Mr. CURTIS. Of last December?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you had any work since then?

Mrs. HAMILTON. I worked about 8 or 10 weeks at Uniontown again.

Mr. CURTIS. During what months was that?

Mrs. HAMILTON. It was after—I imagine that it was in February or March, but I don't remember exactly.

Mr. CURTIS. Perhaps since April 1940, up to now, you have had no employment?

Mrs. HAMILTON. No, sir; I have not.

Mr. CURTIS. How do you support yourself at the present time?

Mrs. HAMILTON. I am on relief.

Mr. CURTIS. You are on relief?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Are both of your children with you?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. And their ages are 21 and 13?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Is the 13-year-old boy in school?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. How far along in school is he?

Mrs. HAMILTON. He will be in the seventh grade this year.

Mr. CURTIS. And the 21-year-old girl is married?

Mrs. HAMILTON. She has been married, and she is a "grass" widow now.

Mr. CURTIS. Her husband is not living with her?

Mrs. HAMILTON. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. She was married at what age?

Mrs. HAMILTON. She was married in 1937, the year that my boy went to California.

Mr. CURTIS. She has been married for about 3 years?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir; 3 years.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did her husband live with her?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Up until November, they separated, and then they went back together.

Mr. CURTIS. November of what year?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Of last year, and then they went back together on the 15th of April of this year, and he stayed with her that time for 2 weeks and he left her again.

Mr. CURTIS. Where is he now?

Mrs. HAMILTON. He is in Selma.

Mr. CURTIS. Does he continue to support her?

Mrs. HAMILTON. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, Mrs. Hamilton, since 1933 you have sought work in Alabama, Mississippi, and have been in Missouri and Texas?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. You have made application for work at cotton mills in all of those places; is that correct?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir; except in Missouri, and I was up there—that is when I was living with my first husband that I was up there in Missouri.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you registered at any employment bureaus?

Mrs. HAMILTON. At Meridian, Miss., and Selma, Ala.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, Mrs. Hamilton, you said that you are a spinner?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Is that classified as skilled work? You see, I know nothing about cotton-mill work.

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir; it is.

Mr. CURTIS. How long does it take to learn it?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Well, during the N. R. A. they claimed that they would give any cotton-mill worker 6 weeks to become skilled. Then, they had to pay them the regular wages. Up until then, they didn't pay them for learning—some mills would and some mills would not, but it really takes longer than 6 weeks to become a skilled worker.

Mr. CURTIS. For the amount of goods produced, do they use as many spinners now as they always have?

Mrs. HAMILTON. I don't really think so. Well, just to be plain about it, since the wages-and-hours law started they have stretched them out—that is what we call it in the cotton-mill language, we call it stretching them out, that is in the cotton-mill language; that means that they give them more work than they can do.

Mr. CURTIS. You were born in Mississippi?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Is your father living?

Mrs. HAMILTON. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. How old did he live to be?

Mrs. HAMILTON. He was 72 when he died.

Mr. CURTIS. Where was he born?

Mrs. HAMILTON. Well, I don't know. I imagine he was born in Louisiana. I never heard him say, but his people on his mother's side live in Louisiana.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you know how many States he lived in during his lifetime?

Mrs. HAMILTON. The only ones that I ever heard him mention anything about was Louisiana and Mississippi, he lived in Mississippi most of the time.

Mr. CURTIS. What work did he do in Mississippi?

Mrs. HAMILTON. He was a contractor and builder.

Mr. CURTIS. Your mother is still living?

Mrs. HAMILTON. No, sir; she died in 1938.

Mr. Curtis. At what age?

Mrs. Hamilton. Eighty-two.

Mr. Curtis. In what State was she born, do you know?

Mrs. Hamilton. Mississippi.

Mr. Curtis. And she resided there all of her life?

Mrs. Hamilton. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Parsons. Mrs. Hamilton, you say that you have been on relief for how long?

Mrs. Hamilton. Well, it has been just this year—I don't remember exactly what month it was that I went on relief.

Mr. Parsons. You sought every way to get employment that you could, and you couldn't do so?

Mrs. Hamilton. Yes, sir; I sought employment and couldn't get it.

Mr. Parsons. What would you do if you didn't get relief?

Mrs. Hamilton. Well, I have often wondered myself, this year even, when I signed up with the W. P. A. for work, I said if I didn't get work pretty soon before the winter set in that I didn't see how I could stay there and I didn't know which way to go. The only thing that I am skilled in is in the cotton-mill work, spinning, and mostly every cotton mill in the Southern States—I don't know how it is up in the North—but down here in the Southern States they will run awhile and then shut down a shift and that keeps it to where you can't hardly get any work.

Mr. Curtis. For the time that you lived with Mr. Artman, you didn't seek work but for 8 months; is that correct?

Mrs. Hamilton. That is right.

Mr. Curtis. He supported you most of the time, did he?

Mrs. Hamilton. No, sir; but his father and mother did.

Mr. Curtis. Did Mr. Hamilton have work?

Mrs. Hamilton. Yes, sir; he was a painter.

Mr. Curtis. Was he employed?

Mrs. Hamilton. Yes, sir; his greatest trouble was that he was always going from place to place and I finally had to stop in order to send the boy to school. You can't run around all the time and send a child to school. He was quite a rounder. He was going all the time.

Mr. Curtis. How many different States had he been in in the time that you knew him?

Mrs. Hamilton. During the time that I have known him, I wouldn't hardly know, but I do know that he has been in Tennessee, Arkansas, Missouri, Illinois, Michigan, Jacksonville, Fla.—I think that is the only place in Florida that he went; and Mississippi and Louisiana and Alabama.

Mr. Curtis. He would rather travel than secure permanent employment in any one place, is that correct?

Mrs. Hamilton. He traveled most of the time.

The Chairman. Mrs. Hamilton, the reason that you left Mississippi was to get a job, is that right?

Mrs. Hamilton. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. In trying to get a job, you went into how many different States?

Mrs. Hamilton. Four different States—I believe it is——

The Chairman. Then you came back here?

Mrs. Hamilton. I came back here.

The Chairman. Alabama is one?

Mrs. Hamilton. And then Texas, and those were the only States that I was seeking work in the cotton mill.

The Chairman. Did you go to California?

Mrs. Hamilton. No, sir.

The Chairman. The reason as I say, was that you were trying to find a position so you could eat and live?

Mrs. Hamilton. That is correct.

The Chairman. The American people won't just sit down and starve, but they will move?

Mrs. Hamilton. I think so.

The Chairman. And you did get a job by going to other States?

Mrs. Hamilton. Sometimes I did and sometimes not. I couldn't have started over to Texas until I was sure of a job; it was too far. I had friends who I could write to, and when I came to Alabama in 1935, I had a brother in Selma, and the biggest reason that I came over right at that time was that my sister was wanting to go to work in the mill, and he said that she was in the weaving department, and he said if she could persuade me to come over there with her that she could get a job working in the mill if they had spinners in the family who were working in the mill, and that is the reason that I came over to Alabama then.

The Chairman. Do you think that it would be a good thing for the United States to have every State in the Union say to Alabama and say to any other State, "Don't send anybody from our State unless they have got money. If they haven't got money, they can't come," and to clamp down on them so if you haven't got any money you couldn't go to some other State like Oklahoma, Nebraska, Arkansas, or some other State like that? Do you think that it would be a good thing for one State to say to the other that you are supposed to just sit down and starve, that you couldn't come into their State unless you had money—do you think that would be a very good thing for one State to say to another State of our Union? Or would you rather have it so that if you had a couple of dollars in your pocket that you could go to another State if you thought that you would have a better chance of securing work—or do you think that you should just sit down and starve?

Mrs. Hamilton. Oh, no; I don't think that you should just sit down and starve. I had rather starve moving around looking for some work and trying to get a job. If I did that, I would have the satisfaction of knowing I was trying to get a job anyway.

The Chairman. Very well. That's all. Thank you.

(Whereupon, the witness was excused.)

Before we hear the next witness, I believe that we will take a 5-minute recess.

(Whereupon, a short recess was taken.)

The Chairman. The committee will come to order.

TESTIMONY OF A. FREDERICK SMITH, CHIEF, DEPARTMENT OF RESEARCH AND STATISTICS, FLORIDA INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION, TALLAHASSEE, FLA.

The CHAIRMAN. Our next witness will be A. Frederick Smith, chief, Department of Research and Statistics, Florida Industrial Commission, Tallahassee, Fla. Will you please step forward, Mr. Smith. Mr. Osmers will examine you.

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Smith, we are very happy to have you here as a representative of the Florida State government, and I know that possibly for some of the same reasons that California has, you have a rather serious problem confronting you there, too, with your very desirable climate. Will you just please go on and give us a brief outline of what you have to say?

Mr. SMITH. All right, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. I understand that you have filed a statement with the committee fully covering your testimony?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. OSMERS. And that you will now outline the migratory-labor situation for us.

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Your statement will be incorporated in the record.

[The statement mentioned appears below.]

STATEMENT OF A. FREDERICK SMITH, FLORIDA INDUSTRIAL COMMISSION, TALLAHASSEE, FLA.

Migration in the State of Florida is of considerable concern to those who are acquainted with this problem. Migration is an increasing problem and undoubtedly will in a few years be of major concern to the State and the Southeastern States. Migration brings a problem of which most people are unaware.

It is virtually impossible to segregate migrants, as a total, into such economic classes as indigents or destitute persons, unless individual cases are studied. At any time a migrant may be indigent or destitute, but upon receiving work may become self-supporting for an indefinite period of time and then may again become destitute. Many migrants are destitute at all times if the owning of any wealth determines destitution. Others are always on the verge of destitution. In the following discussion migrants are considered as that part of the population who for one reason or another become temporarily or permanently detached from their former homes and come to Florida to seek work. This discussion is not concerned with the drifter, floater, or tramp who is not interested in working.

MIGRATORY GROUPS

There are two primary migratory groups in the State of Florida each year. One group is composed of migratory agricultural laborers while the second group is composed of service, clerical, and common-labor workers.

Vacationists make up a group who come to the State each winter, but in the main this group is composed of people who are not looking for work. There is, however, an overlapping between the group of vacationists and group two, the service, clerical, and common labor group. Many individuals who come to the resort areas in Florida during the winter do so for two reasons, to take a vacation but at the same time to secure enough work if possible to aid in supporting themselves during their vacation period. Many in this group work in retail stores, restaurants, and hotels or any other work which may be available. In group two are also the service and white-collar workers who are engaged in service work almost the entire year, but who follow the seasons in the various resorts throughout the country. These workers usually travel several hundreds or thousands of miles during the course of the year to secure work in these resorts, with the jobs usually lasting for several months at a time.

Group one, migratory agricultural labor, is an even more complex situation and involves not only an intra- but an inter-state migration. It is undoubtedly true that this group suffers more unemployment during the year, suffers from worse health and sanitary conditions, and is possibly preyed upon by other persons more than is the group of service and white-collar workers. The primary discussion, then, will be about this group.

ORIGIN OF MIGRANTS

The contiguous States of Alabama and Georgia are the origin of most of the migrants in this State. Other migrants come from the States of Mississippi, Louisiana, North and South Carolina, and as far west as California. This is particularly true of the migratory agricultural workers. Many of these workers follow agricultural crops continuously but many are tenants or sharecroppers who come to Florida during the winter when they have nothing to do at their homes and can earn extra money in this State. Some do not know where their homes are located and as a matter of fact, they have had no legal residence for many years.

Case histories in some private welfare offices show that many of the migrants have traveled in so many different States for so many years that they have no idea where their home actually is. Some case histories show that these migrants have been on the road for as long as 17 to 20 years, and in the meanwhile have married and now have children traveling with them. It is not unusual for a migrant to have from 4 to 7 children and hundreds of the migrants apparently travel almost from one end of the Nation to the other in a year taking their families with them.

The service and clerical workers to a considerable degree come from New York, Pennsylvania, other Eastern States, Ohio, Michigan, Indiana, and California. There are also more Florida residents involved in this migratory group than in the agricultural group.

ROUTES OF MIGRATION

The primary routes of travel followed by migratory workers are three main highways up and down and across the State. The most important route follows the east coast of Florida down U. S. Highway No. 1. This highway is the primary route into the State from the eastern United States, going through the east coast resort centers. Connecting to this highway are roads leading ino some of the principal areas where winter vegetable crops are produced. Virtually all types of migratory travel can be seen on this highway—hitchhikers, old cars, trailers, and truck loads of workers. These migrants are those who are principally engaged in resort work and in vegetable production.

The second most important route is U. S. Highway No. 90 from Pensacola to Jacksonville, along the northern edge of the State. Feeding into this highway are roads from Georgia and Alabama, which migrants from these two States, as well as from the central and western United States, follow. Migrants who follow this highway go down the State on U. S. Highway No. 1 on the east coast or U. S. and State Highway No. 19 at Tallahassee.

U. S. and State Highway No. 19 follows the western coast of the State with roads leading into the citrus area, with some migrants following some of these roads across the State to the east coast. On this highway, prior to and during the winter season, may be seen hundreds of trailers, trucks, and hitchhikers. Many trailer camps are located along this highway as well as in areas in the central part of the State near sections where work may be obtained.

Another route which is followed by numerous migrants is U. S. Highway No. 41 which goes through Lake City, Fla., and through the central part of the State.

At the end of the season or when the harvesting of an agricultural crop is completed, these migrants closely follow the same routes when they leave the State. Service and clerical workers leave the State a short time after the season is completed and go to the areas outside the State where they will secure further work. Migratory agricultural workers follow the succession of crops out of the State, working several different places before leaving the State. Most of these workers specialize in certain crops and thereby do not follow completely the routes of travel as heretofore set forth.

Potato workers harvest the potato crop in Dade County between the period of December 20 and May 30, move into Palm Beach County during this same period and on up the State to St. Johns County. Some of these workers go into Putnam and Alachua Counties. These workers then leave the State and go up the eastern seaboard into North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey, and some to Long Island and Maine. At the end of the season in the Eastern States, these workers gradually sift back down the eastern seaboard into Dade County to again work and start their trek northward.

There are two primary routes for migratory workers who are engaged in agricultural work. One route follows the eastern coast of Florida and the eastern seaboard of the United States with the migratory workers branching off into the States through which the route goes. The counties with greatest concentration of migratory workers on the eastern coast are Dade, Broward, Palm Beach, St. Johns, Putnam, and Alachua. The other route follows the western coast of Florida and goes into Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and to California. The greatest concentration of migratory workers in this instance is in Polk, Manatee, and Hillsborough Counties. The strawberry pickers have a shorter route in the State working in Hardee, Polk, and Hillsborough Counties then going to Bradford County. From this point the strawberry pickers apparently spread to some extent with some following U. S. Highway No. 90 to Pensacola and on into Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, and the west coast with a few going to Washington State and British Columbia, but these again return by the same route to Florida although a few follow a northern route through the Midwestern States back to Florida. Another group of these migratory berry pickers go to Ohio and Michigan, particularly to the latter State, to pick berries and fruits.

ESTIMATES OF NUMBERS

It is extremely difficult to attempt to make an estimate of the total number of migratory agricultural workers in the State of Florida during the winter and spring harvesting season. This is partially due to the fact that there has been no method established of making an actual count of the migratory laborers in any one locality or the State as a whole. There is a factor of the workers dovetailing their work so that they will be in several different areas during the course of a few weeks, as well as many other factors, which decreases the likelihood of any figures being absolute. From the data available it would seem that there is an approximate minimum of 40,000 migratory agricultural laborers who work in harvesting the crops each winter and spring. An estimate as to the maximum number of migratory agricultural laborers would be 60,000.

It is extremely difficult to make an accurate estimate of the number of migratory service, clerical, and skilled workers because of the factors mentioned before. When it is considered that around one and one-half million visitors vacation in the State during the winter, it is impossible for an observer to tell how many of these are seeking or have work. Also there is no law in the State which requires all employers to report the number of workers they have employed at any particular time. Most of these migratory workers are engaged in hotels, restaurants, retail, and other establishments when employed. Probably hotels provide more work for this group than any other industry in the State. Many of these workers are employed by the same company the year around in the State of Florida during the winter and in some other resort State during the summer. There are many other workers in this industry who have regular employers in Florida and regular employers in other States. However, many hundreds come to Florida during the winter with the expectation of securing a job but have extreme difficulty in securing any work at all. From all data that is available it would seem that the minimum number of workers in this migratory group would be as many as 75,000 and the maximum number, 100,000.

It is estimated that a maximum of 15,000 laborers are needed to harvest the potato and vegetable crop in the Dade County area. A conservative estimate would be 12,500.

Approximately 10,000 laborers are needed to harvest the vegetable crops in Broward County.

Around Lake Okeechobee, in the Belle Glade and Pahokee areas in Palm Beach County, are grown potatoes, beans, and other vegetables and the harvesting requires nearly 20,000 laborers with a greater number required each year as acreage is expanded. Also in this same area it is understood that some 5,000 workers come each year for the harvesting of sugarcane.

In the Hastings potato region in St. Johns County, some 4,000 laborers are required for the harvesting of potatoes.

The Plant City area, in Hillsborough County, also requires migratory laborers for the picking of strawberries, with the volume unknown. Estimates would be somewhere between 500 and 1,000 workers.

The Lawtey area in Bradford County requires between 350 and 750 workers for the picking and packing of strawberries. La Crosse, Santa Fe, Hague, and Hawthorne areas in Alachua County require from 2,000 to 2,500 migratory workers for a period of 4 or 5 weeks to supplement local labor in the harvesting of snap beans, potatoes, and other vegetables.

Given below is a table showing approximate dates of harvesting the winter and spring crops. This table will give some idea of the period of time when the workers are required and the amount of dovetailing possible.

APPROXIMATE HARVESTING DATES MAJOR WINTER AND SPRING AGRICULTURAL CROPS (STATE OF FLORIDA)

Vegetables.—Snap beans, tomatoes, peppers, etc., January 1–June 15; Dade, Broward, Palm Beach, Manatee, and Hillsborough Counties (other counties later).

Potatoes.—Alachua, April 20–May 15; Dade and Palm Beach, December 20–May 1; Escambia, May 10–June 15; St. Johns, March 20–May 10.

Strawberries.—Hillsborough, Bradford, and Hardee Counties, December 1–May 15.

There is considerable number of migratory workers employed in citrus picking and in packing and canning plants. Estimates of the total are difficult to secure because the citrus industry as a whole is spread over several counties. Some 5 years ago most of these plants were staffed almost entirely by migratory workers but the citrus industry has attempted to reduce the problems encountered by better production methods and a longer production period. Thousands of workers in this industry have settled in the citrus areas and have made permanent homes. There is, however, still considerable migration with at least 2,500 migratory laborers being used in this industry in Polk County, which is now the largest citrus-producing county in the United States. There are probably many hundreds of others who migrate within the State for picking and packing work. It is known that several hundreds working in the canneries migrate between Florida, North Carolina, and Michigan each year.

Given below is a table on the estimates of the total number of migratory workers by county, by crop, and by acreage. It must be remembered that the total number for all counties would not be the total minimum or maximum number of migratory workers. There will be a certain number of local workers, a certain amount of dovetailing and a variation depending on weather conditions.

Estimated total number of migratory workers by county, by crop, and by acreage

[State of Florida 1939–40]

County	Crop	Acres	Number
Alachua	Potatoes	1,350	750
	Vegetables	4,000	1,500
Bradford	Strawberries	1,400	350
Broward	Vegetables	22,800	10,000
Dade	Potatoes	6,500	6,000
	Vegetables	15,500	7,500
Escambia	Potatoes	800	300
Hardee	Strawberries	1,200	300
Hillsborough	do	4,000	500
	Vegetables	4,900	500
Manatee	Tomatoes	3,000	500
Palm Beach	Potatoes	2,000	1,750
	Vegetables	51,740	15,000
	Sugar—Palm Beach and Hendry Counties		5,000
Polk	Strawberries	1,200	300
	Citrus packing and canning		2,500
Putnam	Potatoes	3,200	2,000
St. Johns	do	7,000	4,000

Estimated total number:

Minimum	40,000
Maximum	60,000

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

From 80 to 90 percent of the potato and vegetable migratory workers are colored. These colored workers usually work in the field, while the white workers grade and pack in the packing sheds or in the field, as the case may be. The strawberry workers are more equally divided between the white and the colored, with many children also working in the fields. In the harvesting of vegetables and strawberries a high percentage of the workers are women, almost always colored. Ages vary considerably.

The highest percentage of service and clerical migratory workers are white with probably 80 to 90 percent of these migratory workers being white. The ages of this group probably do not vary as much as among the migratory agricultural laborers. The reason for this is that much of the work that this white-collar group does requires a certain amount of training, contact with the public, an agile mind and dexterity. This is required in most of the positions in hotels, restaurants, and clerical work. The most of these workers in this group fall in the age classification from 20 to 30.

HEALTH AND SANITARY CONDITIONS

Undoubtedly a considerable part of the health problem in the State of Florida springs from the migrants and the conditions under which they live much of the time. Sanitary conditions in some areas where migrants live are extremely bad. In many places the migrant workers must sleep in shacks, boxes, in cars, tents, or trailers, in trucks, on the ground or wherever it is possible to rest. They have no facilities for washing and no toilet facilities of any kind are provided in some areas. It is known that social diseases are very prevalent among these groups, particularly among the colored workers. The food they can get is much of the time very poor and does not provide balanced diets. Sanitary and living conditions found this spring in the Lake Okeechobee area were beyond description. The State health department has done much to improve these conditions within its legal authority and financial ability, but much is yet to be done. The Farm Security Administration has built several excellent camps but more are needed.

Because these migrants move from State to State, the health menace is not only a threat to the State of Florida, but to the Nation as a whole. The migratory service and clerical workers in almost all instances live in better surroundings and are subject to better health conditions. In some metropolitan areas, however, both colored and white workers live in crowded conditions which would tend to spread diseases. Local and State health authorities attempt to supply medical treatment for these individuals and workers serving the public must have health certificates.

METHODS OF TRAVEL

Most migratory agricultural laborers travel in old cars which are from 5 to 15 years old. In many cases these old cars are of the type which use much gasoline and oil. Many migrants travel in their home-made trailers while others carry tents and bedrolls with them. There is another group who have neither cars, trailers, nor tents and hitchhike or ride freights. It is safe to say that there are hundreds of these workers that are transported by truckers who load their trucks as full as people as possible, including men and women and children. It is not unusual to see trucks so full that one group must stand while another lies down to rest. For what length of time these people must travel in this condition is not known but depends on where they are picked up. These truckers are paid so much per head either by a farmer or by the individuals themselves to be transported to either the farm or to a certain area where these workers hope to secure work. In this latter case these people transported by trucks are always Negroes. They travel without direction or knowledge of what awaits them and it is not unusual to see truckloads of Negroes being transported to an area where the crop has been harvested while the major migration is headed for the area through which they pass. The migratory service, clerical and skilled laborers drive their own cars or trailers, which are of a newer model than the cars of the migratory agriculture workers or they travel by bus, train, or hitchhike, with hitchhiking being a prevalent means of travel.

WAGES

The wage rates vary from area to area within the State. Piece-rates generally prevail in the picking and packing of all the vegetable crops. In some areas, however, the picking is paid by the hamper or box while the packing is paid for by the hour. Bean pickers are paid around 20 cents per hamper for the first picking and 25 cents for the second picking. Potatoes are harvested by two different methods—individual digging and picking up, which pays around 7 cents per field box, and on larger farms where the potatoes are dug by machinery, day labor which pick up are paid at around $1.50 per day. In some areas celery, lettuce, and tomatoes are paid for by the crate, or by the lug, but the rate is variable, while in other areas the picking is done by day labor.

When there is an excessive number of workers the wage rates may be lowered so that the workers will have little left at the end of the season. The workers in the sugarcane fields are paid on a day-rate basis with the rates being set by the United States Department of Agriculture after hearings on the matter.

The service and clerical workers are paid on either a daily or weekly basis which includes a small salary, meals, and room if working in some occupation in a hotel or wages and meals only if working in restaurants. However, there are many restaurants and hotels which pay no cash wages whatsoever in the majority of occupations with the only moneys involved being from tips given to workers by customers. This is particularly true with barbecue stands and similar roadside stands. In some places the workers even buy their positions because it is known that the customers tip liberally.

Many complaints of nonpayment of wages and unusually long hours are known each year. This seems to be particularly prevalent with the service, clerical, and common labor in the resort areas. It may well be that these workers are more vociferous with their comments than are the agricultural laborers who may not know how to make themselves heard. But under either circumstance, there are no wage payment or collection laws.

CRIME PROBLEMS

Each year with the influx of migratory workers there are more arrests for the various crimes than at any other time during the year. This varies in different sections of the State but in most instances the migrants are involved with either they themselves being arrested because of the crime committed or the "hangers-on" who prey on the migrants are arrested for crimes they have committed. A recent survey made by the research and statistics department of the Florida Industrial Commission of the prisoners of the Florida State Prison Farm showed that 58.56 percent of these prisoners were born outside the State of Florida. This percentage is not too indicative of the problem, however, because 46.2 percent of the population in 1935 were born outside the State of Florida. The real problem occurs in the local communities and usually involves minor crimes. The situation in these local communities is serious enough that considerable comment is aroused. The cities of Miami Beach, Miami, Fort Lauderdale, and others request those who have no visible means of support to leave the city or they transport them to the county line.

RELIEF ACTIVITIES

There is no State provision for aid to migrants. The only aid given to these individuals is that which is provided by local communities through their welfare associations or similar private charities. The amount of aid available is very small and can only be given in administering cases involving emergency health conditions. In some instances a minimum amount of food is provided, usually one meal or some surplus commodities, and then only if the person faces starvation. There is probably less than one-tenth of all cases given any aid whatsoever. Were it not for these charities there would be no aid available. When the crops were frozen in January of this year, thousands of migrants were stranded and faced virtual starvation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Migration is not a local situation nor a State-wide situation but is a multi- and inter-State problem. The various local governmental units cannot financially bear the cost that would fall upon them to give even adequate medical treatment, subsistence, or other needs to the needy migrants. A system of camps stationary and movable is badly needed so that at least a minimum of proper living conditions could be provided. In some areas landowners would be only too willing to provide temporary space for mobile camps during the harvesting season. Adequate sanitary facilities should be provided and provision should be made for adequate medical and health facilities for these people.

Much more needs to be known about the migratory movements throughout the State and the southeastern region of the United States. It is believed that the volume of migration of farm laborers can be reduced if an interstate system of research and information can be established so as to increase the knowledge of needs and available work and so as to effect a greater dovetailing of work. The dovetailing will, without a doubt, require interstate cooperation between (at least) contiguous States or between States within economic regions.

A farm placement service should become effective in each of the several States. This service should be a Federal-State system such as the Federal system which is now operating under the Federal Security Agency. This system could provide information throughout the State and surrounding States to all employment offices so that if workers are needed a sufficient supply could be provided or if it appears there will be an excess, other workers can be warned that no work will be available. The savings such a service could make for the various States as well as for the individuals who waste time and money in unnecessary travel would be tremendous.

A Federal-State system which would provide moneys for migrants in need should be established. Such a system should probably be established in the Federal agency administering the Farm Placement Service, the employment security program, and other programs affecting the security of individuals. In the States this program should be placed in the agency administering the employment security and other similar programs so that a greater degree of cooperation between employment offices and this program could be effected with less waste of moneys on migrants who do not need this aid.

Methods to bring to these parts of the population the benefits of the social security system should be developed. Few of them are covered by any part of the present system. Most of the employers for whom they work are exempt from the provisions of the present act because of the agricultural exemptions and nearly all are exempt from the provisions of the State unemployment compensation law because of the same exemption or because they do not operate for a sufficient length of time during a calendar year to meet the requirements of a liable employer. Nearly all of these people cannot qualify under the old-age assistance provisions because they have not been residents of the State for 5 years. As a whole, few of the benefits of either Federal or State security laws redound to these people.

It must, of course, be remembered that the programs to supply the needs of this part of the population would have to be flexible and the administering agency would have to be capable of quickly switching its centers of aid from one part of the State to another and across State lines. Methods of administration must be developed that are possibly quite unlike the present methods because the problem is so definitely different from those which the governments are now seeking to ameliorate. The problem of migration is undoubtedly a national problem and a problem which is increasing each year. It is becoming apparent that such steps as these outlined above must be taken.

Out of State registrations (selected offices)

[Florida State Employment Service]

Local office	Approximate number out of State registrants	Predominating State representation		Predominating occupation representation	Percentage of nonclaimants
Miami	4, 150	New York	2, 075	Service workers, clerical workers, salespersons, craftsmen.	10
		New Jersey	612		
		Pennsylvania	415		
		Others	1, 058		
Fort Lauderdale	300	New York	100	Agricultural, service workers, salespersons, professions.	70
		Georgia	80		
		New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Ohio	75		
		Others	45		
West Palm Beach	350	New York	100	Service workers administrative, and supervisory; craftsmen and laborers, clerical and sales.	56
		New Jersey	55		
		Georgia	35		
		Pennsylvania	30		
		Others	130		
Orlando	200	New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania	75	Agricultural, salespersons, craftsmen, clerical.	47
		Georgia	45		
		Alabama and Tennessee	30		
		Others	50		
Lakeland	175	Alabama, Georgia, and South Carolina	80	Agricultural, professional, clerical.	25
		Michigan, Ohio, and Illinois	50		
		New York	25		
		Others	20		
Sarasota-Bradenton	100	New England and East Central States	35	Craftsmen, service workers, domestic salespersons.	44
		Midwestern States	30		
		Southern States	25		
		Others	10		
St. Petersburg	1. 200	New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania	600	Service workers, clerical	30
		Ohio and Indiana	250		
		Others	350		

Monthly distribution of multi-State claims received by Florida from January 1939 through June 1940

	Liable State		Agent State	
	Initial	Continued	Initial	Continued
1939				
January	685	793	1, 595	6, 670
February	453	1, 936	986	7, 145
March	521	2, 873	724	6, 760
April	610	2, 947	747	4, 814
May	882	4, 264	684	4, 597
June	753	5, 108	554	4, 035
July	1, 242	6, 205	676	4, 278
August	963	8, 456	677	4, 283
September	916	7, 745	888	4, 230
October	1, 003	6, 309	1, 428	5, 990
November	815	5, 259	2, 155	8, 682
December	598	4, 727	2, 599	11, 618
1940				
January	715	4, 961	3, 115	15, 746
February	550	4, 151	1, 920	16, 020
March	615	4, 524	1, 382	13, 126
April	978	5, 107	2, 482	10, 910
May	1, 234	6, 284	1, 365	10, 075
June	1, 009	6, 727	1, 063	8, 363
Total	14, 542	88, 376	25, 040	147, 342

Transfers of records between employment service offices—1939

[Florida Industrial Commission Research and Statistics Department]

Office	To other Florida offices	To other States	From other Florida offices	From other States
Arcadia	48	7	81	7
Bradenton	31	19	48	2
Daytona Beach	30	36	51	1
Fort Lauderdale	26	25	43	10
Fort Myers	24	2	36	3
Fort Pierce	35	11	55	1
Gainesville	74	9	62	2
Jacksonville	157	110	140	2
Key West	12	1	7	----------
Lake City	76	3	11	----------
Lakeland	155	79	162	59
Leesburg	62	35	87	14
Marianna	82	7	23	2
Miami	289	622	85	6
Ocala	48	9	71	4
Orlando	106	82	158	89
Panama City	27	5	21	3
Pensacola	54	25	16	2
St. Augustine	23	13	31	4
St. Petersburg	51	39	81	52
Tallahassee	78	21	120	7
Tampa	166	90	179	4
West Palm Beach	58	80	104	3
Winter Haven	150	227	190	190
Total	1,862	1,557	1,862	467

Transfers—1940

[Florida Industrial Commission, Research and Statistics Department]

Office	To other Florida offices	To other States	From other Florida offices	From other States
Arcadia	25	5	28	1
Daytona Beach	21	28	26	----------
Fort Lauderdale	16	45	11	4
Fort Myers	23	5	27	1
Fort Pierce	19	16	22	----------
Gainesville	67	5	49	----------
Jacksonville	98	56	144	2
Key West	17	3	3	----------
Lake City	8	1	46	----------
Lakeland	150	47	120	18
Leesburg	51	11	73	4
Marianna	32	4	50	8
Miami	101	302	96	2
Ocala	100	4	45	----------
Orlando	122	79	127	14
Panama City	27	4	22	1
Pensacola	23	10	28	4
St. Augustine	16	3	19	----------
St. Petersburg	57	94	40	9
Bradenton	29	14	40	2
Tallahassee	51	13	66	2
Tampa	99	66	148	10
West Palm Beach	68	81	53	8
Winter Haven	153	101	62	26
Total	1,345	997	1,345	116

[From Tallahassee Democrat, November 6, 1939]

NO SOLUTION HAS BEEN FOUND FOR PROBLEM OF TRANSIENTS COMING HERE AT RATE OF 25 TO 50 A DAY

Chief Gid Powledge of the Tallahassee police department advises the housewives of Tallahassee to be hesitant about feeding the increasing number of winter transients who ask for food from door to door.

"We have no provision for transients in Tallahassee," says the chief. "We move them along as fast as we can with the warning to keep moving."

THERE ARE EXCEPTIONS

It is the able-bodied young huskies for whom Chief Powledge has no patience. If this type of transient is encouraged, he advises, they merely pass along the word that at such and such a street others can get a good "hand out."

There are exceptions, however. Unfortunate young boys and feeble old men are treated with consideration. But the typical hobo who merely wants a comfortable place to sleep gets very little sympathy at the Tallahassee police department.

BEST SOLUTION

According to Sheriff Frank Stoutamire who has held that office for 16 years and has considerable experience with transients: "The best solution we've ever had to the transient problem was to turn them away at the State line."

Like Chief Powledge, Sheriff Stoutamire does his best to help the old and feeble. Several years ago he tried letting transients sleep in the halls of the courthouse but they took advantage of his leniency and began spreading into the upstairs courtroom, leaving it dirty and ill kept, until he had to end the practice.

DIFFICULT SITUATION

According to Miss Helen Farrow, executive secretary of the Leon County Welfare Association here: "I think the least said about the transients is best. We try to help those that are sick, women with babies who are traveling alone, and the elderly ones. But we have no transient relief set up in our funds. The Leon County welfare is operated mainly to take care of Tallahassee, not outsiders."

Miss Farrow explains that the situation is a most difficult one. A number of transients have recently faked illness to get hospitalization. Very few people realize how expert some of these scheming idlers become in faking illness, according to Miss Farrow. They will stretch out on the highway, apparently in a critical condition, and yet a physician can find nothing wrong with them.

The transient situation is a problem, to say the least. But Tallahassee housewives are warned not to be too soft-hearted when transients ask for food.

Both Chief Powledge and Sheriff Stoutamire are of the opinion that a large number of them would move on with great alacrity if offered a man-size job in order to earn a meal or two.

Transients are now pouring into Tallahassee at the rate of from 25 to 50 a day, according to Sheriff Stoutamire.

Any attempted solution to the transient problem on the part of Tallahassee would not only be a waste of time but might prove decidedly unadvantageous, according to the authorities interviewed.

The average able-bodied transient would probably avoid work that called for much effort while the feeble type of transient would be unable to expend the necessary energy.

[By the Associated Press, November 14, 1939—Florida papers]

WINTER CROP OF TRANSIENTS TO BE LARGE—FLOATERS GIVE POLICE AND SHERIFFS A COLLECTIVE HEADACHE

A flood of transients arriving simultaneously with the advance guard of a promising tourist influx is giving Florida police and sheriffs a collective headache of morning-after proportions.

No problem are the tourists, who come by all manner of conveyances from little family sedans to private coaches and luxurious yachts. They are welcomed with open arms.

A problem, but one they know well how to handle, is the floaters and petty criminals who come to Florida to prey on wealthy tourists, or make their way panhandling. These are turned back and told in no uncertain terms to go, and keep going.

The real difficulty comes in handling the aged, the juveniles, and many honest but penniless persons seeking to escape the rigors of a northern winter and to find a job in Florida. Coping with them in a humane fashion without allowing the State to become a haven for the indigent and further burden already overloaded relief rolls and charity facilities is the unhappy dilemma of the officers.

At one time the State maintained a border guard that turned back all who could not show they would be able to support themselves while in the State, but this was abolished by Gov. Fred P. Cone as inhumane. Many contended, however, that while it may have been a harsh measure it was effective.

Reports from all parts of the State tell of ever-growing numbers of transients—more than last season.

At Miami, which gets a large share of the transient influx, a dozen or more passengers are taken northward to the county line daily on the "hobo express" by police. At Miami Beach at least a half dozen vagrants a day are given 5 to 10-day jail sentences which are suspended on condition that they leave the city. The Salvation Army gets increasing numbers of requests for food and shelter as the season advances.

Some cities, including Ocala, Daytona Beach, and Tallahassee, allow them to sleep overnight in a cell. At Sarasota they are fed, fingerprinted, and escorted to the city limits. Orlando allows some to spend the night in jail but most are taken to the edge of town.

[From Tallahassee Democrat (editorial), December 5, 1939]

Point of Privilege

By John Kilgore

Florida's biggest winter problem is the indigent transient * * * and Tallahassee has no small share of it.

It is not a solution to ignore this problem on the theory that local funds are for local people because—human nature being what it is—transients continue to solicit food, money, and gasoline. And kind-hearted citizens continue to shell out. No one knows when he is helping a person in actual need or contributing to the income of a professional dead beat.

Someone told recently of a friend of his who was in some minor difficulty in a strange city and was assisted by a hobo. A few weeks later the same hobo appeared in his own city. Remembering and appreciating the kindness he secured a good job for the man. After 2 or 3 days the hobo quit the job and came to bid him farewell. "Why did you quit?" he asked, and the hobo replied, "Why should I work for $3 a day when I can make $6 a day panhandling?"

Someone else told of contributing to a fund raised in an office for a man, his wife and shoeless baby on their way "to take a job in Canada." This was in Jacksonville. Several dollars were contributed for baby shoes, food, and transportation to help this family on their way. A few weeks later, our informant was in an office in South Carolina when the same family appeared with the same baby—again shoeless. At this time, the same informant ran across the family with shoeless baby and still working their way toward Canada, but this time, the family was in southern Florida. That was too much. He asked, "How is it that you are working your way from South Carolina to Canada by way of southern Florida?" The father of the perpetually shoeless babe scurried away without reply.

We know these things. And yet when some one comes around with a hard luck story it is difficult to remain objective and hard boiled. Each particular transient might be cold, hungry, and forlorn and it is no easy thing to refuse a little comfort to any human being in real distress.

It is true, of course, that these people should not go traveling about. Relief and welfare activities are provided for local residents, and they are entitled to it where they live. When they move about they become detached and lose standing. But that does not solve the problem. They do travel, and they do come for help. As a result Tallahasseeans contribute individually large sums in money and commodities annually to transients. In that way we are by no means unique. Residents of every city, town, and village do likewise. Otherwise these people could not travel across many States, living on the country as they go like a medieval army.

Facilities for putting such people to work might provide the solution. But there are many difficulties in the way. Local residents are engaged in almost every remunerative form of employment, and some would protest against unfair competition of indigent transient competition, no matter what occupation might be chosen.

Fort Lauderdale has just announced a ban on beggars, street singers, and panhandlers. That is all right, but it does not attack the basic problem at the source. Some way must be found to keep the tramps from Tallahassee back doors and the panhandlers from Tallahassee offices.

There is a companion problem here and, no doubt, elsewhere. Tramps congregate together in certain areas near railroad tracks in "hobo jungles" and in lumber yards, where they are not easily detected by officers who have many streets to patrol. The tramps frighten servant girls on their way home from work after dark and thus place the extra burden upon many householders of providing safe transportation.

TESTIMONY OF A. FREDERICK SMITH—Resumed

Mr. OSMERS. You may proceed, Mr. Smith.

EXTENT OF MIGRATION IN FLORIDA

Mr. SMITH. We have two primary migrations each year, both of them coming at about the same time, starting in the latter part of September, with the peak number of people in the State in the months of January and February.

There are two groups, one migratory agricultural workers and the second clerical, service, and similar types of workers.

There have been a number of estimates made by individuals during the last 2 or 3 years as to the numbers. I have been attempting to determine what is the minimum and what is the maximum number of each of these groups. As nearly as possible I can figure the number of migratory agricultural workers at a minimum of 40,000 and a maximum of 60,000.

The CHAIRMAN. Minimum of 40,000, did you say?

Mr. SMITH. A minimum of 40,000 and a maximum of 60,000; that is, agricultural workers.

Mr. OSMERS. That is agricultural workers?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; and in the other group, the clerical and service workers, a minimum of 75,000 and a maximum of 100,000.

Mr. OSMERS. Tell me where do most of these migrants come from that come into the State of Florida?

Mr. SMITH. The migratory agricultural workers are mostly from Georgia and Alabama and also from North and South Carolina, but the first two States are the principal States.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you happen to know if the agricultural workers that come into Florida, whether they have residence, in a legal sense, in their States of origin, Georgia, Alabama, and North and South Carolina?

Mr. SMITH. So far as I have been able to determine, a considerable majority of them, or at least a part of them have homes in Alabama and Georgia, and are tenant farmers and sharecroppers and they come to Florida in the wintertime to get extra work. There are several other parts of this agricultural migratory group who are on the road constantly, and I doubt if they have any legal residence so far as any particular State is concerned.

Mr. OSMERS. Insofar as these agricultural workers who come into Florida are concerned, do they come by themselves, and by that I mean do they supply their own transportation and do they seek employment by themselves, or do they come in groups under the tutelage of someone and under contract, or under padrones?

Mr. SMITH. They come by every method of transportation, they come by hitch-hiking, on trains, trucks, cars, or any other way. There are in those groups some, we know, but it is extremely difficult to determine how many, who come down under someone's tutelage.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. At any time during the winter, you can see truckloads of them coming down, just as many as can get into the truck. It is also known that groups of them travel together; for instance, in connection with the potato harvesters and the strawberry pickers and such as that, there is an individual among them that has charge of the group and tells them what to do.

Mr. OSMERS. Has the government in the State of Florida attempted in any way to exert any control over the labor relations of these people, we might say of these migrant workers, as to the nature of their contracts and what they shall be paid?

Mr. SMITH. There is no State law or State regulation relative to that matter.

Mr. OSMERS. Does the State government in any manner enter into the regulations as to the health conditions?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Into the supervision of that?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Or the housing conditions of these workers?

Mr. SMITH. The State department of health expanded a great deal with respect to that particular problem this last season, or we might say that it has had a great burden cast upon it. They are attempting to clean up the sanitary and housing conditions, particularly in certain areas, and they are only able at the present time to step into the worst areas, I should say, but they have ample legislative authority there to proceed. The State health authorities have recently done a great deal of work among these migratory workers and they have closed up any number of places until they are cleaned up and made sanitary.

Mr. OSMERS. What are the principal crops picked by these migratory workers?

Mr. SMITH. What are known as truck crops.

Mr. OSMERS. Staple vegetables, we might say?

Mr. SMITH. Vegetables and all crops of that nature.

Mr. OSMERS. I understand last year quite a number of these migrants were stranded in Florida, is that correct?

Mr. SMITH. That is correct.

RESPONSIBILITY OF STATE AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS

Mr. OSMERS. What provision was made for them by the State of Florida?

Mr. SMITH. The State of Florida has no law or provision to aid them in any way. The Board of Public Welfare has no appropriation to aid them. The only aid that they can get is from private charities or welfare organizations.

Mr. OSMERS. In your opinion don't you feel that the State of Florida has an obligation to these people because they perform a very needful service in the economy of the State of Florida?

Mr. SMITH. I am inclined to think so.

Mr. OSMERS. You see, I come from the State of New Jersey, and we have almost exactly the same problem that you have in Florida, we are at the northern end of the tube, so to speak, and they start in Florida in the spring of the year and go North and we have a great deal of that to contend with over on the seacoast of New Jersey, the hotel workers also, like Florida.

Mr. SMITH. I think that each State has the responsibility for these people, but I believe it goes beyond that and I believe that the Federal Government must also give aid either on a Federal-State basis or a straight grant basis or a straight State basis with the Federal grants. That would necessarily have to be worked out to determine what would be the most effective and efficient method of administering some type of program.

Mr. OSMERS. At the hearing in New York City, there was some thought given by some of the witnesses, and some of the members of the committee, to the advisability of registering these migrant workers so that they would have some card or identification paper with them which would show to the local authorities that they were not criminal, and that they had a residence somewhere. Do you feel that such an arrangement would be helpful in the State of Florida?

Mr. SMITH. If I understand the full extent of that, possibly, yes. The city of Miami requires all persons who have a criminal record to register with the police department.

Mr. OSMERS. That is just one city in the State?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; I should say Miami and Miami Beach.

Mr. OSMERS. That wouldn't, of course, have anything to do with the State problem. That might affect a few hotel workers and service workers and such as that.

Mr. SMITH. That does affect hotel workers. Of course, I don't know what the witness had in mind in mentioning such an arrangement as that, but some type of thing like that might be an aid to the migrants.

Mr. OSMERS. I think that they had several things in mind—one of them was crime prevention, no doubt. The State police of the State of New Jersey started to fingerprint every migrant worker that came into the State of New Jersey and checked the files to see if there were any criminals among our migrant workers. We will possibly find some very valuable information as a result of that fingerprinting.

If you agree that it is a public problem to assist these migrant workers should they become destitute as they did in Florida last season, how would you say that aid should be distributed? What is your opinion on it? How should it be handled?

Mr. SMITH. My own opinion is that it would possibly be a 50–50 proposition between the Federal Government and the State Government.

Mr. OSMERS. Federal and State?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir. However, that immediately brings up the problem with reference to these migrants who live a portion of the time in the State of Georgia and in the State of Alabama, we might say 40–40 each, and in those instances, it would be easier financially on one of those States than it would be on the State of Florida where the individual spends 20 percent of his time. The State of Florida, I do not believe, could even start to give financial aid to all of these thousands should they become destitute.

Mr. OSMERS. Just with reference to the State of Florida, would you say that such a system of assistance should be given out or rendered by a Federal or a State agency with a Federal grant-in-aid? In other words, where would you place the supervisory duties?

Mr. SMITH. I am very much inclined to believe that it should be Federal supervision and Federal grant, somewhat similar to our unemployment compensation grants. The Federal Government would maintain the supervision to see that certain standards are met, but a State agency interested in administering relief or unemployment compensation or employment services would be the administrative agency.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you mean a Federal agency?

Mr. SMITH. A State agency.

Mr. OSMERS. A State agency?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir. I am particularly interested in that because the State Employment Service of the State of Florida services thousands upon thousands of out-of-State registrants each winter. The grants at present are made on some basis of population or needs of the State. This is not necessarily a Florida problem. They are there and we attempt to take care of them the best that we can. For instance, if an employer requests that he be furnished a worker, unless he specifies that he cannot be an out-of-State registrant, we give him the best man.

Mr. OSMERS. Are there any other matters that you might care to suggest to the committee that would aid the State of Florida in coping with this migratory problem?

Mr. SMITH. I think that one of the major aids would be housing.

Mr. OSMERS. Housing?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; that would be either migrant camp on a permanent basis or even on a mobile basis. In some areas, a mobile basis would serve satisfactorily. In some of these areas that I class as mobile areas, the migrants are only there for about 5 or 6 weeks, but while the migrants are in that particular area, there is a very definite health problem, and possibly some crime problem, because from the information that I get on those matters, it shows that the arrests for crime in such localities always go up when these people come in. Many people say that it is not the migrants so much in the areas that I refer to, but it is those who are preying upon the migrants who get themselves mixed up with the law in a great many instances. However, crime is usual where there are congested housing conditions, and in some of these localities there is not only congestion among the migrants, but there are no housing or sanitary provisions.

Mr. OSMERS. Will you please describe to the committee just what you mean by mobile housing?

Mr. SMITH. There might be several types, but the type I particularly have in mind would be a wooden base, for a tent of some kind to be placed on, that could be moved. The tent could be taken down and the base moved from one place to another, as the necessity might require.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you mean a regular tent base floor or section, or something of that nature?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; and I am positive that in many of the localities that the farmers or the cities themselves would be only too glad to provide the space for them.

Mr. OSMERS. Those were the only questions that I have.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

(No response.)

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Smith.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to attach this map to my statement. There is considerably more information in my exhibits. I have only touched on a few of the high points, as you suggested, in my oral testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir; that may be attached as an exhibit. Thank you very much, Mr. Smith.

(Map of migratory routes in Florida, and contributory States (agricultural labor) was received in evidence and appears on the facing page.)

TESTIMONY OF FRANK COLLINS, MIGRATORY CAMP, BELLE GLADE, FLA.

Mr. PARSONS. State your name for the record.

Mr. COLLINS. Frank Collins.

Mr. PARSONS. What is your address?

Mr. COLLINS. Migratory Camp, Belle Glade, Fla.

Mr. PARSONS. Where were you born and when?

Mr. COLLINS. Born in North Carolina, Swain County, 1896, I believe.

Mr. PARSONS. Were your people long residents of that section?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Where were your parents born?

Mr. COLLINS. My father was born just across the State line, about 20 miles from there, over in Tennessee, across the Tennessee line.

Mr. PARSONS. Was your father a farmer?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Did he own his farm?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. That was in North Carolina?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes, sir; that was in Carolina.

Mr. PARSONS. How much land did he own?

Mr. COLLINS. I think possibly 160 acres or something like that; I am not sure though.

Mr. PARSONS. Was it all in cultivation?

Mr. COLLINS. No, sir; very little.

Mr. PARSONS. What were the crops that could be produced on it?

Mr. COLLINS. The crops produced were corn, potatoes; he had an apple orchard on the place.

Mr. PARSONS. Did he have any other means of livelihood?

Mr. COLLINS. He raised cattle and hogs; it was open range.

Mr. PARSONS. They had the open range to range them on?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. He didn't have to confine them to his own land?

Mr. COLLINS. That is right, it was open range then.

Mr. PARSONS. When did you first leave the home town?

Mr. COLLINS. I think that it was about—I think I was about 15 years old.

Mr. PARSONS. Where did you go?

Mr. COLLINS. I went to Georgia. My intention was to go to Texas, but I didn't, I went to Georgia first.

Mr. PARSONS. How long did you remain in Georgia?

Mr. COLLINS. Some 4 or 5 years.

Mr. PARSONS. Were you married there?

Mr. COLLINS. I was.

Mr. PARSONS. Where did you next settle?

Mr. COLLINS. In Texas.

Mr. PARSONS. You finally made that trip to Texas, did you?

Mr. COLLINS. Yes, sir; I finally made it after I learned the way.

Mr. PARSONS. Why did you go to Texas?

Mr. COLLINS. Well, for one reason, I had always read about it and really wanted to go, and I had an uncle there and I thought I might possibly get a break with him some way or other.

Mr. PARSONS. I started out when I was 19 years old to go to New Mexico, but I have never gotten there yet, but I hope some day to make it. How long did you stay in Texas?

Mr. COLLINS. I stayed in the first place that I settled for 2 or 3 years. Then I become unsettled and I stayed for 4 or 5 years at from just first one place to another, place to place, and then I——

Mr. PARSONS. Do you mean from place to place in Texas or to other States?

Mr. COLLINS. No; I went through New Mexico all right, and through Arizona and to California.

Mr. PARSONS. What years were you making these travels through New Mexico, Arizona, and California? You have been to California too?

Mr. Collins. Yes, sir. I guess that must have been from 1924 to 1928, along in there somewhere; I don't recall exactly.

Mr. Parsons. What kind of work were you doing then?

Mr. Collins. Well, we were mostly picking cotton, and we picked some lettuce, and in California we worked some in the grapes and some in the lemons.

Mr. Parsons. You were familiar with the cotton-picking business back in the Carolinas and Georgia and over in Texas, too, weren't you?

Mr. Collins. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Did you ever own a farm of your own?

Mr. Collins. No, sir; I never did.

Mr. Parsons. What happened to your father's farm—what was the disposition of it?

Mr. Collins. He married again and finally it was sold; he raised another family and really I don't know just what happened to it.

Mr. Parsons. Didn't you contract to buy a farm down in Georgia at one time?

Mr. Collins. I did. I bought a little place down there, in coming back from out of the West, but I didn't have very much money, and I paid $200 on this farm and the boll weevils got in on it; I didn't have the means of raising anything much but cotton.

Mr. Parsons. Where did you get the $200 to pay down on it?

Mr. Collins. Oh, at different places, picking cotton and one thing and another; no certain place where I got it.

Mr. Parsons. About what were your wages annually for picking cotton and in the making of the cotton crop itself—I assume that you worked through the entire season?

Mr. Collins. In picking cotton. I could make from $4 to $5 per day, that is, picking cotton. In making the cotton crops about $1.25 per day is about all that you get.

Mr. Parsons. You earned that much in cash and did you have anything much besides that?

Mr. Collins. No; we wouldn't have anything much whatever.

Mr. Parsons. Where did you go when you returned to the South from California?

Mr. Collins. I came into Georgia.

Mr. Parsons. Into Georgia.

Mr. Collins. Yes. Of course, I worked back through Texas.

Mr. Parsons. You worked back through those States to Georgia?

Mr. Collins. Yes, sir.

Mt. Parsons. Where did you go then from Georgia?

Mr. Collins. I went to Florida.

Mr. Parsons. What did you do in Florida?

Mr. Collins. I worked in the vegetables through the winter season; that is, through the vegetable season, I worked there, and then——

Mr. Parsons. What kind of work were you doing?

Mr. Collins. The first 2 or 3 years I worked spreading beans on a grading belt after I went there, and for the last 3 years I have been foreman of a packing house.

Mr. PARSONS. Are you foreman of the packing house now, or were you the last season down there?

Mr. COLLINS. I was.

Mr. PARSONS. And you expect to return to that work for the next season?

Mr. COLLINS. Well, I don't know; some change is being made in the packing house, but I expect to be there, maybe.

Mr. PARSONS. Where do you live now?

Mr. COLLINS. I live at the migratory camp.

Mr. PARSONS. What is furnished you there—what are the living conditions and what are the sanitary conditions and so on in the migratory camp where you live?

Mr. COLLINS. The living conditions are good; we have lights and water and showers and everything is fixed very nice.

Mr. PARSONS. Who maintains the camp—who keeps it up?

Mr. COLLINS. I suppose that the Government keeps it up, so far as I know.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you taken any other excursions through any other part of the country except this one to California and back?

Mr. COLLINS. Up until this year, I have always had to leave Florida in the summer due to having no place to live in the summer season, and I would go to Kentucky and Michigan and up through Indiana coming back and working in Kentucky around Paducah in the strawberry section going up, and around Benton Harbor I would work some, and would work in the strawberries and the cherries going up, and I would come back through Indiana and work in the tomatoes, and then it would be about vegetable time in Florida, and between those two times maybe we would have a few weeks off.

Mr. PARSONS. Have you kept an account of your earnings during these years of your migrations?

Mr. COLLINS. I haven't kept any exact account.

Mr. PARSONS. You haven't paid any income taxes on your earnings so far?

Mr. COLLINS. Not yet; no, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Could you give us an approximate figure of your earnings?

Mr. COLLINS. The way that it works is this: In the fall of the year, they have 4 or 5 good weeks when they will earn $12 to $15 a week, the average worker, I mean, and then there is generally a frost or a freeze-out up there. Even if there isn't the farmers have got to where they expect that and plan for it, and there is 7 or 8 weeks lay-off and they have only about the same amount in the spring, I would say 6 or 7 weeks of spring work—I wouldn't think that the whole thing would average over $5 or $6 a week, because there is so much time between the crops, you see.

Mr. PARSONS. Would you say that the work for the whole year would range around 24 weeks out of the 52 weeks?

Mr. COLLINS. Well, yes; there ought to be that much.

Mr. PARSONS. And then what has been your average daily wages in these other States as you have followed the strawberry season through Kentucky and the cherry season through Wisconsin and Michigan.

Mr. **Collins.** Oh, I could make $3 or $4 per day to each person in the strawberry season in Kentucky.

Mr. **Parsons.** What do you get per week when you are foreman of the bean-grading plant?

Mr. **Collins.** I have been getting $90 per month, or at the rate of $90. I actually earned $560 for the period of 8 months I worked as foreman.

Mr. **Parsons.** For how many months out of the year?

Mr. **Collins.** About 8 months.

Mr. **Parsons.** So that has been very much better than your average weekly income for the whole year in the past?

Mr. **Collins.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons.** And I assume if they offer you that position again you will go back again this year, is that correct?

Mr. **Collins.** I would not like anything better than to go back.

Mr. **Parsons.** How many members are in your family?

Mr. **Collins.** Five.

Mr. **Parsons.** Where are they living now, that is, your wife and your children?

Mr. **Collins.** They are at the Belle Glade Migratory Camp.

Mr. **Parsons.** Do they go back and forth with you on these migrations?

Mr. **Collins.** Yes.

Mr. **Parsons.** How do you travel?

Mr. **Collins.** In a car.

Mr. **Parsons.** Do you own your own car, your own automobile?

Mr. **Collins.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons.** How long have you been living at Belle Glade, Fla.?

Mr. **Collins.** I have been there for 6 years, but this has been the first year that I have stayed there because of not having any sufficient place to live through the summer months.

Mr. **Parsons.** When did you come up here?

Mr. **Collins.** Do you mean to this place?

Mr. **Parsons.** To Montgomery.

Mr. **Collins.** Today.

Mr. **Parsons.** Did you drive up?

Mr. **Collins.** Yes, sir; I came with the camp manager.

Mr. **Parsons.** You have been living at this camp how long?

Mr. **Collins.** It must be about since the first of—or the middle of April, I guess it is.

Mr. **Parsons.** Did you send your children to school?

Mr. **Collins.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons.** How do they get an education and you traveling through so many States, through so many different parts of the year?

Mr. **Collins.** My children?

Mr. **Parsons.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Collins.** Well, we don't travel while school is going on; the school is in the same season of the work.

Mr. **Parsons.** In your experience have you ever found it possible as a migrant worker to establish a permanent home—have you had an ambition during all of these years that if you could find something of a permanent nature to settle down or has this wanderlust fever so gotten ahold of you that you just like to keep on traveling?

Mr. COLLINS. I have tried at various times to try to locate in some place, but it seems that I couldn't get located someway or other.

Mr. PARSONS. That's all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. You are excused.

(Whereupon, the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF CLARENCE R. BITTING, PRESIDENT, UNITED STATES SUGAR CORPORATION, CLEWISTON, FLA.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bitting, will you please come around? Please state your name and position for the record.

Mr. BITTING. My name is Clarence R. Bitting. I am appearing here in my capacity as president of the United States Sugar Corporation of Clewiston, Fla.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bitting, you may proceed.

Mr. BITTING. I have a rather lengthy statement prepared here, and it is getting late, and I would like to file that written statement for the record, and just touch on some of the high points.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be entirely satisfactory if you will just do what you have indicated now. I have read your statement that you are submitting for the record and it is a very valuable contribution to this committee, and if you will just proceed with the high lights and touch upon what you want to go over at the moment from the standpoint of our investigation, you may proceed.

Mr. BITTING. I will give this copy of my statement to the stenographer and I hope that it may be admitted as evidence here.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir; it is admitted as evidence here.

STATEMENT OF CLARENCE R. BITTING, PRESIDENT, UNITED STATES SUGAR CORPORATION, CLEWISTON, FLA.

My name is Clarence R. Bitting. I am appearing here in my capacity as president of United States Sugar Corporation of Clewiston, Fla. I understand we have been requested to present our views on the question under consideration and to outline the means and methods used by us in meeting the problems involved in large-scale agricultural employment. Only recently a Federal official, testifying before Senate Civil Liberties Committee, said—"The standard of living of the sugarcane workers employed by the United States Sugar Corporation is higher than the standard of most agricultural workers in the continental area. The seasonal migration of cane labor to Florida does not appear to present any problems except possibly that of controlling the supply so that the maximum amount of employment is available for the year-round workers and for those employed only during harvesting. On the whole, sugarcane workers in Florida constitute a relatively privileged class of agricultural workers." We have consistently made profits during the time when most producers of the same crop were complaining of their inability to make ends meet because of low market prices.

The problems being studied by this committee are today probably more serious than at any time in the history of our Nation. These problems have always received some attention from thinking persons because of the American emphasis upon living standards and protection of the ordinary man from exploitation. In recent years that emphasis has been accentuated, and such accentuated emphasis undoubtedly is, and has been, a healthy thing for America.

For an understanding of our accomplishments to date we believe it advisable to outline briefly the problems and conditions we originally faced; the philosophy underlying our approach to the problem; the means and methods used to achieve the results obtained; and the presentation of existing conditions on Florida sugarcane plantations. Such approach will, of necessity, deal with the past and present aspect of the problem under consideration and must at times touch upon the broad general agricultural problem, with which the present problem is closely intertwined.

Before stating our problem and how we solved it, perhaps it might be well to touch upon the basic general problems which affect the particular problem under consideration at this hearing.

If our Nation is to endure, people are entitled to, and must have, certain basic things. These basic things are both spiritual and material. Man lives not by bread alone. Every man wants the satisfaction of performing a useful and worth-while service in exchange for the things he needs or desires; he also wants the pleasures of making a secure home and of rearing a family; self-respect requires that he provide his family with all the necessities and some of the fundamental comforts of life; he needs congenial companions, an outlet for religious aspirations, and availability of education and recreation; all these things produce spiritual and mental satisfaction. On the material side there are also basic needs; these are fundamental if we are to have a healthy, happy people; such needs include housing that will keep out the weather, clothing that will protect his family, proper and adequate food to keep them healthy, sanitary and medical facilities to ward off disease, and facilities for religious worship, education, recreation, and companionship. These are all simple and basic needs; to produce satisfactory living they need be neither elaborate nor expensive.

The basic phenomena of interstate migration of destitute citizens have been present since colonial days. Poverty, wanderlust, love of adventure, restlessness, and resistance to restraint, as well as the search for the pot of gold at the end of the rainbow, have all combined to cause the migrations which opened the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Closely allied with such migrations and often a a part of them was the itinerant worker. The itinerant worker is probably as old as mankind. In colonial days we had itinerant cobblers, blacksmiths, tinsmiths, clockmakers, tool grinders, and others; during the Middle Ages they had the wandering minstrel.

Interstate migration of our people in search of health, recreation, adventure, or the hope of improving their economic condition is not something new, nor is it something inherently evil. Our forefathers faced hardship and suffering during their migrations when this continent was opened to civilization. The evils in migrations of our people in search of employment have become aggravated during the past decade by reason of absence of homesteading lands as well as unusual economic and social conditions forced upon them, but the evils, hardships, and sufferings are not generally as deplorable as the overdrawn picture used as a background for recent inexcusable widespread retailing of dirt, smut, and depravity.

The problems associated with migrations of a substantial portion of our people in search of employment are not restricted to rural areas. In both number of itinerant or seasonal workers, and the seriousness of their problems, our large industrialized urban centers present an even greater need for solution. Insofar as the problem in our rural areas is concerned, it is closely bound up with the problems of farm income, farm indebtedness, farm tenancy, sharecropping, and kindred facets of our farm problem as a whole. No one angle of our agricultural problem can be solved without careful consideration of all other angles; properly solved, the solution of any one angle of the problem will help to solve the other angles.

In a sincere effort to soften the harsh problem of the seasonal worker in both industry and agriculture one of our best known and most successful industrialists has both advocated and practiced the theory of combining work in both fields through the use of small factories for the production of automotive parts during the slack farming season. An adoption of such method by many of our large industrial enterprises, which can afford to carry substantial inventories of standardized parts, would be of great assistance in helping to solve the problem of the seasonal worker and thus reduce the necessity for migration. The relocation, away from our overpopulated and overlarge cities of small seasonally active industrial plants in rural communities where the agricultural peak and industrial peak do not coincide, will also prove very helpful.

The problem of migratory, seasonal agricultural workers is bound up in the solution of all our economic problems, both industrial and agricultural, but more immediate relief will undoubtedly be found in a solution of our agricultural problem. For years and years we have talked farm relief and we have legislated farm relief; in recent years we have spent billions for farm relief. Based upon remarks of those in authority, the farm papers, the heads of farm organizations, and Members of Congress, we are further away from realistic relief for our farmers than ever before. Surely such a condition indicates we have been on the wrong course. Perhaps we have substituted words for thoughts and in so doing the words have been worn smooth because the thoughts expressed are worn empty.

Our agricultural economists have completely and utterly failed our farmers; instead of finding ways and means to cure the problems causing migrations of destitute farm families, they have apparently wandered over the earth with their heads in Olympian clouds. To illustrate, permit me to quote from one of the papers presented at the annual meeting of the American Farm Economic Association held at Philadelphia, December 27, 28, and 29, 1939.

"Part of the income from farming to the small owner-farmer, is the opportunity to accumulate through investing spare-time family labor in clearing land, fencing, construction or improvement of buildings." That statement probably sounded deliciously nice when read in the cozy warmth and luxury of a big city hotel on a cold, wintry day. The starry-eyed, long-haired, flowing-tied idealist could have been extremely helpful had he described how the trash from the cleared land could be served as a delicious and nourishing meal to a growing family; how the fencing could be used to replace the worn-out tire on the tractor or car; how the building improvements could be made into attractive and serviceable clothing for the family; and how all the left-overs could be used for cash to pay the hired man.

Before outlining the early conditions of sugar production in the Everglades a brief description of the area will help to build a mental background for that which follows. Unlike the usual illustrations in school geographies, the Everglades is a vast, almost perfectly flat area; that portion of the area with which we are now concerned is to the east and south of Lake Okeechobee; a line running east and west and touching the southern shores of Lake Okeechobee would reach from West Palm Beach on the Atlantic to Fort Myers on the Gulf of Mexico, a distance of 120 miles; the highest natural point on such line is scarcely 20 feet above sea-level; excepting on what are termed "ridges" on which grow some few stunted custard-apple trees, all trees in the area have been brought in by mankind for shade, decoration and as fences along canals, which canals have been provided for the purpose of draining the rich humus muck land, the grade of which is not sufficient for natural drainage.

In 1925 an ambitious plan for the reclamation of large areas in the Everglades and their planting to sugarcane was undertaken. For various reasons this resulted in failure during 1930. Shortly after the appointment of receivers for the Everglades cane sugar development in 1930, creditors and substantial stockholders of the old company requested Bitting, Incorporated, a management organization, to make a study of the situation to determine the desirability of reorganizing the properties. As a result of studies and recommendations made by us the sugar-producing properties in the Everglades were acquired by United States Sugar Corporation.

During the examination and survey of the properties we found low wages, poor housing, and almost complete absence of recreational and similar facilities; we found a labor peak, lasting but 3 months, equal to more than three times the labor requirement during the balance of the year; we also found what might well be expected—a dissatisfied force of employees and extremely high labor turn-over. In only one of the operation's many plantation villages were these conditions not present, although, as elsewhere on the property, low wages prevailed.

To accomplish the aims we set for ourselves—namely, a successful sugar-producing property in the Everglades—we knew that one of the first objectives had to be a satisfied, healthy, happy field organization. As most of the work during the harvest was on piece-work rates we made slight increases in these rates; knowing there were right and wrong ways and methods of cutting and loading cane we hired an expert to teach the men proper working methods, which instruction is now continued through the group leaders; without further changes in the piece-work rates the men were enabled to double their daily earnings and we made no attempt to cut wage rates. We rebuilt the villages so we now have weather-tight cottages, the exteriors of which are sheathed with grey-white asbestos shingles; to improve village appearance we offered prizes for the best lawns, flower gardens, and vegetable gardens. As we do not permit child labor we insisted that the children attend school. These aims were not achieved overnight, nor were they achieved without costs; we knew it would take time and cost money. The time has been well spent and the money cost has paid excellent dividends. Today we have a happy, healthy, contented labor force with a turn-over that would make many able industrialists green with envy.

Please do not misunderstand me. We were not interested solely in the welfare of the field laborer; we knew we had to have a good crew or we could not be successful; the labor angle was but one of our problems, the solutions of which all meshed together for the achievement of our aims. As previously stated, at the time we acquired the properties the harvest season extended for a period of but 3 months and involved a peak labor force more than three times that required for the balance of the year. The last published report of the company covers the 1938–39 harvest; during that harvest we operated for 174 days, almost 6 months, practically double the period of harvest when the properties were acquired. This longer harvest season means proportionately greater demands for labor during the balance of the year with the result that today more than half the peak labor requirement is on the property throughout the year.

The harvest season was extended for other reasons than creating work for employees, but creation of more continuous work helped tremendously in the solution of the labor problem. To achieve this much longer harvest season it was necessary to improve our methods of water control and we had to develop new and improved varieties of sugarcane to mature over a longer period. A sugar house costs approximately $1,000 per ton of daily cane capacity; our average daily capacity is in excess of 5,000 tons; forgetting all factors but capital investment in sugar-house facilities, doubling the length of harvest season increases the capacity of the sugar house to the same extent as if the harvest season remained the same and the sugar-house facilities were doubled save one exception, and it is an important exception; there is $5,000,000 less fixed capital invested in sugar-house facilities.

As sugarcane culture and harvesting in the Everglades requires substantial capital investments in both field machinery and equipment, savings in capital investments for these items in the field are equally as important as the savings described for sugar-house facilities. Private research in the development of cane varieties and improvements in methods of water control have substantially reduced the amount of necessary capital as compared with methods in force when the properties were acquired; such achievements have released much capital now used and useful for other purposes. If it were not for the inquitous provisions of the Sugar Act of 1937, which prohibits Americans from supplying their own needs of a nonsurplus necessary and vital food, Florida could extend its harvest season for a full 7 months or more, which would give at least 7 months' work to peak labor requirements, and year-round work to more than two-thirds of the peak requirement, and, further, equally if not more important, would permit more extensive cane raising, on an efficient and cooperative basis, by the independent farmers of the area and thus provide good wages and high standards of living for thousands and thousands of skilled and semiskilled white men and for tens and tens of thousands of southern Negroes.

So far, I have touched but briefly upon the achievements which have made possible the statement that our employees were in many ways a privileged class of agricultural workers. Permit me to now describe our methods.

Agricultural operations of United States Sugar Corporation are spread over a 50-mile front, around the eastern and southern shores of Lake Okeechobee, from a point just north of Canal Point on the east, around the rim of the lake to a point just south of Moore Haven on the west. To serve these operations and keep the employees close to the center of their activities it is necessary that provision be made for housing and maintaining employees throughout the property. The plantations are not in one solid block, but are interspersed with the cane and vegetable plantations of numerous independent growers; several good-sized towns, ranging upwards to 5,000 inhabitants, including Canal Point, Pahokee, Belle Glade, South Bay, Lake Harbor, Clewiston, and Moore Haven are located within the general area in which the Corporation conducts its activities.

Plantation employees reside in 11 villages strategically located throughout the property, often close by a city or town located in the general area. Besides clean, sanitary, weatherproof cottages for employees and their families, each village contains accommodations for single employees, office, store, shops, and equipment sheds, as well as schools, churches, recreational and first-aid facilities. Employee hospitals are maintained at Clewiston on the west and Canal Point on the east. The plantation villages, actually small towns in themselves, have attracted much favorable comment from official and casual visitors not only on their sanitary conditions and attractive appearance but on the many conveniences provided.

Company stores are clean, attractive, well stocked, and are equipped with modern fixtures; annual sales are in excess of $750,000 and the stores are operated at a small loss, varying from a low of $2,500 in some years to as much as $12,000 in other years. The stores are operated on a strict cash-and-carry basis without compulsion of any kind on the employees to patronize them; these stores are operated as a convenience for the employees, the sole purpose being to insure availability of good merchandise at reasonable prices.

The question has been raised at various times as to the reason for the excellent cottages furnished rent free to field workers and their families. The answer is simple. The asbestos shingle used for siding is not only weatherproof and fire-resistant but is also relatively inexpensive to maintain and to keep clean and fresh looking; a good, substantial roof adds to weathertight qualities; screens make life more healthy and more comfortable. It is poor economy to use shacks for housing employees; the field worker and his family who reside in a good house are healthy and happy; illness is commonplace in shacky construction; thus two shacks are necessary to house two ill, miserable, and unhappy families, as against one well-built cottage to house one healthy, happy family; the well-built cottage costs no more, if as much, as two shacks; the total labor requirement on the plantation is less; and those employed, by reason of steady earnings, can enjoy a much higher living standard. As we rebuilt the plantation villages the uplift in morale was quite apparent; the workers and their families took more pride in the appearance of their homes and gardens; they were personally cleaner and wore cleaner and better clothes. All these things combine to make better workmen, and good workers are one of the secrets of success.

In practically every village, school buildings have been furnished by the Corporation to the local school boards; in the few villages where schools have not been provided company transportation is furnished to carry the children to the school in the next adjoining village. As the colored teachers are accorded the status of a company employee insofar as perquisites are concerned we have been able to attract college graduates as teachers; domestic science is a required study for girls and extension courses are given for the older women; some of the schools now have manual-training courses for the older boys and our plans contemplate extension of this training to all village schools; the manual-training courses were an experiment during the past year and have proved very successful. We insist that all children in company villages attend school; children have never been permitted to work on the company's operations. Choral groups and bands, amongst both children and adults, are encouraged, the Corporation supplying both instruments and instruction.

Methods employed in connection with seasonal workers are of interest. Personnel supervisors, being active in all recreational work as well as dealing with all problems affecting employees, are usually known to all who have ever worked on the plantations. Our problem on seasonal employment is fairly simple as we now have more than 85 percent of seasonal force returning year after year; our chief source of concern today is preventing an oversupply of labor coming into the plantations. Shortly before beginning of harvest a determination is made of the number of seasonal employees required; this number is then roughly allocated to the various localities in which the seasonal employees work during the balance of the year. It might be here noted that the seasonal peak for employment in the Everglades is during the slack season for present crops in northern Florida, Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina and thus fits ideally with requirements of those areas. After the determination, already mentioned, has been made, the director of personnel or his assistant, visits the different localities, checks up on the number available and indicates to one of the leaders, or straw bosses, the number of employees who will be acceptable from such locality.

A "cane-cutter's special" is operated at beginning of the harvest season by Atlantic Coast Line and the Sugar Corporation advances railroad fare to all old employees; in some instances the men themselves make arrangements with a local operator to transport them, previous experience telling the operator the Sugar Corporation will protect his fare if reasonable; in other instances cotton plantation operators provide transportation in both directions at the beginning and end of crop for their employees who are thus afforded an opportunity for year-round employment.

Upon arrival at the plantations the employees go directly to the "receiving station" where they are given a physical examination; those who do not pass such examination are furnished return transportation; those who pass the examination are housed and fed, without cost, until assigned to regular work. Immediately upon passing physical examination they are supplied with paper, envelope, and stamp and instructed to write the home folks of their arrival.

All employees, either permanent or seasonal, are permitted to choose the overseer under whom they desire to work. When overseers are moved from one plantation to another the families and personal effects of all employees who desire to follow him are transported at company expense. Seasonal employees are credited with a full year's service for each season in computations relative to wage dividend participations.

Every now and then we uncover some more or less surprising situations. During recent long harvests we found some seasonal workers toward the end of the harvest asking for right to additional withdrawals of approximately $1 per day. Inquiry developed the fact they were hiring a home-town boy to do the early work on their cotton acreage at $1 a day while they stayed on in the Everglades and made $3 a day or better.

Recreation and opportunity for companionship are important elements of life in a plantation village. Movies and home-talent entertainment are regular features; plantation boxing and interplantation bouts are also regular features which often take the entire population of a village on a visit to another village; interplantation baseball and football leagues make Sunday afternoons a joyous occasion throughout the property. Pool, checkers, dominoes, and the bridge experts help to while away rainy afternoons. The village choral societies, of mixed voices, are establishing an enviable reputation for their rendering of Negro spirituals. The religious instincts of the employees and their families are given full opportunity to develop.

The harvest celebration, or barbecue day, is the big event of the year. On this day, following the close of the harvest, the many and varied prizes are awarded. Prizes include those for length of service, daily turn-out for work, care of equipment, best record in various and sundry instances, etc., etc. Athletic events are held on this day and numerous prizes are awarded in connection therewith. So that everyone may have a chance on some prizes the pay-roll numbers of all employees are placed in a huge box, a number of prizes set aside, and as the number is called the lucky employee takes his choice of prizes on the table. The big event of the day is the barbecue, usually personally cooked by the plantation overseer. On last barbecue day more than 22,000 plates of lunch were served on all the plantations; glasses of lemonade and dishes of ice cream exceeded this number by far, so the suspicion exists that repeaters showed up for these items.

The cash wages received by workers on sugar plantations in Florida are but a part of their compensation, as they also receive, without any charge whatsoever, the use of a well-built, weather-tight, sanitary cottage; fuel; running water; outside laundry facilities; space for vegetable and flower gardens; medical care and hospitalization for employees and members of their families, except medical care and hospitalization for "social accidents"; churches, schools, and community facilities built and maintained by the Corporation in each plantation village; wholesome entertainment and recreation for workers and members of their families, conducted by experienced and capable persons employed by the Corporation solely for such work; modern and clean stores conveniently located in each plantation village where the staple needs of the family may be secured substantially at cost, on a cash-and-carry basis, but complete and total absence of compulsion upon employees to trade in such stores; full protection and benefits of the State compensation statutes, to which the Corporation voluntarily subjected itself; participation in wage-dividend fund and eligibility to win a number of valuable annual prizes. In addition to all these valuable prequisites, the average cash wage of harvest workers during the past harvest was well over $2 per day, the better workers exceeding $3 in cash per day. The day is 9 hours over all, which means less than 8 hours actual working time.

We have tried various methods and periods of wage payments, including weekly, semimonthly, and monthly payments, and the use of company money. Our present methods have been found to be the most satisfactory. Each and every employee is entitled to draw down $2 on Mondays and Wednesdays and $3 on Fridays; additional withdrawals, or advances, can be had upon written order of plantation overseer. On the first Saturday of each month final settlement is made in cash for the previous month's earnings. When pay periods were on a weekly basis the contents of pay envelopes were quickly frittered away; when we used company money we found it being used in trade off the plantations at tremendous discounts. Today the employees draw what they need for their day-to-day expenditures, and when pay day rolls around they have sufficient funds, so they are interested in using a part to buy things for the family and saving the balance; many employees have postal-savings accounts, and others, more particularly the seasonal workers, buy postal money orders to send home.

In an effort to provide more and more year-round employment for peak-labor demand we have conducted extensive research. Two definite results have been obtained. We now have the only commercial plantings of lemon grass and are endeavoring to obtain planting stock for citronella grass; these grasses yield essential oils now imported, and the "spent" grass, being high in proteins, makes excellent cattle feed. We are now growing other high-protein crops for the purpose of mixing with blackstrap, a byproduct of cane sugar, for production of mixed stock feeds. These endeavors are for the primary purpose of creating additional employment during slack season; nevertheless, we expect to make a profit.

The detailed explanation of employee relationship has so far dealt exclusively with colored employees, because approximately 90 percent of the employees are Negroes. The white employees, mostly skilled mechanics, timekeepers, foremen, storekeepers, overseers, and clerical force also receive their full share of attention. The center of their social life is the Clewiston Inn; they have their own barbecue day at the sugarhouse, with dancing in the evening; the Clewiston baseball team plays throughout south Florida, and the Sugarland Band, consisting of company employees, has long since ceased to fear radio broadcasting.

Another group closely allied to our operation consists of independent farmers having part of their acreage planted to sugarcane and holding contracts for sale of such cane to the Corporation. The price paid for cane is determined by its sugar content and the quoted price for raw sugar. These independent growers have full access to our research and development work and freely call upon our various experts for advice, counsel, and guidance. In smaller groups, whose operations are contiguous, these farmers cooperate in the purchase and use of the more expensive units of equipment. Under the methods just outlined these independent farmers have all the advantages of large-scale operation, and, as a result, they are consistent money makers.

Plans are now being developed for establishment of Everglades Sugar Institute, an extension technical school, suppored solely by the Corporation, to be open to all white employees not only of the Corporation but also white employees of independent farmers holding contracts with Corporation for sale of sugarcane.

There have been sketched, in broad outline, the accomplishments in the Everglades, the philosophy underlying the approach of the problems presented, and some detail of method used in achieving success in southern agriculture. Based upon knowledge and experience gained in this and other endeavors, principles applicable to a solution of the problem before this committee may now be outlined.

It is fundamental that neither agriculture nor industry can long continue to pay out more than comes in. Agriculture quite justly claims it cannot pay better wages or give greater employment because of short seasons and the existing relationship of prices and costs. Until and unless these conditions are corrected there is little hope for ending destitution and migration amongst our agricultural population.

Agricultural relief has faced the wrong direction—all endeavor has been directed to raising prices, or making good out of the Public Treasury the difference between current price and a statistical "parity." In our search for panaceas for the ills of agriculture we have overlooked the fact that a cost reduction of $1 is a much bigger dollar than the dollar obtained through a boost in price. Most people think all dollars are the same size; the contrary is true. A dollar that stays with you is, effectively, a much larger dollar than the one which must be shared with others. Naturally, when all our people are well-fed, well-clothed, and well-housed our aggregate agricultural costs will be greater, but our unit agricultural costs should be lower. When speaking of cost reduction we mean reduction in unit cost.

All food, most clothing, and a large part of our housing, the three fundamental material needs of mankind, come from the farm. We are told that one-third of our people are ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed. Industry has fully demonstrated the ever-widening demand opened by each reduction in selling price made possible by reduction in unit costs. Ignoring for the moment the great present-day cost of distributing agricultural products, which cost must be very substantially reduced, we have the basis for a constructive agricultural policy.

A reduction of cost of $1 yields an immediate return equal to more than an increase of $1 in selling price; the dollar of reduction in cost all goes into the pocket of the farmer, whereas a dollar increase in selling price must be shared with all the long line of middlemen. The second dollar of reduced costs, passed on in selling price, means a reduction of more than a dollar to the consumer, because all the middlemen have to give up their percentage, too. A $2 reduction in cost of production thus gives an immediate dollar to the farmer, and the other dollar, applied to reducing selling price, opens up a wider consuming market. To obtain such reductions in unit cost of production and thus make greater profits while at the same time opening ever-widening markets requires some very basic changes in the viewpoint of many persons, particularly some in high authority.

That size of operation has a very distinct bearing upon our agricultural problems was thoroughly appreciated during 1929 by a person who later became a leader of the "brain trust" and very active in directing agricultural policy, although not along the lines he advocated in 1929. His attitude can best be expressed by quoting selected sentences from an article published in 1929. I quote: "The operating units of the future must be larger than those of the present. A dozen miserable farms, which pay their operators poor returns, might be made, if they were combined and expertly managed, to yield a good return. The really disturbing thing is that this whole range of considerations never enters any discussion of proposals for relief. The probabilities for the new agriculture are that it will be carried on in larger units, but on less land and with a smaller personnel; it will be more highly capitalized; there will be fewer proprietors and more workers. It is not use we have to fear, but abuse. Certainly those industries which have been most profitable are the ones which now exhibit the best technique, the greatest devotion to efficiency, and consequently the lowest costs. Perhaps the first step necessary in agriculture is to make it likewise profitable; its present backwardness is not only a disgrace to those actively engaged in it, but a gross reflection on American ability and a significant drag on the whole economic system."

Our experience in the Everglades bears out, in part, the quotations just read.

Fifty men on our property rate as key executives, and through our executive bonus plan each year increase their interest, or equity, in the Corporation; their current earning ability is much greater than would be the case if they operated a portion of the Corporation's property as an independent farm. If the property were equally divided amongst our executive staff, each would direct the operations of 500 acres, have 50 permanent employees, and 50 seasonal employees. It is extremely doubtful if such an operation would produce a net profit after all charges, including the operators' present salary, equal to one-fiftieth of our present rate of earnings; certainly such an independent operator would have difficulty raising one-fiftieth of the capital now employed; such an operation could not afford to carry on the research work that has resulted in improved methods of water control, development of new cane varieties which helped to double the length of harvest season, and the finding of new crops for the area; unit costs of production would undoubtedly be higher.

Larger operating units will practice more intensive cultivation, and while cutting down the total acreage under cultivation may well increase the number of workers in agriculture; other advantages of the large operating unit will be the available resources and ability to conduct private research looking toward new uses for old products and production of new crops, as well as the ability to acquire ways and means of reducing unit costs. Some of these advantages can be obtained by closely knit cooperation of a number of farmers in the same locality, as has been definitely proved by some of the independent sugarcane farmers in the Everglades.

A large unit, having a substantial reserve of seasonal labor, has a much better opportunity to develop subsidiary operations to take up the seasonal slack, work out a plan for joint use of labor with another area whose peak-labor demand fits into the slack period of the first-mentioned operation, and is in a position to deal with an industrial concern for development of industrial production during slack agricultural labor demand.

The points just developed all deal with large-scale farming units, but it must not be inferred that we do not believe in the family-size farm. The family-size farm has a very definite place in our agricultural economy; modern methods have made the family-size unit much larger than in earlier days; much work formerly performed on the farm is now performed in city factories. Unfortunately Messrs. Currier and Ives, through their famous lithographs, have implanted an erroneous impression of family farming—the day of their self-sufficing unit is gone; our family farmer has to raise a larger proportion of cash crops. The family farm should and must be encouraged, we should have more of them, but to survive they must cut their unit cost of production and distribution. The family unit and the large unit can live side by side and support and supplement each other, but the family unit must avail itself of cooperative activities to an extent probably undreamed of today. More thorough understanding of, and more complete participation in, cooperative enterprise will not only assure the continuation of what always has been, and always will be, the backbone of our country—the family-size farming units—but will make such farms a more satisfying means of livelihood.

Please note that I called farming a means of livelihood, not a mode of life. I am weary of listening to smug-voiced hypocrisy state farming is a mode of life in such a way as to imply that farmers, having a mode of life, should be happy to slowly starve to death. Farming is a mode of life, but so is practicing law, operating a hotel, running a retail store, driving a taxicab, working in a factory, managing a railroad, and running a bank; but only the farmer is expected to be satisfied with a return limited to "a mode of life." The surprising thing is that farmers have complacently accepted this attitude, although good farmers usually have greater ability and more capital, and certainly have a great deal more common sense, than the smug-mugged occupants of leather chairs in club windows who conduct so-called knowing discourses on the welfare of the Nation.

It might be well to direct attention to possible injury from overextension of a plan fathered by some persons deeply interested in the welfare of our agricultural population. There are many sharecroppers and tenants who do not have either the ability or the desire to operate their own property; these people would be much better off as farm workers on a large operating unit conducted along lines similar to sugar production in the Everglades. We all know numerous laborers, croppers, and tenants upon whom would be perpetrated a most ghastly joke if they were set upon a farm of their own through Government assistance. The tragedy would not only be disillusionment and discouragement, but even worse, human failure.

Based upon both study and experience, we believe suggestions we now offer will be helpful in solving the problems confronting our agricultural economy and aiding in reducing the misery of migratory, seasonal farm labor. These suggestions are not offered in the spirit of a cure all; they will fit into and help in broader solutions and need not interfere with any present or future plans for agricultural relief; they are worthy of careful consideration because they have been proved successful.

These suggestions are:

First. Encourage larger operating units. This may be accomplished individually, corporately, or cooperatively, or by all three basic methods working in close harmony in each locality.

Second. These large operating units could cooperate with similar units in other parts of the country whose peak-labor demands do not coincide. Such method would tend to provide continuity of employment for seasonal labor requirement by definite and continuing groups of employers.

Third. These larger units, either individually or cooperatively, could afford to undertake private research looking toward lengthening seasonal peak labor requirements; development of subsidiary crops to provide additional employment in slack season; development of new crops, the peak labor demand of which will fit into slack labor demand on existing crops; finding and encouraging rural location of small industrial plants which can absorb some labor during slack agricultural seasons; ways and means of reducing costs so as to increase profits and broaden markets; increasing the effectiveness of agricultural labor to the end that earnings of agricultural workers may be increased without increasing unit costs of production.

Federal and State agencies can well afford to give realistic assistance to such a program, although our own experience clearly indicates that initiative in such an approach must come from the farmers themselves.

If encouragement, either tacit or otherwise, is to be given other countries to usurp our foreign markets and, at the same time, we are prohibited from supplying our own needs, in favor of the produce of foreign peonage or worse, the outlook for our people is dark, dull, and dismal, as destitution is bound to increase. A realistic approach to our own problems, for the benefit of our own people, means a future for our country greater and better than anything ever witnessed in the world.

In closing my statement I cannot resist the temptation to direct attention to a most glaring, unjust, and unfair accusation made against the South. For years the South has borne the cost of educating her youth, only upon maturity to find them grabbed by the industrial, commercial, and financial North and East; this condition has placed an unfair educational burden upon most Southern States; in addition, it has prevented the South's utilizing the genius, ability, and capability which she cradled and fostered. The South has the most abundant supply of two of the three essentials for plant life—rainfall and sunshine, she has an adequacy of the third essential—soil. Every agency but nature has apparently combined to stifle the resources and capabilities of the South; we, in the Everglades, have shown that the highest standards of living in agriculture can be maintained in the South; we are sure this same condition can be proved in industry; we are satisfied that once equality with the rest of the Nation can be obtained, the South will forge rapidly to the lead. Most emphatically the South is not a problem, economic or otherwise, to the Nation, unless such problem be to find ways and means of continuing her subjection.

TESTIMONY OF CLARENCE R. BITTING—Resumed

Mr. Bitting. To give a background, I would like to file some copies of photographs I have with each member of the committee. I have a booklet here which contains all of these photographs, and I would like to offer it as an exhibit.

(Booklet, entitled "The Fruit of the Cane" was received in evidence and placed in the files of the committee, but not printed.)

Mr. Bitting. Some pictures contained in my exhibit deal with the general area and show what the Everglades were before our development took place and how it has been developed. Other pictures deal with the plantation villages. We maintain our own villages, some 11 villages throughout the property on a 50-mile front. Those villages house our workers, both permanent and seasonal. About one-half of our workers are permanent workers and the other half are seasonal workers.

I feel that we have contributed something toward a cure of the migrant problem. When I first took those properties over, the labor peak ran for 3 months——

The CHAIRMAN. When did you take it over?

Mr. BITTING. In 1931. The labor peak at that time ran for a period of 3 months and the peak was some 3 times the permanent force. Today we operate a peak force for approximately 6 months and about half of the peak force stays on the property all the year around. We have done that for several reasons; we wanted to give better housing accommodations for our employees, and, of course, we wanted to make more money for the company. We felt that we could make more money by doing this, and it is a fact that we have, and I will be glad to file with the committee reports showing our corporation has been a consistent money maker in the operation of these properties while other people growing the same crops complain because they don't make any money.

Mr. PARSONS. How many workers do you have?

Mr. BITTING. At our peak we have about 5,000 workers, about 90 or 95 percent of whom are southern Negroes and about 5 percent of whom are skilled and semiskilled workmen, mechanics, bookkeepers, storekeepers, and so forth. We operate 11 stores in these villages; there are some pictures of those stores in the pictures I have submitted to you. At the stores we sell about three-quarters of a million dollars worth of groceries a year to our employees and—I should say merchandise, and in selling that merchandise to the employees we lose a little money. Our loss in the sale of the merchandise to our employees has been as low as $2,500 a year, and it has been as high as $25,000 a year. We operate these stores not to make money, but to make sure that the employees may be assured of good merchandise at reasonable prices.

We do not allow any children to work on our plantation, no child labor. We operate schools on our plantations and insist that the children go to school.

We bring in for our peak labor season about one-half of our total help. We don't use contractors in bringing in any of our labor. Our own personnel division attends to such matters. We have a man in charge of the recreational work features and I am filing various pictures showing the recreational features of our company.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you bring your extra workers from?

Mr. BITTING. They come from northern Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and the Carolinas. The Atlantic Coast Line Railroad runs a train at the beginning of the harvest and brings them down. We advance the railroad fare. There are certain cotton-plantation operators who bring most of their crews down to us some time and then they come back and get them after our harvest season is completed. Our rush season fits in very well with the cotton season. We start our harvest when they are through with their cotton and finish about the time that they are starting.

Mr. PARSONS. I would presume that you are systematizing your sugar-plantation operations at Clewiston very much as they have done in the Philippines and Hawaii?

Mr. **Bitting**. I don't know what they have done out there, but I have read some of the articles that have been written, and I wouldn't like to be likened to the Philippine and the Hawaiian labor situation, particularly according to some of the Labor Department reports on the operations over there. I wouldn't like to have our operations likened to theirs.

Mr. **Parsons**. I notice that you are colonizing these workers in villages. Why do you do that?

Mr. **Bitting**. We do that for two reasons. In the first place, it keeps them handier to their work and it gives us little settlements throughout the plantation which are self-contained.

The **Chairman**. How many acres of these Everglades lands have you reclaimed?

Mr. **Bitting**. We have under cultivation in sugarcane at the present time 25,000 acres.

In addition to that, the independent growers who operate practically on the same basis as we do have some 3,000 acres.

We are not permitted to sell our full output, however, under the sugar-quota law.

The **Chairman**. Tell us about the housing facilities on your plantation.

Mr. **Bitting**. If you will look at the pictures in the exhibit that I have submitted, you will get some idea of the housing on our properties. We use shingles to a large extent for the reason that they give a good substantial roof, and we use the asbestos shingles for several reasons—it affords a waterproof building and is fire resistant and makes it fairly easy to keep clean and maintain. As you will notice from the pictures, those houses are screened. Lots of people who come down there in different capacities have expressed wonder as to why we give such good housing, such good accommodations for living quarters. When I first took those properties over, the accommodations were very much poorer than they are today. I believe in good housing. Shacks don't save the employer any money. A shack or poor construction in the living quarters for your employees means sick, miserable people, and if some of your people are sick you have to have more people on the plantation. With a sick man on the plantation, you have to have two families there half of the time and then neither one of them can make enough money to make a decent living. With good housing and good living conditions, you have a healthy family, and you thereby only have to supply one good house for them to live in instead of two shacks.

Mr. **Osmers**. What would you say that your production of sugar was?

Mr. **Bitting**. We run a little bit better than 4 tons of sugar to the acre.

Mr. **Osmers**. Four tons of sugar to the acre, did you say?

Mr. **Bitting**. Yes, sir; we have about 28,000 acres, all told, in the Everglades under production. That would give us something in excess of 100,000 tons of sugar annually, and my calculation shows it to be 115,000 tons this year. Under the sugar quota act of 1937, that is under the determinations made by the Secretary of Agriculture, we are limited to some 54,000 or 55,000 tons.

Mr. **Osmers**. Under the present Federal legislation affecting sugar, you are only allowed to sell about one-half of your actual or your potential production?

Mr. **Bitting**. Not our potential production—but our actual production.

Mr. **Osmers**. Of what you said your production is?

Mr. **Bitting**. Yes, sir; but we can sell only about one-half of what we now have under production.

Mr. **Osmers**. What does it cost you to produce a hundred pounds of raw sugar?

Mr. **Bitting**. In the cost statement, it shows 2.04 cents per hundred pounds f. o. b. the sugar house. Running at capacity, operating the full 7 months, we could make it for substantially under 2 cents.

Mr. **Osmers**. And when you say substantially under 2 cents, just what figure do you have in mind?

Mr. **Bitting**. And when I say substantially under 2 cents, I mean that we have included everything in there, adequate depreciation and all of our overhead.

Mr. **Osmers**. What would you say would be your figure when you say substantially under?

Mr. **Bitting**. I would say 1.80 or 1.85 per hundred would be substantially under the first figure that I mentioned.

Mr. **Osmers**. What is the world price of sugar today? Isn't it a fact that the world price of sugar today is $1.15?

Mr. **Bitting**. No, sir; the world price of sugar on yesterday was around 90 cents. Cuba can't make sugar as cheaply as we do when you give full consideration to depreciation, if you take out of our cost the things that Cuba does not include in their cost.

Mr. **Osmers**. Such as what?

Mr. **Bitting**. Adequate depreciation and overhead expenses. A lot of those sugar places over there are owned by New York banks and only a part of their overhead goes in their cost in Cuba, and lots of them over there never put any of their depreciation in their cost figures.

Mr. **Osmers**. What would be the largest item of depreciation in the sugar business?

Mr. **Bitting**. We are very highly mechanized. During the harvest year 1938–39—to answer your question—the depreciation charged against the sugar-house operation, that is, the extraction of the sugar from the cane and its crystallization into raw sugar—we produce only raw sugar, the same as most of the plantations in Cuba, and Hawaii, and the Philippines—the depreciation against the sugar house itself was 180,000-odd dollars. Now, against the field equipment, the depreciation on the field equipment was $133,000, and then on railroad facilities—we operate our own locomotive and own railroad cars over the public railroad—our depreciation on those cars was something over $36,000. So, you have an amount in excess of $300,000 charged off right there.

Mr. **Osmers**. How is it that the Cuban producers can eliminate indefinitely the item of depreciation in setting up their cost?

Mr. BITTING. They don't eliminate it just because they don't charge it off in their cost figures, but it does not show up in their cost statement. Some day they will find that their plants are worn out and they will go through the wringer again.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes, go through the wringers again and again, possibly.

Mr. BITTING. Yes, they will go through the wringer again and again, and as you probably know, some of them already have.

Mr. OSMERS. That's all.

Mr. BITTING. I touched slightly upon the mechanization of our farms. I have heard several comments here on farm mechanization. I would like to point out that in our operation we have about 2,500 men the year round on a 25,000-acre plantation, and we have about 5,000 at times, and that is the equivalent of 3,750 man-years, I suppose you would put it, on the 25,000-acre plantation—that is less than 8 acres to the worker. One of the members of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics said that the average acreage under cultivation per capita in the South was only 8 acres. Now, on a per capita basis, figuring five to the family, to get it down to a family basis, five times eight is 40 acres as against the figures that we have shown. Mechanization does not necessarily decrease the number of workers. More intensive cultivation might increase the acreage but not necessarily decrease the number of employees.

I think that it is important that we continue mechanization on the farm. I don't think that your answer is going to be found in giving continual relief to farmers, but I think that you will have to get the farmer on a self-supporting basis and that the best way to do that is to increase the output and the way to get greater output is to cut down the cost.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much, Mr. Bitting. Your entire statement, a copy of which you have submitted to us and to the reporter, has been incorporated in the record.

Mr. BITTING. Thank you, sir.

(Whereupon, the witness was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. We will now adjourn until 10 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 4:30 p. m., August 14, 1940, the hearing was recessed until 10 a. m., August 15, 1940.)

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INTERSTATE MIGRATION

THURSDAY, AUGUST 15, 1940

House of Representatives,
Select Committee to Investigate the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
Montgomery, Ala.

The committee met at 10 a. m. in the United States Circuit Court of Appeals courtroom of the Post Office Building, Montgomery, Ala., Hon. John H. Tolan (chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives John H. Tolan, chairman; Claude V. Parsons; John J. Sparkman; Carl T. Curtis; and Frank C. Osmers, Jr.

Also present: Robert K. Lamb, chief investigator; George Wolf, chief field investigator; Harold D. Cullen, field investigator; Creekmore Fath, field investigator; and Irene Hageman, field secretary.

The Chairman. The committee will come to order.

Is Mr. Scott in the room?

(No response.)

The Chairman. Is Mr. Fluker in the room?

A Voice. Here.

The Chairman. If there are any A. A. A. representatives here, will you please stand up? The suggestion has been made that if there are any other representatives of the A. A. A. here, that you get together and submit some statement for the record before we finish the hearing tomorrow.

COMMUNICATIONS FROM THE SOUTHERN GOVERNORS CONFERENCCE

Mr. Sparkman. Mr. Chairman, I would like permission at this time to insert into the record a telegram that I received yesterday afternoon from Gov. E. D. Rivers, of Georgia, who is chairman of the Southern Governors Conference. In that telegram he delegates Mr. P. O. Davis, director of extension service for Alabama, to represent the Southern Governors Conference. Last night Mr. P. O. Davis handed me a statement and asked that it be included in the record as being a statement from the Southern Governors, and I ask permission to at this time have incorporated in the record both the telegram from Governor Rivers and the statement handed me by Mr. Davis.

The CHAIRMAN. Those will be admitted to the record.

Telegram and statement read as follows:

[Telegram]

ATLANTA, GA., *August 14, 1940.*

Congressman JOHN J. SPARKMAN,
Congressional Investigating Committee,
Jefferson Davis Hotel, Montgomery, Ala.:

In response to Chairman Tolan's invitation, I have delegated Mr. P. O. Davis, director of extension service for Alabama, to represent Southern Governors Conference at your investigation. He will appear August 15.

E. D. RIVERS, *Governor.*

STATEMENT FROM SOUTHERN GOVERNORS

(Presented by P. O. Davis, director, extension service, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, by special request)

Since appearing before this committee on August 14 I have been requested by Gov. E. D. Rivers, of Georgia, chairman of the Southern Governors Conference, to represent the southern Governors by presenting a statement for your consideration and your records.

In 1939 the southern Governors launched a program calling for "balanced prosperity in the South during the decade of 1940–50." With the cooperation of private citizens, public agencies, and constructive corporations, these Governors have launched this campaign, based upon their designation of "Ten roads to balanced prosperity," as follows:

1. Balance money crops (including forestry) with "food, feed, and fertility crops."
2. Balance crops with livestock, consistent with sound land use.
3. Balance production progress with marketing and transportation opportunities, without trade barriers.
4. Balance farms with factories.
5. Land, water, and mineral resources with population needs.
6. Balance work with thrift and local investment.
7. Owner prosperity with worker prosperity.
8. Increasing income with increasing home ownership.
9. Balance wealth with beauty and culture.
10. Economic gains with gains in moral values and human welfare.

In these "roads" are the essence of much of the information which has been presented to your honorable committee. I am honored to present this brief summary for your further consideration.

You will observe that our Governors are seeking to remove the causes of migration of destitute citizens.

TESTIMONY BY JOHN BEECHER, SUPERVISOR, FLORIDA MIGRATORY LABOR CAMPS, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

The CHAIRMAN. You are Mr. John Beecher, supervisor, Florida migratory labor camps, Farm Security Administration?

Mr. BEECHER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Beecher, I understand that you have a statement?

Mr. BEECHER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you desire to proceed, Mr. Beecher?

Mr. BEECHER. I would like to be permitted to read the statement that I have prepared, and as I go along I will make some explanation.

The CHAIRMAN. That is satisfactory.

Mr. BEECHER. And I want you gentlemen to feel free to interrupt me at any time that you wish to have any explanation of anything that I have said.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you wish to stand up while you are making your statement?

Mr. BEECHER. If I may, because I have some charts over here that I desire to explain.

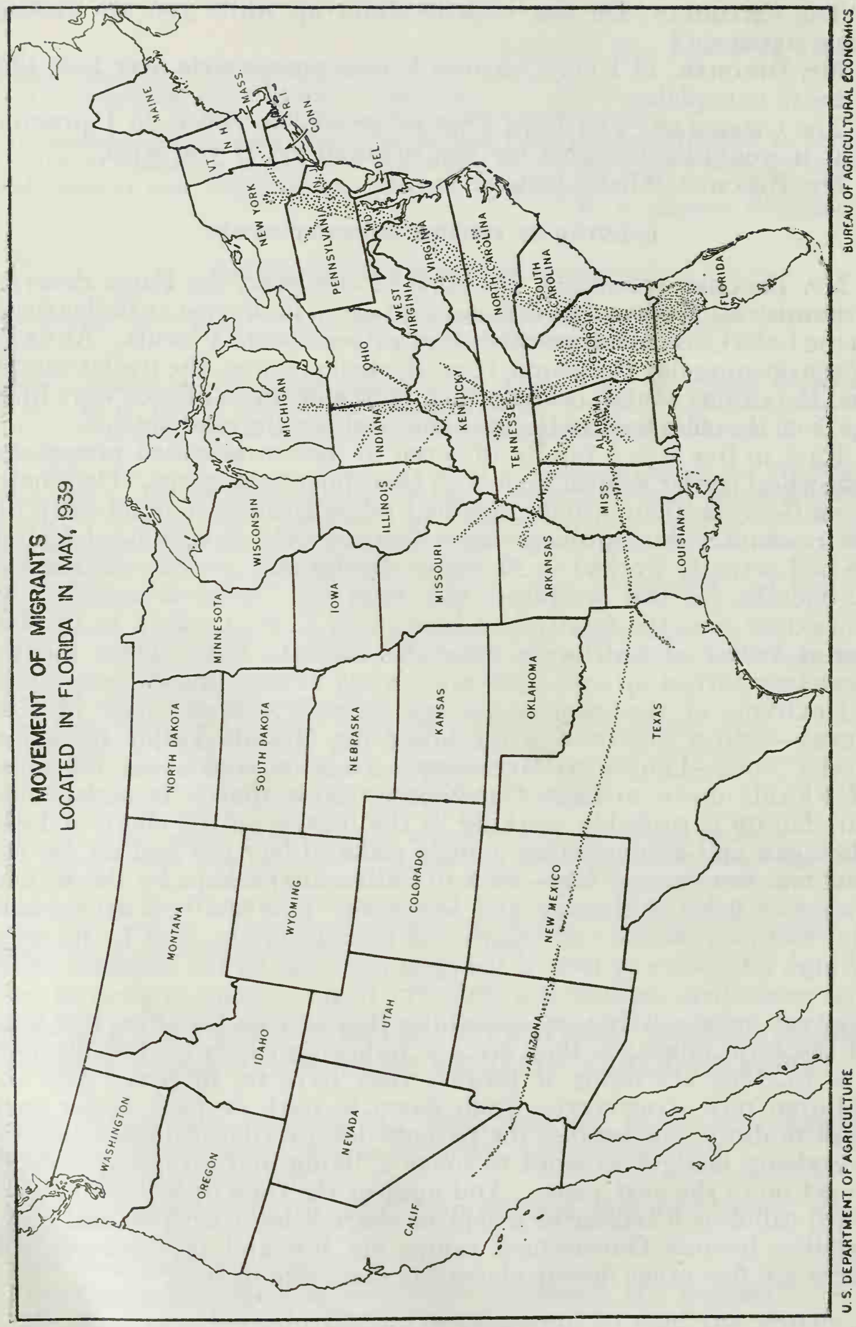
The CHAIRMAN. You have a lot of ground to cover, so I presume that it would be desirable for you to stand up, if you wish.

Mr. BEECHER. Thank you, sir.

OPENING OF FLORIDA MIGRANT CAMPS

Mr. BEECHER (reading). In April of this year, the Farm Security Administration opened its first migrant camp in the east at Belle Glade, in the Lake Okeechobee mucklands of extreme south Florida. At dawn of the opening day the people from the tent colonies, the trailer camps, and the rickety tourist cabins which local enterprise affords were lined up from the office back to the gate and on down the road outside.

First in line was a family of seven in their overloaded jalopy and two-wheel trailer heaped high with their poor belongings. Originally from Georgia, their wanderings had taken them over practically the entire country during the previous 3 years. The family head figured he had actually worked in 29 States during that period. In the last 12 months he had averaged one interstate move a month. At Christmas time the family had been in an F. S. A. camp in the Imperial Valley of California, near the Mexican line. Three months later they turned up over 3,000 miles away at the opposite geographical extreme of the country, having crossed Arizona, New Mexico, Texas—with a stop-over in the lower Rio Grande Valley for a few weeks' work—Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and about 700 miles of Florida down to Lake Okeechobee. Now that it is midsummer this family is probably working in the berries on the shore of Lake Michigan and accumulating a little stake to buy gas and oil for the next transcontinental hop—back to California perhaps by the way of the cotton fields of Missouri and Arkansas. This family is driven back and forth across the vast length and breadth of the land by no sense of high adventure or love of the open road, but by the stubborn belief that somewhere waiting is a stake for them—a home, a piece of land they can raise a living on, something they can tie to. For, like most of the farm migrants, they are not following the crops because they like to, they are doing it because they have to, to live. And the children pick strawberries from dawn to dark or pack beans from dark to dawn, not because the parents despise education, but because everybody has got to work to make a living and scrape up enough to get on to the next place. And most of the time they live in a one-room cabin or a boxcar or a tent or share a barn with several other families because Government camps are few and far between, and there are few other decent places for their like to stay.



MOVEMENT OF MIGRANTS LOCATED IN FLORIDA IN MAY, 1939

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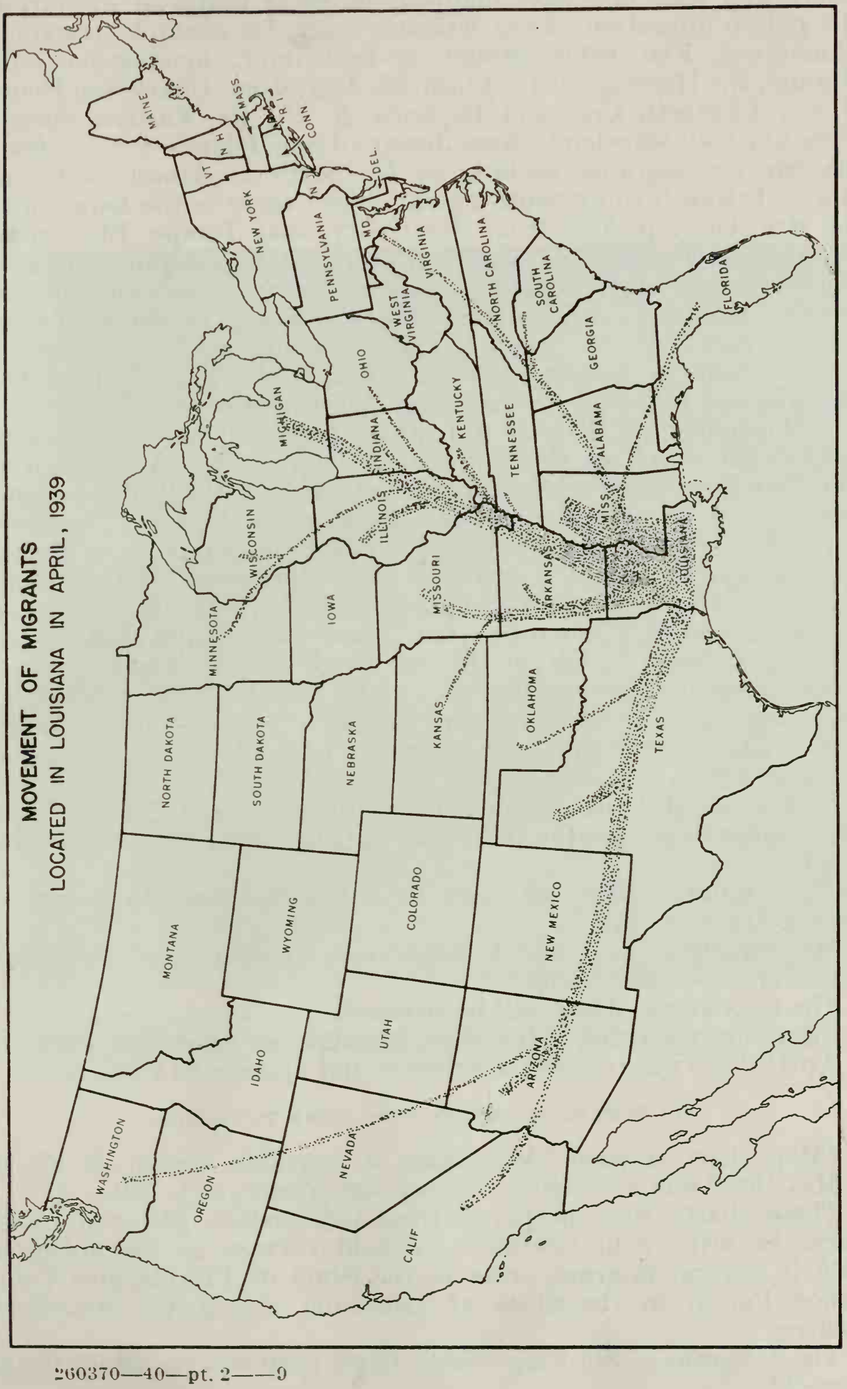
PENNSYLVANIA
MD.
VIRGINIA
WEST VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
FLORIDA
GEORGIA
OHIO
MICHIGAN
INDIANA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
ALABAMA
MISS.
ILLINOIS
WISCONSIN
MISSOURI
ARKANSAS
LOUISIANA
IOWA
MINNESOTA
OKLAHOMA
TEXAS
NORTH DAKOTA
SOUTH DAKOTA
NEBRASKA
KANSAS
MONTANA
WYOMING
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
IDAHO
UTAH
ARIZONA
WASHINGTON
OREGON
NEVADA
CALIF

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS



MOVEMENT OF MIGRANTS
LOCATED IN LOUISIANA IN APRIL, 1939

BUREAU OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMICS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

MAINE
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SOUTH DAKOTA
NORTH DAKOTA
MONTANA
WYOMING
COLORADO
NEW MEXICO
ARIZONA
UTAH
IDAHO
NEVADA
CALIF
OREGON
WASHINGTON

AREAS OF CONCENTRATION

We are studying the chief areas of migrant concentration in the South and East and have mapped the great routes of migration—the potato migration of the Atlantic coast, for example, starting at Homestead, Fla., below Miami, in midwinter; moving northward through the Hastings district near St. Augustine; Charleston County, S. C.; Elizabeth City and Bayboro, N. C.; the Eastern Shore of Virginia and Maryland; New Jersey; Long Island—with a few of the hardier migrants pushing as far north as Aroostook County, Maine, before turning south again. Then there is the long trail of the strawberry pickers from Plant City, near Tampa, Fla., west to Tangipahoa Parish, La., and thence up the Mississippi Valley into White County, Ark., western Kentucky around Paducah, the berry sections of Illinois and Indiana, and terminating in Berrien County, Mich. We know of other migratory routes without having yet studied them in detail—a fruit route from Florida citrus through Georgia and Carolina peaches and thence up through the apples of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania and as far north as the shore of Lake Ontario. Workers in the Florida winter celery of Sanford often turn up in the fields of summer celery in upper New York State. Perhaps we shall soon be as well acquainted with the movements of our farm migrants as we are with the migratory cycles of our robins and wild geese. But we should bear in mind that what is a natural way of life for certain winged species is violently unnatural for human beings, and that an agricultural economy which on the one hand uproots people from the lands where for generations they have quietly lived, worked, and died, and on the other hand hounds them from one brief drudgery to the next over the face of the earth is, to say the least, no economy at all in human terms.

I have a couple of charts here on the blackboard that I would like to offer to go into the record at this time and I will explain them briefly.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you want to introduce those charts into the record, Mr. Beecher?

Mr. BEECHER. Yes, sir; I would like to offer these two charts right here now [indicating].

The CHAIRMAN. They will be received.

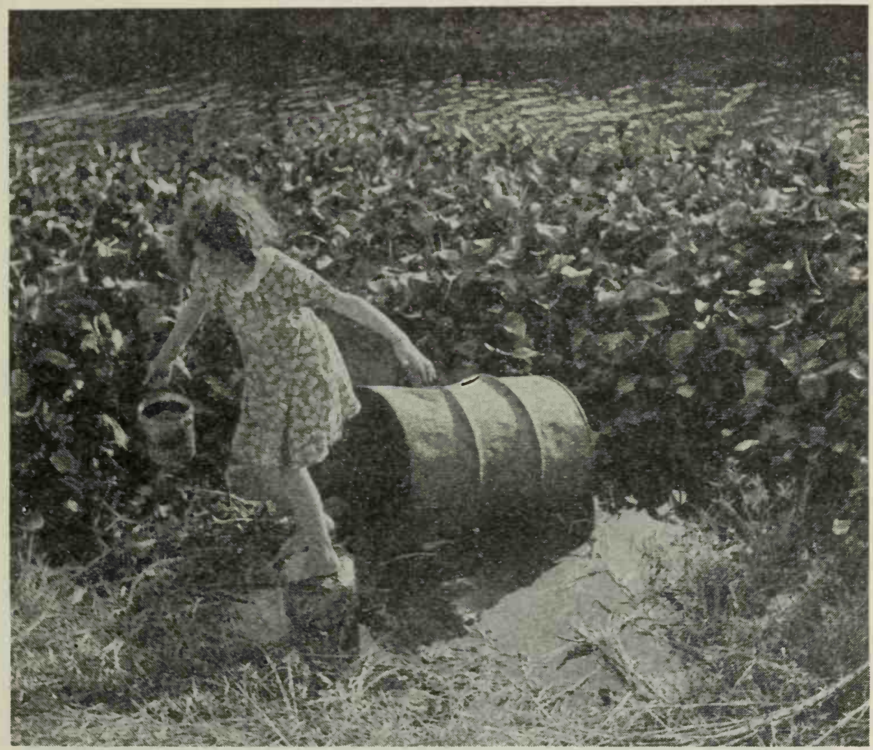
(Map chart entitled "Movement of migrants located in Louisiana in April 1939" was received in evidence and appears on p. 521.)

SOURCES OF MIGRANTS WHO COME TO FLORIDA

(Map chart entitled "Movement of migrants located in Florida in May 1939" was received in evidence and appears on p. 520.)

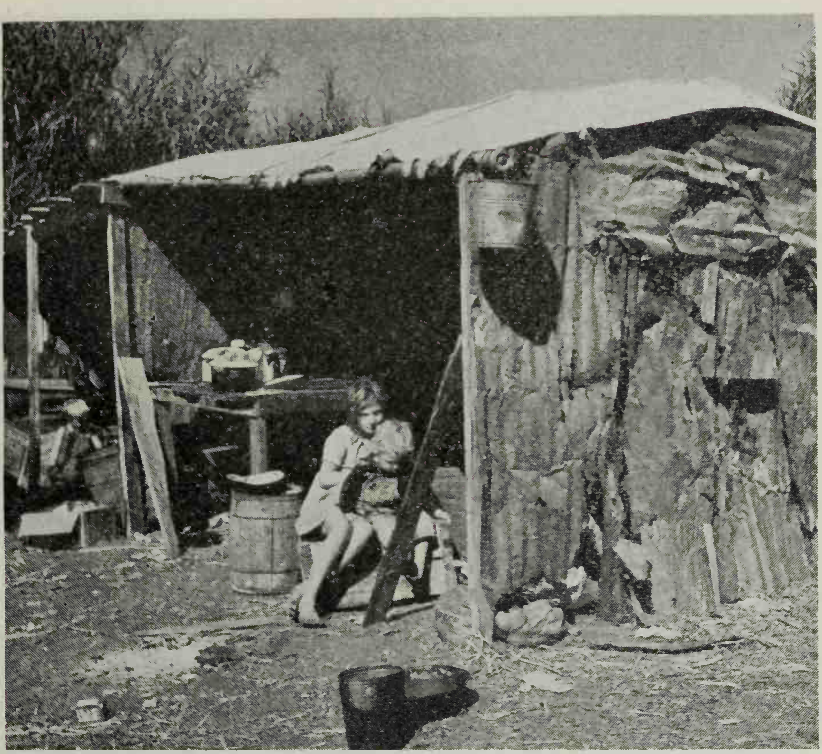
These charts were prepared from information gathered by the Farm Security Administration in field surveys in the spring of 1939 in several migrant areas in the State of Florida and Tangipahoa Parish in the State of Louisiana among the strawberry pickers.

The CHAIRMAN. Showing where these people came from, is that correct?

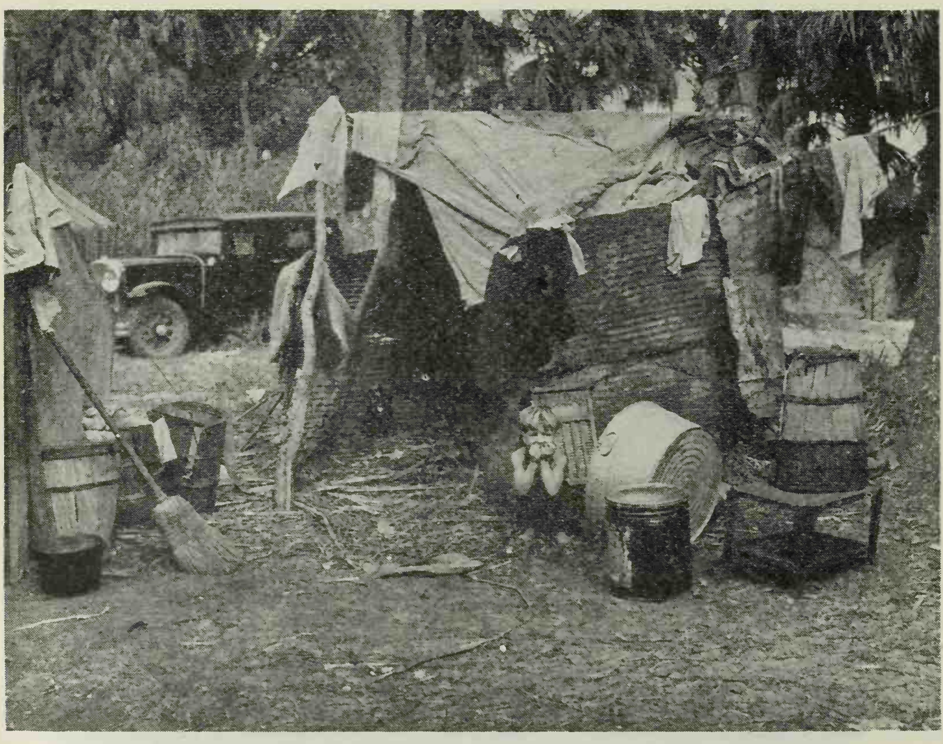


A stagnant marshy canal provides the only water source for many migrant families in lower south Florida. Here the 9-year-old daughter of packing-house workers who have migrated from Tennessee to the vegetable-growing regions on the mucklands around Lake Okeechobee fills a pail with water for domestic use.

Migrant family "dining out" a few miles from Miami. This mother with her children in front of their shack home is a packing-house worker employed in the vegetable area around Lake Okeechobee, Florida.

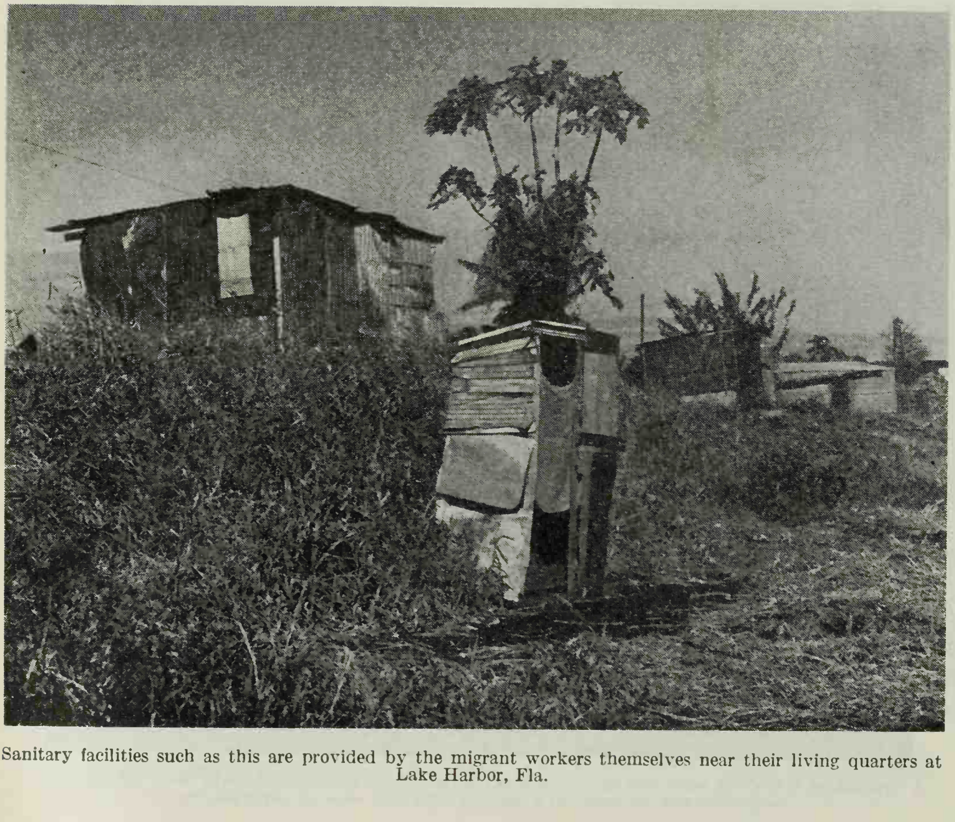


The headquarters of one group of Florida winter visitors. The tin shack shown in the picture is a typical "home" of migrant packing-house workers in Florida for the vegetable-picking season of October to May. For this dwelling of scrap tin and pieces of canvas, a family of five pays $12 a month rent, with $5 additional for the right to "camp" on this land.



Camping like this in Canal Point, Fla., costs $5 per month for the use of the land. The migrant packing-house family living here cleared the land themselves. They have no water, lights, or sanitary facilities.

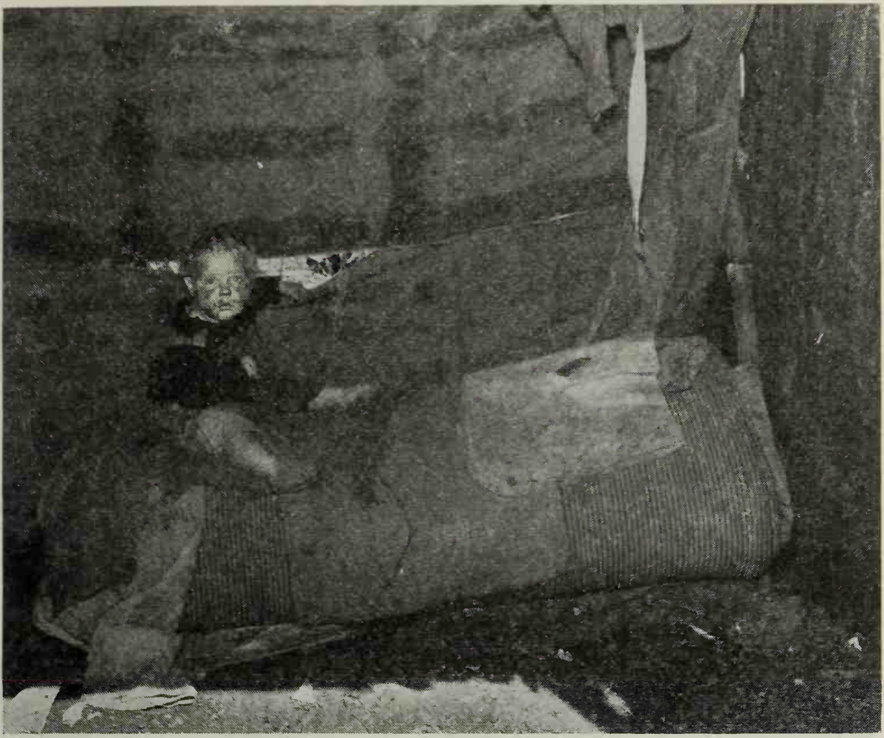
A wrecked car is the only substitute for a slide or swing these migrant children have in their "playground" back of the rows of shacks in a migratory workers' camp in south Florida.



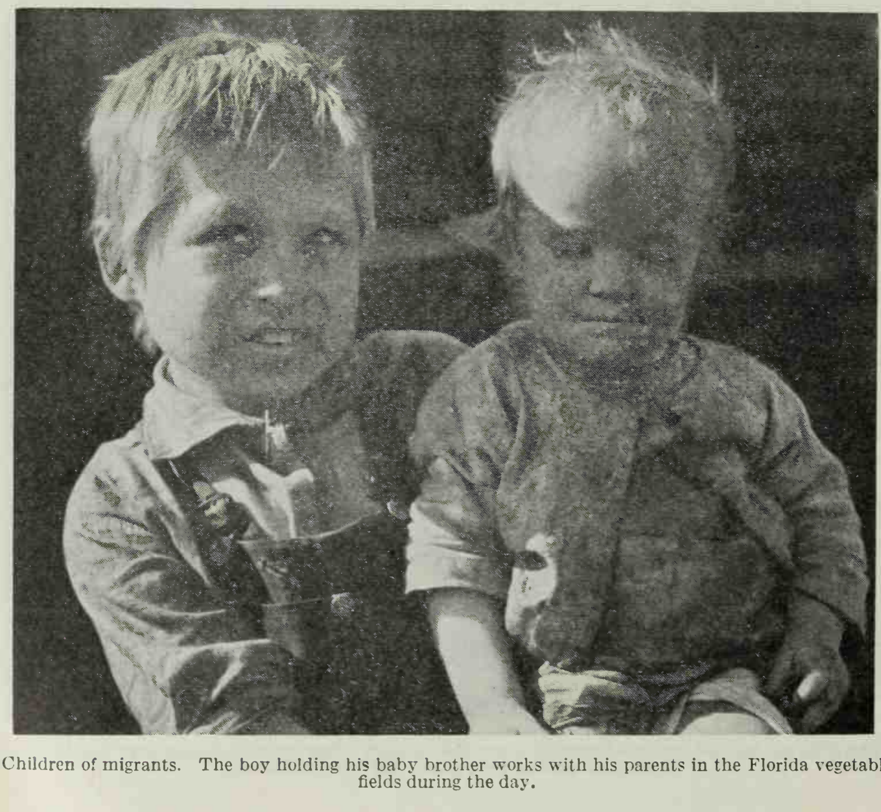
Sanitary facilities such as this are provided by the migrant workers themselves near their living quarters at Lake Harbor, Fla.

Mother with child at home. This mother is a migratory packing-house worker who lives in a two-room shack with her family of six in the vegetable area of south Florida.

The very small children of migrants are left at home while their parents and sisters and brothers go to pick vegetables in the fields of Florida.



This little boy has just awakened from his nap in the tin shack which his parents, migratory packing-house workers, rent for $12 a month in a camp in Florida.



Children of migrants. The boy holding his baby brother works with his parents in the Florida vegetable fields during the day.

Pay day for vegetable pickers in Florida. For the full season of October through May, a migrant family averages $350 to $450 in total receipts.

Migratory vegetable pickers in the Lake Okeechobee section of Florida waiting to be paid.

Mr. BEECHER. These people come and go back along the same lines as indicated here on the chart [indicating]. Now, you can read these charts either way [indicating]. This chart [indicating] (see p. 520), this is the movement if migrants located in Florida in May 1939. These migrants in Florida, the principal States of origin being Georgia in that group, which is the nearest State. Then there is a very well marked line along the Atlantic coast migration over here [indicating] that we know so well. I mention the potato migration, and there are others, of course, showing that a considerable proportion of these Florida migrants originate in New York, as I have shown on my chart here [indicating]. Actually, that group is primarily a southern group, but New York happened to be the last place where they were before they came to Florida, and you will notice that quite a large number followed the Jersey migration along through here [indicating].

Now, you will notice that a few of these migrants come from the other cotton sections of the country, such as Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, and Tennessee. A few, as indicated by this chart, from California. I might state at this point that the first registrant in our camp was one who had covered a very wide territory. Only a few take in the whole country in their migrations.

Now, we will refer to the Louisiana group for a moment, which is dealt with on the other chart (see p. 521). Now, the strawberry pickers were found in the neighborhood of Hammond, La., and some of them it was discovered came from Florida in that group and that they had been working near Plant City, Fla., near Tampa. That group came from that section of Florida over to Louisiana for the strawberry-picking season, and other groups, it was found, came down the Mississippi Valley here [indicating] as it is shown on this chart, and this same group would follow right on up as it is indicated here, and those that stayed with it all the way through to Berrien County, Mich., on the shores of Lake Michigan, which seems to be their northern terminus.

Now, this exhibit also shows an extensive flow into Louisiana from the Southwest—a large number coming from Texas, for instance—principally tenants and wage hands and so on which are needed between the cotton and the strawberry season, and so forth.

Mr. CURTIS. Is that exhibit that you are referring to prepared according to scale? I mean with reference to the width of your red line.

Mr. BEECHER. The width of the red line indicates the relative number of migrants; in Louisiana, of course, the greater number coming from nearby Mississippi.

Mr. CURTIS. That is based on what year?

Mr. BEECHER. That is based on samples taken during the spring of 1939 in the field.

Mr. CURTIS. From samples, did you say?

Mr. BEECHER. I mean that our Florida sample included several hundred, 314 migrant families, I believe it was, the distribution of these 314—that is recorded there on the chart.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you make any inquiry to find out whether those same families returned to Florida each year?

Mr. Beecher. We have not followed up since 1939. We did try to gather some information as to their movement over the previous 5 years.

Mr. Curtis. Do you know how many of them had a legal residence in those States?

Mr. Beecher. No; we do not. They don't know themselves, as a rule.

Mr. Curtis. Do you know what percentage of them never find any work until they come down to Florida?

Mr. Beecher. I don't recall offhand. I happen to be the supervisor of the Florida surveys, but I recall no families that have gotten no work whatever. Of course, work opportunities seldom measure up to the stories which have been heard in advance; except in the rush periods there are usually several people available for every job.

Mr. Curtis. Did you discover any abuses of private employment agencies in sending these people from place to place?

Mr. Beecher. We find that a great many of them, particularly the Negroes, are transported by labor contractors in trucks from place to place, and, of course, it is to the interest usually of these labor contractors to have a surplus of labor on hand, and naturally that keeps the wage rates down, and they want the labor supply up to the maximum expectations of what the work in any particular locality might be. There is very little scientific measurement or calculation of what the work might be; it is very difficult to do that. Where crops are coming on in a given area, sometimes growers and contractors are liable to get panicky and say, "We won't have enough people over here to harvest the crops," and they will say that they need maybe 2,000 here and 1,000 here, and 500 over here, and by the time the harvest begins you will have a figure of five or six thousand in that particular area as needed to harvest the crop, and when as a matter of fact that number shows up, it frequently turns out that they will only need a thousand.

Mr. Curtis. Very well. I won't interrupt you further. Proceed.

WORKING CONDITIONS IN WINTER CROP SECTIONS

Mr. Belcher (reading). Diverse as the movements of our farm migrants may be, there is an appalling sameness in the conditions under which at all times of the year and in nearly all places they are forced to live. Even during a season work opportunities are highly uncertain. There are peaks and troughs of employment. In the winter crop sections sudden freezes can wipe out all work for weeks or months and when such catastrophes occur there is only the most inadequate relief available, if any at all. Seldom is there any effective control of the flow of workers from point to point, so that migrants' movements in the main are governed by rumor, hearsay, hunch, and the lures thrown out by growers and labor contractors whose natural interest is to create a labor surplus. Consequently it is a commonplace in most areas of migrant concentration to find many more workers than jobs available even at the height of the season. Wages vary from place to place, from time to time in a given place, even from field to field, depending on many factors. It goes without saying that they are never high relative to the wages earned by industrial workers who enjoy the protection of collective bargaining rights and Federal wage-hour legislation. Often they are abysmally low—as for example in the North Carolina strawberry fields where a piece rate of a cent and a half a quart results in family earnings seldom exceeding $1 a day. Out of these slender wages the migrant must house and feed his family on a short-term basis, which puts decent standards of diet and housing far beyond his grasp, and furthermore must lay aside the money which will take him on the next leg of his endless journey and maintain him until he gets the next job.

HOUSING FOR MIGRANTS IN FLORIDA

As suggested, the wretched housing for which the migrant is best known is to a considerable degree a corollary of low and uncertain earnings. Generally bad as his quarters are, the migrant is sometimes charged extortionate rents, as in the Lake Okeechobee, Fla., section where one-room cabins without lights, running water, or proper sanitation rent for as much as $3 a week. Rough cabins and barracks, unfurnished, unscreened, and with only the most primitive sanitation and water supply are in many areas provided rent free by farm operators. During the potato harvest in Charleston County, S. C., the indispensable migrants find neither cabins nor barracks provided for them and sleep principally in boxcars or on the floors of the potato-packing sheds. The tobacco barns of western Kentucky do double duty as housing for strawberry pickers in the spring. When strawberries ripen in eastern North Carolina, cattle and workstock are temporarily evicted to make way for the pickers—investigators frequently finding 25 and 30 people living in a single barn.

SOCIAL SITUATION OF FLORIDA MIGRANTS

Associated in the vicious complex of farm migrancy along with instability of place, insecurity of employment, inadequate earnings, and bad housing are many subsidiary evils. Into whatever community the migrant goes his status is the lowest in the social scale. His labor is welcome but he is not. He and his family are feared as possible sources of physical and moral contagion, and even more as possible public charges should they become stranded there. In no sense does the migrant "belong"—he has no political rights and his civil rights have proved to be more theoretical than real on the rare occasions when he has tried to assert them. He and his family seldom participate in the normal social life of the communities through which they pass—they do not as a rule attend the local churches, or frequent the local parks and amusement places. Special recreational devices are sometimes provided to catch their spare pennies—low-grade bars and dance halls, cheap fairs, medicine shows, and the like.

In school, when the migrant children are found there and not working in the fields or packing sheds, they are a group apart—considered "problems" on account of their universal retardation and undisciplined behavior. Even where school authorities are sympathetically disposed, they are powerless to overcome the effects of a demoralizing environment and constant mobility. Possibly the most ominous aspect of farm migrancy is the sort of lives migrant children are forced to lead. Their parents, as a rule, had at least the advantages of a rudimentary home while they were growing up, of attending the same school during the intervals when their labor was not required in the fields, of belonging to social groups which had continuity and were not incessantly being broken up and reformed.

What sort of Americans are migrant children growing up to be? Their way of life is completely alien to the traditional American way of life. We may very well be breeding aliens out of the descendants of pioneers. Like the recent migrants to the Pacific coast, the migrants of the South are overwhelmingly farm refugees. Formerly they were settled farm people, sharecroppers, tenants, small owners in the old Cotton Belt. Processes similar to those which produced the great exodus from the Southwest to the Pacific coast are operating in an accelerating degree also in the lower Mississippi Valley and the Southeast. Soil depletion through erosion rather than drought, the reduction of cotton acreage and mechanization have completely displaced a great number while a greater number have been pushed down from tenancy to the status of wage laborers employed but a few months of the year.

Georgia furnishes the largest State contingent among the migrants of lower south Florida. The most familiar migration pattern in that area is one-crop migration between the winter and spring vegetables in Florida and summar wage labor in the Georgia cotton. But Florida also attracts dislodged tenants and wage hand from the Carolina coastal plains, from Alabama and Tennessee, from the delta cotton sections of Louisiana, Mississippi, Arkansas, and southeastern Missouri. We are not yet sufficiently informed to make even a good guess about the number of perosns involved in farm migration over the entire Southeast and can only roughly estimate the numbers in certain areas. At the peak of the harvest there are at least 50,000 farm workers and members of their families in lower south Florida. the great majority of whom are migrants. When strawberry picking is on in western Kentucky, 20,000 pickers are at work within a 20-mile radius of Paducah, many of whom are one-crop migrants from the delta cotton country of Missouri and Arkansas. The strawberry fields of Chadbourn, N. C., require about 6,000 pickers for the harvest, 5,000 of whom must be assembled from elsewhere. The Chadbourn strawberry acreage will be doubled next season, so that the number of migrants required will undoubtedly also be doubled. In general it can be said that the processes which on the one hand dislodge people from the land and make them ready for migrancy are proceeding unchecked throughout the South, while on the other hand commercialized truck, berry, and fruit farms similar to those of the Pacific coast and relying on hordes of migrant laborers for harvesting the crops are fast developing in several sections. An undetermined but very considerable number of migrants are already involved, and every year more are taking to the road.

MIGRANT SITUATION IN LAKE OKEECHOBEE REGION

The most acute migrant situation in the entire region has developed during recent years in lower south Florida—in the vegetable-growing sections on the mucklands around Lake Okeechobee and on the coastal strip from back of Palm Beach south to Homestead below Miami. Of little agricultural importance 20 years ago, these areas have come into great prominence particularly during the last decade. The rapidity of agricultural growth has naturally created the usual social problems of a boom area. Housing, health, educational, and recreational facilities are, in many communities, inadequate for even the permanent residents. The thousands of migrants who often double and triple the populations of these communities at the season's peak consequently live under substandard conditions which are perhaps without parallel in the United States. When the Farm Security Administration undertook a survey in the Lake Okeechobee vegetable area preliminary to the establishment of a camp program, such reports as the following on the prevailing housing of Negro migrants were secured:

> The family lives in 1 room of a 14-room filthy barracks, the 3 children all have colds and are filthy, crying most of the time. Garbage is emptied in yard 10 feet from front door, flies by the hundreds.
>
> Entire camp of barracks very filthy. Only about three rooms have windows, which makes about one window to a barrack, children of all ages run around naked.
>
> —subject lives in 1 small room of 14-room barracks, his wife, himself, and the 4 children all sleep in 1 bed. They have 3 men roomers, 1 of whom sleeps on a cot and the other 2 on the floor, making a total of 9 in 1 room.

A single 10 by 10 barrack room, or "stall" as it is appropriately called locally, will rent for $1 to $1.50 a week, unfurnished. Barracks are usually built around a central court in which there is a common toilet, often indescribably filthy, and perhaps also the community water supply, a spigot or well-water connection. Where city water is not provided, drinking water is purchased from the nearest "juke" or store at a cent a bucket. If there is a city-water spigot, 25 cents a week is added to the rent, and the spigot is padlocked except at the certain stated hours.

The white migrants and their families were found living in tents, trailers, tar-paper shacks, hovels of patched-together tin, even in tree houses. They may pay $1 or $1.50 a week ground rent for the right to camp on the land. Or, they crowd on the railroad right-of-way behind the packing houses. Many of them rent small houses and tourist cabins in the commercial developments of the towns, paying up to $3 a week for a one-room and $6 for a two-room cabin. The rent includes the privilege of access to the community hydrants, showers (if any), and toilets. Most families have a single room in which to sleep, cook, eat, and do most everything else that living involves. These rooms are sometimes furnished with cheap furniture. More often the family has only what it has managed to bring along in the way of furniture. And this may be the family home for the greater part of the year, for the Lake Okeechobee season extends from early October until well into May.

I have here some pictures which exemplify living conditions in certain portions of Florida for these migrants. I do not particularly offer these pictures for the record unless you gentlemen desire them, but I bring them here for you to look at.

Here is the picture of a little girl, child of packing-house workers from Tennessee, getting water out of a filthy canal. (See p. 523.)

This is the picture of an outdoor dining table of migrants, a woman packing house worker with three of her four children (see p. 524). This is all in the Lake Okeechobee section.

This is a picture of a typical tin shack of migrant packing house workers camp in Florida (see p. 525). These folks pay $12 per month for their right to stay in this place which is made of scrap tin and pieces of canvas, and you might say that they pay $5 per month for the right to live on this little piece of land.

Here is another picture of migrant packing-house workers living quarters, just enough land to set up camp. This rents for $5 per month and they have to clear it themselves. There is no water. lights or sanitary facilities. This picture was taken near Canal Point, Fla., in January 1939. (See p. 526.)

Here are a couple of pictures, typical of the interiors of a migrant packing-house workers shack, showing some of their children. (See pp. 530 and 531.)

The next is a picture of some of the migrants' children playing about a wrecked car. There are no playgrounds or recreation or equipment of any kind for them. (See p. 527.)

Here is another interior picture of one of the shacks showing migrant packing-house worker with child. (See p. 529.)

Here is another picture showing one of the migrant workers' shacks and toilet facilities near Lake Harbor, Fla. (See p. 528.)

The CHAIRMAN. Approximately how many are there of these stalls or shacks?

Mr. BEECHER. We don't know, sir. Now that the Farm Security Administration's camps are opening up, we hope that they will be far fewer than they have been in the past, but that has been the prevailing sort of housing in which the migrants have lived.

Here is a picture of a couple of children of migrants. (See p. 532.)

Here is a picture of some Negro migrant shacks. I believe I showed that to you awhile ago. Some like these are provided by local enterprise and by migrants themselves when they are not able to find anything themselves (see p. 526). These are pieced-together shacks from tin and wood or most anything that they can pick up.

Mr. OSMERS. How are these migrant laborers paid?

Mr. BEECHER. They are paid by the day. They work in the fields and they usually work for a different man each day, you might say, and they are paid at the close of the day for each day's work, and they buy their provisions from the commissary and store.

Here are a couple more pictures showing vegetable pickers after work waiting to be paid and some of them being paid. (See p. 533.)

The facilities for cooking in these shacks are usually very inadequate, and therefore they have to buy a lot of their foodstuff in a prepared state, because they have no way to preserve their food in these shacks and consequently their cost of food is much higher than what it would be if they had good cooking facilites and a place to take care of their food, a place to store it.

The CHAIRMAN. May we have these pictures for the record?

Mr. BEECHER. Yes, sir; you may have them. I have no more copies of them here, but you may have them for the record if you wish.

The CHAIRMAN. You are testifying about these pictures and unless the photographs go along the record will be barren without the pictures. I think that the reporter should mark them so that the committee can take them with us.

Mr. BEECHER. I will be very happy to give these photographs to you.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be received as exhibits to the record.

(Twelve photographs above identified by the witness were received in evidence and appear on pp. 523 to 533.)

Mr. BEECHER. Shall I continue?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. BEECHER (reading). Outstanding exceptions to the general squalor are the Negro villages of the United States Sugar Corporation, which provides free, sanitary housing to all its year-round and most of its seasonal help. Here and there a grower or packing-house operator builds relatively decent quarters for his more permanent workers, but this activity fails by a wide margin to keep pace with the ever-increasing influx of seasonal workers.

LACK OF EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES

"Education is in competition with beans in this county, and beans are winning out." These are the words of the Palm Beach County superintendent of public instruction, characterizing the educational situation in the Lake Okeechobee area of that county. Schools are provided, of course, for both races, but they are not large enough to accommodate their present peak enrollments. If the State school-attendance law should be enforced, existing school facilities would be completely swamped. According to local school authorities, the children of the white migrants are irregular in attendance, badly retarded, and difficult to adjust to the school discipline. Seldom does a child from a migratory white family advance beyond the fourth grade.

The Negro children have less chance for an education. After the disastrous freeze this winter, which destroyed all the growing beans, many of the Negro migrants put their children in school for the first time in the season. The enrollment of one school, which has desks for 280 children, went up to 503. For a couple of months the school ran on a double shift. Then beans came in again. One week the enrollment was 485, the next week it was 20. Ninety-five percent of the children were in the bean fields.

The lack of healthful recreational and social facilities in the lake area is striking. Over against the lack of parks and playgrounds is an overdevelopment of the opposite type. For whites there are large bar-dance halls fully staffed with hostesses and located conveniently close to the packing houses as well as roadside "jukes" with cabins in conjunction. The night life of the Negroes is concentrated in the towns, where "jukes," which are combination bars, dance halls, and gambling joints, usually owned by white people, are found in great numbers. All kinds of license and crime breed in this background, which is tolerated locally in the belief that labor is attracted to the area by the "good times" which can be had. One also hears expressed the opinion that it is necessary to relieve the Negro each night of his day's earnings, through such means as liquor, women, craps, belita, and "skin," so that he will be broke and ready to work the next morning.

Public-health officials are unanimous in saying that it is nothing less than a miracle that no serious epidemics have swept through the lake area. Such conditions of housing and sanitation would anywhere else, they say, have furnished an excellent breeding ground for communicable disease, but the equable climate, the fresh air, and sunshine have here warded off the usual consequences of a filthy environment and human overcrowding.

Venereal disease is the great scourge of the area, the county physician estimating that 50 percent of the Negro migrant population is syphilitic.

Of course, in some other migrant areas they get higher estimates. In Elizabeth City, N. C., the health authorities seem to think that it is 70 percent of the resident and migrant population of Negroes.

Mr. OSMERS. In New Jersey last year we tested nearly all our migrant potato pickers and found 35 to 40 percent with venereal disease.

Mr. BEECHER. All of the Negro camps that are established, we have been enabled to do testing in order to get a definite index on that, but right now we can only guess. The county health authorities are not sure about this percentage, but they think that on the basis of such experience as they have had that there are about one-half of them afflicted with venereal disease. It is tremendously high.

HEALTH CONTROL OF MIGRANTS IN FLORIDA

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many county health units do you have in Florida? Do you have one in every county?

Mr. BEECHER. Not all of the counties have them. I don't know what the count is at the present time. Palm Beach County does not have one, which is one of the big counties in the State, including the luxurious resort of Palm Beach and the thriving city of West Palm Beach, and including such areas as in the Lake Okeechobee section where they have not yet established a county health unit. It is a controversial question there because elements in that county that oppose such a unit being established, and yet there is a tremendous job for such a unit to perform. The health department is strongly for it, and so is the State of Florida, which has been attempting to dramatize the situation and get such facilities established in that county.

Mr. OSMERS. From what you have said, I take it that you mean to say that in the State of Florida there is no mandatory law to provide for the establishment of county health units?

Mr. BEECHER. That is right, I believe.

Mr. Sparkman. Do you have a rather strong State health department?

Mr. Beecher. I think so.

Mr. Sparkman. It is handicapped seriously if you don't have the county unit though, isn't it?

Mr. Beecher. Yes, sir; it is. In many counties they don't have so much prosperity as Palm Beach County does, yet some of them have health units.

Mr. Sparkman. Where are the main vegetable areas in Florida?

Mr. Beecher. I would say in Palm Beach County is one of the main vegetable areas.

Mr. Sparkman. And it does not have the county health unit there?

Mr. Beecher. No, sir; it does not, and it stands first in the amount of crops produced in lower South Florida.

Mr. Osmers. How many counties are there in the State of Florida?

Mr. Beecher. 66 or 67, I am not sure which.

Mr. Sparkman. It is 67, I believe.

Mr. Beecher. It is 66 or 67, I believe, I am not exactly sure which it is.

The Chairman. I was just thinking that the so-called shacks where the migrants live, and the danger that they carry to the health of the area. Do you have any idea how many migrants there are in that locality?

Mr. Beecher. We estimate that there is in the neighborhood of 50,000 workers and members of their family during the season in lower Florida, Palm Beach, Dade, and Broward Counties, and certainly two-thirds of those people live in a condition similar to those shown in the pictures that I brought here today. The figure may be even higher than that. We do have the United States Sugar Corporation's program in the Clewiston area and the corporation does furnish fine housing to its employees, possibly 5,000 people are taken care of by that corporation, roughly one-tenth of them, and the Farm Security Administration camps which are either built or under construction will take care of another 5,000 or another 10 percent, but the overwhelming majority live under unsanitary, dangerous, subhuman conditions of housing.

The Chairman. Proceed.

Mr. Beecher (reading). The syphilis death rate of Palm Beach County is several times greater than that of the country as a whole, and twice the State average. The State of Florida stands first, I believe, in the syphilis death rate anyhow. Preventive and curative health provisions in the area are inadequate. Palm Beach County has no accredited health department through which the State sanitary and public health laws could be implemented and made effective. The United States Sugar Corporation provides hospitals and free medical service for its employees, but the great majority of the migrants have no access to proper medical care. Such care as they receive is usually supplied by quacks and healers, midwives, and Indian herb doctors. There is a division of labor in the area along racial lines. In general, field work is done by Negroes and the packing-shed labor by whites. The Farm Security Administration survey referred to earlier gathered income data from more than 500 white and Negro workers in the area. Detailed information was secured on earnings for the previous 12 months. Half of all the workers studied received an income of $307 or less in the past year. This income includes all cash derived from employment in the Lake Okeechobee area and elsewhere, plus value of free housing, wood, gardens, or other perquisites. Nearly one-fourth of all the workers earned $200 or less, while five-sixths received $500 or less. Only 2 percent received more than $800. So much for the individual workers. What of family income? The median family income of all white workers was $455; 56 percent of the incomes were $500 or less; 15 percent received more than $800. Among colored families, the median was $384; 13 percent had family incomes of $200 or less; 72 percent had family incomes of $500 or less, and only 5 percent had incomes higher than $800. It should be remembered that these small earnings must cover the migrants' transportation costs, the high rent they usually must pay in the area, and the equally high food costs.

MIGRATORY CAMPS OF F. S. A.

The specially acute problems of the Florida migrants led the Farm Security Administration to select the Lake Okeechobee area as the location of its first eastern migrant camps. Two such camps, one of 176 units for whites, and one of 356 units for Negroes were opened at Belle Glade last spring. In addition, three large camps are being built near Pahokee, also on Lake Okeechobee, and Pompano, on the lower east coast.

Mr. Parsons. Is the Farm Security Administration paying the cost of the construction of these housing places for these migrants?

Mr. Beecher. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. And what rental charges are you making to the occupants?

Mr. Beecher. We are charging them $1 per week.

Mr. Parsons. Per unit?

Mr. Beecher. Yes, sir, for these simple one-room sheds.

Mr. Parsons. That would be $350 per week for those colored quarters, and $176 per week for the white quarters; is that correct?

Mr. Beecher. Yes, sir; assuming 100 percent occupancy all the time, that would be correct.

Mr. Osmers. And may I ask you this question, What percentage of occupancy have you had in the Farm Security Administration's quarters?

Mr. Beecher. We have not had full occupancy yet because these camps were not opened until April of this year, which was at the close of a season. We have carried them through the summer at about one-third to one-half full, these two camps.

Mr. Parsons. Do you anticipate that they will be filled?

Mr. Beecher. Yes, sir; we anticipate that they will be filled and overflowing by the middle of October.

Mr. Parsons. Does the Farm Security Administration expect to retire the cost of construction?

HOW CAMPS ARE SET UP AND MANAGED

Mr. Beecher. No; the projects are not considered to be directly self-liquidating. Indirectly, we feel in removing the menace to the community's health and giving the people themselves better environment and improving and safeguarding the health of the children—you just can't measure the value of that, but the projects are not considered to be any more than the California camps are of the self-liquidating type. It is just a form of relief in relation to the migrant situation.

Mr. Osmers. If you have a family applying for entrance to one of your camps and they need a place to stay, but they are not able to put up and pay the dollar a week for your rental charge, what do you do in a case like that?

Mr. Beecher. Well, the usual procedure is for the camp council to consider the case and make that family a loan out of the camp fund. In other words, the camp council, which is the governing body of the camp, takes such a case under consideration and, if they think that the people should be in the camp, then we will lend them the money to pay their rent, and when they get the money they can pay it back to the camp council.

Mr. Parsons. It is a fact, is it not, that the so-called camp fund to which you have referred is made up out of the money received from renters at the camp and is a sort of revolving fund from the collection of rentals?

Mr. Beecher. Yes, sir; but the camp fund is jointly under the control of the camp manager, the Government's representative, and the camp council itself.

Mr. Curtis. Do you give the renters themselves representation on the camp council?

Mr. Beecher. They are the camp council, the renters constitute the camp council and they elect their own representatives and they have universal suffrage in the camp, the men and the women vote and they put their own members in the council, and that council rules the camp. It appoints its own committees and flag boys to keep order at dances and other functions that are held in the camp and there are no regulations in the camp that the camp council does not make. Consequently, we have got the people themselves deciding how the place is going to be run instead of a Government man standing up there telling them you can't do this, and you can't do that, and so forth?

Mr. Osmers. How do they operate in one of these camps? Are they happy under your plan of governing themselves in this way?

Mr. Beecher. Well, we have got two representatives here from the two camps now—Mr. Collins, who testified yesterday, and we have Timothy Farmer here, who is president of the camp council of the first Negro camp, and he will testify sometime today—and you may ask them about those things if you desire. It is our observation, however, that it is working exceedingly well.

Mr. Sparkman. I noticed on yesterday that Mr. Collins testified that he had some kind of a position as foreman of a canning factory or some kind of a packing shed, and stated that he was making $90 per month for 8 months out of the year. Now, what is it that he pays for living in the Farm Security Administration's camp? Is it $1 per week?

Mr. BEECHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, what is your income mark or division or your line of demarcation as to whether a man shall or shall not be permitted to live in one of your camps?

Mr. BEECHER. Well, of course, this job that Mr. Collins has is an 8-month job out of the year, and I think he pointed out—I don't recall the size of his family, but it is a rather large one—seven or eight people—and, after all, $90 a month for 8 months out of the year, with an absolute blank in the summer months, that does not mean too much.

Mr. SPARKMAN. But the point I am trying to get at is this: Do you have some kind of an income level that you use as a basis for admitting these people to the camp? What is it on; is it a kind of a subsistence basis, whatever the needs of the family may be?

Mr. BEECHER. The checking up on entrants to the camp cannot be very elaborate. People simply drive up to the gate and say, "We are agricultural workers and work at such-and-such a place." And if we are doubtful, we may check up and find if they do work there. But there is no elaborate process of selection. We get people that do not belong there, but they can't stay longer than 12 months, but the usual stay is 3 or 4 months.

In connection with the camps, we also have some permanent garden homes and we have very strict standards, financial and so forth, work background, and so forth, as to who are permitted to occupy these permanent garden homes in the camp.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are they caretakers in the camp or do they occupy some position with the camp?

Mr. BEECHER. Not in connection with the camps. The people who occupy those permanent garden homes have more or less year around employment in the area with earnings ranging from $600 to $1,000 per year, and they are classified in that group and they have a higher rent to pay for those permanent garden homes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What will you do with these people after the year is out? For instance, I am thinking of Collins right now. He is apparently a permanent fixture down there.

Mr. BEECHER. He will qualify for one of those permanent garden homes, no doubt, and remain with us.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many of those permanent garden homes do you have there?

Mr. BEECHER. We have 20 of those permanent garden homes in that one camp.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many of those homes, permanent garden homes, as you designate them, are in the camp altogether?

Mr. BEECHER. There are 20 permanent garden homes in that camp and there are 156 steel and concrete sheds.

Mr. SPARKMAN. All right; that is all.

INVESTMENT IN MIGRANT CAMPS

Mr. Parsons. How much money has been invested by the Farm Security Administration in this project in Florida thus far, approximately?

Mr. Beecher. Well, something over $500,000 in the first two camps, and the three under construction, I think, something in the neighborhood of $825,000 for the three of them.

Mr. Parsons. For the three?

Mr. Beecher. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. How much would it take on that same basis to provide decent and sanitary facilities for all of your workers in Florida? You stated that there were about 50,000.

Mr. Beecher. Well, really, to make a horseback guess, I would say that for the lower South Florida for $10,000,000 we could pretty well wipe out the substandard housing of migrants and furnish decent places for all of them to stay.

Mr. Parsons. Now, if you furnish the same facilities, for instance, over in the Louisiana area, and maybe the same facilities up around Paducah, Ky.—I am somewhat familiar with that situation up there myself, and furnish similar facilities for a few other of the principal places—the Jersey coast is another in Mr. Osmer's territory—these people then would make their travels back and forth to these various places but they would have convenient and sanitary conditions under which to live at a cheap rate. Now, are you making that as a suggestion not to cure the evil of destitute migration, but to make it as palatable as possible? Do you make that as a suggestion?

Mr. Beecher. Oh, yes, indeed. I should have said something else, probably, when I gave the estimate of $10,000,000—we might be able to furnish those comfortable facilities for a good deal less than that.

On account of some of the situations existing in the different areas, it would be inadvisable to build permanent camps for year-round occupancy, because of the existing conditions they would be vacant most of the year. We are building permanent camps at Lake Okeechobee and at Pompano and we may build one at Homestead where the people are there from 6 to 10 months out of the year, and under such circumstances we feel that we are justified in building permanent camps at those places, but a mobile camp for 200 families can be outfitted for about $30,000.

Mr. Parsons. For how many families did you say?

Mr. Beecher. For about 200 families. That includes your platforms and your big circus type tents and trailers to house the shower baths and the boilers necessary and the other equipment that would be necessary to have along for such a mobile camp.

The Chairman. Those could be moved?

Mr. Beecher. Yes, sir, on the Pacific coast, we have some mobile camps in operation that they move from the State of Washington and from Oregon on down into California to care for the migrant workers in that section, and they have done a tremendous job during the season. I can't think of anything else that would take care of a situation under such circumstances.

Mr. Parsons. How much money has been spent on these mobile camps?

Mr. Beecher. I am sorry that I can't give you that information. The number is increasing so fast—we are getting those camps now in operation in California and Texas and Arizona, and they are increasing very rapidly—and there must be a dozen of those in operation right now.

Mr. Parsons. The Farm Security Administration is doing that altogether?

Mr. Beecher. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. If you make this destitute migration a nice thing, don't you think that it would somewhat induce others to go upon the road and still further aggravate this problem of destitute migration or migration of destitute people?

Mr. Beecher. Of course, that is sometimes said, if we are good to the migrants. Say in California—if in that State we give these destitute migrants medical service and comfortable places to live and so on, California would be made so attractive that other thousands no doubt would take to the road. Then, I suppose the only answer to the problem is to attempt to work on it at both ends, to make the life of the migrants at home more attracive and to also try to hold the people where they are, not by passing laws to make it a felony to cross the State line without $10 in your pockets, but to work on the troubles in such a way as to cause people to not take to the road, but to remain at home.

Mr. Parsons. I notice in the early days of the relief in Illinois that there were a lot of people that never had any idea whatsoever of going on relief, always taking care of themselves very well, but when they saw their neighbors filling out their applications and making affidavits that they were destitute, it invited those other people who were about in the same circumstances and some perhaps worse off because they were in debt for their little farms and homes, it induced them to also do likewise and if it had not been for the act of the first neighbor they would have never applied for relief to begin with, they would have gotten along some way and somehow as they had done in the past on the same patch of land. Now, if you make the conditions too comfortable and attractive for these destitute migrants, don't you think that it might cause others to go along on the road, if you made the situation and the circumstances too bright or attractive?

Mr. Beecher. Still, the type of existence that is possible in a tent or a mobile camp would not seem to be sufficient to do that. However, your mobile camp offers a big tent for meeting places, and they could get together and have Sunday school and dance, and take a hand in the way that they are run. However, it is far from luxurious. It is pathetic, that very elementary comforts like that will attract people to leave the sort of situation that they are now in and make an effort to better their conditions.

Mr. Parsons. The thing about it to me is this, as you stated in the beginning, we are making nomads out of these children. They will know nothing in the future except traveling, traveling up and down the country, following these crops. Their parents at one time did have a permanent place of abode, you said, and they are pulled up from that now, and they are wanderers, you might say, and these children of theirs are learning nothing but travel from one end of the country to the other, and these children may be more difficult to settle down.

Mr. Osmers. I don't regard the migration of self-supporting agricultural workers as an evil. They are serving as a very definite and useful part of our agricultural system. They are generally self-supporting. The difficulties arise in States like mine, like the State of New Jersey where they come in for a season of say 6 weeks, and it is certainly very hard from an economic standpoint to expect the individual farmer to erect what we would consider acceptable housing facilities for these people for a 6-weeks period and let those housing facilities then stand idle for the remaining part of the year. But what is being done in the State of Florida by the Government, or by the farmers themselves to improve housing conditions on the individual farm? Naturally, most of the migrant workers will have to be cared for on the farm where they work.

Mr. Beecher. Of course, the State of Florida has got some very laudable legislation on the books.

Mr. Osmers. Every State has.

Mr. Beecher. But it takes local representation to carry out the provisions of the acts of the legislature.

Mr. Osmers. And it also takes some appropriations of money to do that.

Mr. Beecher. Yes, sir; and in the area where I am familiar with the circumstances, there have been attempts by the State Health Department of the State of Florida to put on the pressure in order to have some of the most nauseating conditions corrected, and that has been done with some success. As for the farmers themselves, here and there a grower is, we find, improving his facilities along the proper lines, and then take what the United States Sugar Corporation is doing on its plantation at Clewiston, Fla., and then what the Government is doing in the construction of the migratory camps. Those things are lending a great deal of help. When our camps get started out in that area down there, it will have a tremendous effect on the housing in the whole area.

The Chairman. How much land in area do these camps cover in Florida?

Mr. Beecher. We require about an average of about 50 acres for a camp.

The Chairman. Who owns that land?

Mr. Beecher. The Federal Government.

The Chairman. You always build on Federal property, is that correct?

Mr. Beecher. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. I have just one more question that I would like to ask you at this point. How many or what percentage of the occupants of the Government camps would be classified as destitute migratory citizens—not with exactness—just an estimate?

Mr. BEECHER. Well, very few of them have received relief at any time of the year. At the time that we made this survey in 1939 we found of the Lake Okeechobee area migrant workers that only 2.3 percent of them had received any relief in the previous 12 months.

Mr. OSMERS. Then you would say that the group of migrants who are stopping at your Federal migrant camps in the State of Florida are not destitute citizens?

Mr. BEECHER. They are not. They are in need of relief very frequently, but they do not get it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Destitute is a more or less relative term?

Mr. BEECHER. Well, they have nothing; maybe they have a little used and badly worn furniture and possibly an old jalopy, but they have no money in the bank, and many of them don't even have the old rattle-trap jalopy that the national or the widely traveled migrants have. They are destitute people who just manage to live from day to day and from week to week and frequently when these migrant people come in in the fall of the year or at harvest time and the packing houses are delayed in opening up by rains or from some other cause, these migratory workers are immediately destitute and there is no relief for them practically and it is a very, very serious situation.

Mr. OSMERS. I presume that the State of Florida doesn't feel any responsibility because they don't consider these destitute migrants to be citizens of Florida. What are the citizenship laws in Florida?

Mr. BEECHER. You are supposed to be there a year to get relief, but they never become residents because they are in and out of the State and consequently very seldom one finds an instance of one of these migrants that receive relief from a State agency. This situation has been developing in that area for the last 10 or 15 years, I would say, in lower south Florida.

Mr. PARSONS. It is a fact that it has been developing down there in Florida and it has increased with the expansion of the packing and the vegetable raising—that is what has created this problem principally in that section, is it not?

Mr. BEECHER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Now, if you establish these camps sufficiently, will you not eventually settle these people down more or less permanently? Is that finally the end to be obtained, or is that the goal that is sought to be reached?

Mr. BEECHER. It is our observation that a great deal of the migration done by these people is entirely wasteful in its total effect. Many, many times these people get stranded and get to be charges on other local communities and frequently they will come back much poorer than they started out, and it is true that a certain amount of settlement can be made or that some inducement can be offered them so that they will be placed in a more self-sustaining position, and to say the least that in the summertime that they might help to supply themselves with garden vegetables and in the off seasons any such an endeavor would be highly,j

Mr. OSMERS. Do most of the migrants that come into the Federal camps, are they independent migrants or do they travel in groups and do they have padrones or labor contractors in charge of them?

Mr. BEECHER. In the main, they are independent.

The Chairman. The primary cause of the whole migration problem really is unemployment; isn't that true?

Mr. Beecher. Yes, sir.

The Chairman. So, it is not a permanent cure, these migration camps?

Mr. Beecher. No, sir.

The Chairman. We are all hoping that the slack will be taken up some of these days and that these people will be able to get jobs; is that right?

Mr. Beecher. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Do you know what percentage of these people are people who have been forced off the soil, and what percentage of these people are people who have lost jobs in industry?

Mr. Beecher. The people with whom we are familiar in Florida and Louisiana are overwhelmingly from the farm; they are overwhelmingly farm people. The studies that we are making are still in the process of tabulation, showing all of the occupations and so forth. We don't have the final figures available, but I would say offhand, that certainly 95 percent of the Florida migrants are former farm people—are not formerly industrial people. A few of them might have had a little industrial experience at one time or another. A few of them have worked in a cotton mill back in the twenties, or went to the cities a few years ago.

Mr. Curtis. I would like at this time to impose upon the record this observation in that connection: That people are being forced from the soil because there is something there that is wrong and needs attention. I know from the drought area in the Dust Bowl and in some of our counties we have lost 25 percent of the people. I don't know where they have gone. Undoubtedly many of them are wandering around from State to State trying to find something else. Now, when the Federal Government sends money, as it has been doing to take care of that 25 percent that has been forced away from the farm—that may be well and good, but if 1 out of 4 is forced to leave the farm on account of existing conditions, it certainly indicates that times and conditions are very, very hard for the other three or four that have stayed there on the farm when, as a matter of fact, we have made no expenditure at all for those remaining farm people or solved their problem when we take care of the individual who has gone on the road, but I feel that he should be taken care of also. But, we have not touched his problem at all so far.

Mr. Beecher. Well, over the past 5 years, we have spent, I think, in the neighborhood of $350,000,000 on rural rehabilitation, and a large proportion of that amount was spent in the State from which these migrants come. While we have spent only a very significant amount, so far, possibly ten or twelve million dollars on the migrants themselves, we may be spending $1 on the migrant to possibly $30 on the fellow who remains at home back there on the land to keep him there and out of this migratory class.

Mr. Curtis. Have you made any investigation of these people who have been forced off of the soil? Did they leave because of low productivity of the soil plus low income, or did they leave because they were not satisfied with the surroundings, the type of housing that they had, and so on?

Mr. BEECHER. Well, those to whom I have talked left because there was no opportunity and no home amusements. Maybe they formerly were tenants of small owners pushed down into this status of wage laborers who could get a little work in the cotton in the summertime and fall for 2 or 3 months, and they must follow this work up for the rest of the year as a matter of necessity, and they don't do it because they like to or because there is an adventure about it.

Shall I proceed?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, sir.

NEED FOR MORE MIGRATORY CAMPS

Mr. BEECHER (reading). These five camps of the Farm Security Administration, which were either built or under construction now, will be able to accommodate at least 5,000 migrants. Since even this number will constitute but a small fraction of the total number of migrants in lower south Florida, it is provisionally planned to locate further camps there as rapidly as local demand is made and funds become available. The camps now built and under construction contain simple sanitary living units of steel and concrete or wood, community centers, central bathing and laundry facilities, comfort stations and sewage-disposal plants, clinics, nursery schools, and a limited number of small garden homes designed for agricultural workers with relatively stable year-round employment.

Although our operating experience has been short, we are finding that the response of the Florida migrants to the advantages offered by the camps is quite as gratifying as the response of the Pacific coast migrants to the older Farm Security camp program in that region. They are eager to escape from their former environment into the camps, and once established there they show a fine sense of responsibility for maintaining social and physical order.

Camp government is in the hands of the people themselves, with the camp manager and other Federal employees acting only in an advisory capacity to the council, an elective body which makes all necessary regulations for camp life, and acts as a judiciary in enforcing them. Special deputies and armed quarters bosses are conspicuous by their absence from the camps, the members of the so-called flag committee chosen by the council from amongst the campers assuring effective order at dances and other social functions. A variety of committees, enlisting the volunteer services of women as well as men, serve to guide the manifold life of the camp, embracing the special programs for adult and children's education, the nursery school, the health program in cooperation with the camp nurse, food conservation with the camp home economist, recreation, and so on. Committee work vastly widens the participation of the campers in the process of self-government, thus broadening the base upon which camp morale is established. Both whites and Negroes, we find, are highly appreciative of the opportunities which the camps afford to live decently and to assume community responsibilities. Our experience with them is conclusive proof that migrants in Florida, as well as in California, show themselves to be good Americans when they are given a fair chance. [Reading ends.]

I have some other data and information here that I will not ask permission to read at this time, but I ask that it be made a part of my testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. It may be made a part of the record here as a part of your testimony.

(Statement referred to is as follows:)

INTERSTATE MIGRANTS IN THE SOUTHEAST

In the spring and early summer of 1939 the Farm Security Administration, in cooperation with certain other organizations, conducted enumerative surveys of agricultural wage workers in eight southeastern localities. Interstate migrants formed part of the agricultural labor force surveyed in each area; and the results of these field studies, as they concern interstate migrants, furnish the basis for the following report.

Two of the surveys were made of strawberry pickers in Arkansas, and a third group of strawberry pickers was studied in the Hammond area of Louisiana. Four areas in Florida were studied: truck vegetable harvesters in and around Belle Glade, Manatee, and Sanford, and citrus workers in the Lakeland district. The other study was made of truck vegetable harvesters in Copiah County, Miss.

Although all of the workers studied were engaged, at the time of enumeration, in the harvesting of fruits or vegetables, the character of the harvest differed in the various areas. The Sanford workers, for example, were predominantly engaged in the cutting and packing of celery, and the Sanford area has produced celery for a number of years. In the Belle Glade area, on the other hand, the workers were mainly employed as pickers or packers of beans, and the area itself was at the frontier stage of its development. These local differences affected basically the situation and character of the labor forces in the various areas.

The relative importance of interstate migrants to the total labor force studied, as well as the absolute number of migrants involved, also varied in the different areas. The results of the field studies, therefore, are not equally valuable nor can they be added mathematically to obtain a sum total of the characteristics of interstate migrants. Rather, a physical addition is involved. The studies revealed fragments of a mosaic, and its outlines become apparent only when the pieces are fitted together.

The charts illustrating the movement of interstate migrants, their locations throughout the year preceding enumeration, and their States of permanent residence show how the results of the surveys fit together. The winter celery packers in Sanford are fall celery packers in New York. They are summer potato pickers in the Carolinas and Virginia, turpentine workers in Georgia, stevedores in New Orleans. The bean pickers of Belle Glade are also cotton pickers in Georgia; the strawberry pickers working in Hammond in April may be threshing wheat in Texas in August.

Through their common connection with the mobile casual workers surveyed, every major geographical area in the United States entered the 1939 studies. The charts portray the geographical connections of only 314 interstate migrants over a 1-year period. The small size of the source data accentuates the charted scope of interstate migration.

When the movements of individual migrants are analyzed, it is evident that few migrations are exactly repeated. Individual migrations are shaped by many factors: by the availability or desirability of work; by transportation possibilities; by necessity or inclination; by rumor or by experience. As the charts show, however, individual migrations when considered together present certain general trends. These trends derive from characteristics common to all interstate migrants.

All the migrants whose movements were charted had traveled in order to take short-time seasonal employment. Their presence in the casual agricultural labor force implied that previously they were either underemployed or unemployed elsewhere. Furthermore, such migration, for most of them, was recurrent. Their movement to take short-time employment had been repeated in the past, and the routes of their movement were determined primarily by the locations of such employment possibilities.

Seasonal agricultural labor requirements exist throughout the United States. As the season progresses northward, potato pickers are needed in the Carolinas, in Virginia, in New Jersey, and in Maine. Berry pickers, fruit and cotton pickers are needed from Georgia to Michigan and west to Texas, California, and Washington. In October or November the location of seasonal agricultural employment drops South again, to the "winter garden" States. The contractions and expansions of employment opportunities are shown in the charts which portray the monthly locations of the interstate migrants.

The locations, the crops, and the volumes of nonlocal labor required vary: the constant factor in all seasonal work locations is the peaked character of their harvest labor requirements. The preparation of the harvest requires relatively little labor. When the harvest is ready, however, large amounts of additional labor are required. It is then that the migrants find their employment.

In finding their employment, the migrants commonly find extremely bad housing. Their earnings are so low that they can seldom afford to pay out much in rent. Even if they could, however, adequate housing for additional harvest labor does not exist in most seasonal-work locations. The intermittency of the demand for additional housing and the low economic status of the additional workers prevent the commercial construction of housing for the harvest workers. Most often the farm operator supplies such housing as the migrants have. Whether rented on a straight commercial basis or supplied by the farmer, the housing of migratory workers was, in the area studied, characteristically impermanent, overcrowded, and lacking in ordinary conveniences.

The living conditions of the migrants bring into sharp focus the essential characteristics of these workers: intermittent employment, low economic status, and transiency. These characteristics are specified, for the areas studied, in the following section.

Characteristics of Interstate Migrants in Eight Southeastern Localities

MIGRATORY STATUS

The total number of workers surveyed in the various areas ran from 50 in White County, Ark., to 532 in the Belle Glade area of Florida. Furthermore, the relative importance of interstate migrants to the total labor force studied differed.[1] (See table I.) Interstate migrants composed only one-seventh of the labor force surveyed in the Lakeland citrus area, while three-fourths of the agricultural wage workers studied in the Benton strawberry district were interstate migrants. These areal differences qualify, of course, any conclusions based on the survey data. Since our present purpose is to bring together as many data as possible on certain aspects of interstate migrants, however, data on the interstate migrants in all of the areas are considered.

RACE AND SEX

More than nine-tenths of the interstate migrants to the Sanford and Copiah areas were Negro; more than nine-tenths of the migrants to the Lakeland citrus area and the Arkansas strawberry areas were white. (See table II.) Although Negro migrants predominated in the Belle Glade and Hammond surveys, there were sizable proportions of white migrants. In the Manatee area, on the other hand, white migrants composed the larger proportion; but more than one-third of the migrants were colored.

ATTACHEDNESS STATUS

Three-fourths of the Manatee migrants, 72.1 percent of the Hammond migrants, and half of the Lakeland migrants were unattached; that is, they were either single workers or had no members of their families with them in the area. In all the other areas attached workers were relatively more numerous than unattached workers. (See table III.)

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[1] Interstate migrants were those workers, either resident or nonresident, who had a record of movement. Some of the nonresident workers were classified as migrants even though they moved into the area more than 1 calendar year prior to enumeration.

SIZE OF FAMILY

In tabulating the size of migrant families only the family members present in the area were considered. Three-fourths of the Lakeland families and 78.8 percent of the Sanford families had two or three members. The families of interstate migrants to the Belle Glade and Benton areas tended to be larger. Two-sevenths of the Belle Glade families and 38.3 percent of the Benton families had five or more members.

YEARS AS A MIGRATORY WORKER

A majority of all the interstate migrants, with the exception of the Benton migrants, had had several years of migratory experience. Although the distributions differed in the various areas, most of the distributions concentrated in their two extreme classes. The most numerous classes were less than 1 year and more than 5 years of migratory experience.

More than half of the Benton migrants were first-year migrants; they had had less than 1 year's migratory experience. One-third of these migrants, on the other hand, were seasoned in that they had had 5 or more years of migratory experience. (See table IV.) Most of the areal distributions were marked by similar concentrations, although the proportions of first-year migrants were generally smaller. Roughly, three-tenths of the Belle Glade and Hammond interstate migrants were first-year, while more than one-third had had 5 or more years' experience. The Manatee migrants were the most-seasoned group: 12.5 percent of the migrants had had less than 1 year's experience and 52.5 percent had had 5 or more years' experience. In the Sanford area, 42.8 percent of the migrants were first-year and only 22.2 percent were migrants of 5 or more years.

TOTAL NUMBER OF JOBS

More than half of the interstate migrants in each area studied had had three or more jobs in the past year.[2] (See table V.) The distributions of number of jobs held, however, were quite distinct in the various areas. Five-ninths of the Manatee migrants, three-tenths of the Benton migrants, and one-fourth of the Hammond migrants, had had five or more jobs. The other areal distributions were characterized by concentrations in the two- and three-job classes and relatively slighter proportions in the higher job classes.

Data on the number of jobs, in the past year are an index to the casual character of the migrants' employment. They are not attached to their employment for long. The greater the number of jobs, the shorter the average duration of the jobs. The converse of this statement, however, is not necessarily correct. Fewer jobs may mean either longer average employment or more unemployment. Jobs data are therefore qualified by length of employment data.

DAYS EMPLOYED

Data on the number of days employed in the past year showed that, notwithstanding the number of jobs held, interstate migrants were seriously underemployed. The highest average[3] employment (234 days) occurred in the Belle Glade district: The lowest (135 days) occurred in the Sanford area (see table VI). Assuming a working week of 6 employed days, the Belle Glade migrants averaged 75 percent of full employment; and the Sanford migrants averaged 42 percent of full employment. The Hammond and Manatee migrants averaged 57.7 percent of full employment; the Benton migrants averaged 46.1 percent; and the Lakeland migrants averaged 71.2 percent.

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[2] The "past year" signifies the 12-month period preceding date of enumeration.

[3] "Average" signifies median value.

INCOME

The highest average income ($631) in the past year occurred in the Lakeland area; the lowest, ($287) in the Hammond strawberry area (see table VII). The average incomes of the other areas were: Manatee, $534; Belle Glade, $444; Benton, $351; and Sanford, $310.[4] Only 8 of all the interstate migrants surveyed in 1939 had total incomes of more than $1,500, and 11 had yearly incomes of $100 or less.

Total income figures included receipts from all sources in the past year. The largest factor in total income was cash earnings (including perquisites), income deriving from the work of the schedule subjects—the unattached workers and the chief agricultural breadwinners in attached cases. There were significant differences, however, between the average cash earnings incomes in the past year and the average total incomes (see table VIII). In the Manatee area the average cash-earnings income was the same as the average total income. In all of the other areas the average cash-earnings income was considerably less than the average total income. The greatest difference occurred in the Benton area ($151), and the slightest difference ($50) occurred in the Sanford area.

Income deriving from the work of other members of the family accounted for most of the differences between cash-earnings and total income. In every area except Benton less than 1 out of 12 of the migrants received relief income. More than 1 out of 4 of the Benton migrants received relief in the past year (see table IX).

HOUSING

The housing structures of the workers studied were classified by three main types; house, barracks, and labor cabins on farms. "House" commonly meant single or multiple family dwellings in which each family had separate accommodations of permanent type, and which were not in the fields where work was done. "Labor cabin on farm" signified single family dwellings in or adjacent to the fields where work was performed, and which were not usually considered permanent dwellings. "Barracks" were structures in which numerous persons lived without private accommodations. In addition to these main structural types, there were the self-explanatory types—tent, trailers, tourist cabins, and barns.

In the Hammond and Copiah areas interstate migrants lived predominantly in housing specifically designed for the use of the seasonal labor force (see table X). Four-fifths of the Hammond migrants lived in labor cabins and 12.6 percent lived in barracks. Six-sevenths of the Copiah migrants lived in labor cabins. All of the Sanford and Manatee migrants, on the other hand, lived in houses. Most of the Lakeland migrants also lived in houses, and none of them lived in barracks or labor cabins. Although sizable proportions of the interstate migrants to Belle Glade and Benton lived in houses, the housing of interstate migrants in these areas was predominantly designed for transient use or reflected transiency through the utilization of makeshift housing. Two-fifths of the Benton migrants lived in tents, trailers, barns, or cars, and nearly one-tenth had no housing whatever. Five-ninths of the interstate migrants to Belle Glade lived in tourist cabins, barracks, or labor cabins on farms.

In the larger, more urban areas (e. g., Sanford and Belle Glade) city water was a major source of water supply. Half of the city water was purchased retail in Belle Glade, however. In Belle Glade, also, there was a racial distinction in types of housing, lighting facilities, and types of windows. Colored migrants lived in barracks, used kerosene lamps, and had unscreened shutter-type windows; white migrants lived in tourist camps, had electric lights, and unscreened glass windows.

Although details of the housing situation of interstate migrants varied in the different areas surveyed, the total housing picture was essentially common to all of them. Community open-pit toilets were the most common type of toilet facilities; kerosene lamps the most common type of lighting facilities; wood stoves the most common type of cooking facilities; and unscreened windows the most common type of window. In all of the areas the living conditions of these migrants reflected their transient character and economic status. In all of the areas the housing was inadequate by any measure. It was overcrowded, ramshackle, and lacking in common conveniences.

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[4] Number of cases in Benton and Copiah was too small to support average figures.

MOVEMENT IN THE PAST YEAR

The scope of interstate migration and changing locations of migrants in the past year are shown on the charts. Quantitative data on mobility supplement the graphic presentations.

The number of moves made by the interstate migrants in the past year varied greatly in the different survey areas. Mobility in the Sanford celery area, for example, concentrated strikingly in the two-move class. More than seven-tenths of the Sanford migrants moved twice or were in three locations (see table XI). Since 15.6 percent of the Sanford interstate migrants did not move in the past year, it is evident that two-move migration characterized most of the active interstate migrants in that area.

In Benton County, Ark., on the other hand, the most numerous move class was one-move (38.9 percent) ; and the higher move classes were successively less important. The Manatee area of Florida presented another kind of mobility distribution, although the most numerous move class was two-move (29.3 percent). The distribution did not taper as it approached the higher move classes. It fell off sharply in the three- and four-move classes and rose thereafter. Nearly half (46.3 percent) of the Manatee interstate migrants made five or more moves in the past year. A preponderant majority of the mobility of interstate migrants fell in the one- or two-move classes in the Sanford, Lakeland, and Belle Glade areas. A bare majority (51 percent) of the Hammond interstate migrants fell in these two-move classes; and a similarly indecisive concentration (49.8 percent) marked the mobility distribution of the Benton, Ark., area. Roughly one-third of the Manatee mobility was one- or two-move, while the White County mobility was nearer one-fifth (21.7 percent).

The small number of interstate migrants in some of the areas cautions against generalization concerning the areal differences apparent in the mobility distributions. It is evident, however, that interstate migrants in the various areas differed greatly in the frequency of their movements in the past year. It is also evident that migrants to certain areas (e. g., Belle Glade, Manatee, and White County) tended to make more moves than the interstate migrants attracted to other areas.

An analysis of interstate mobility in the Belle Glade, Sanford, and Hammond areas revealed that there were characteristic differences between one- and two-move migrants and three and more move migrants. The one- and two-move migrants were, for the most part, "one-crop" migrants. The movement pattern of these migrants was characterized by regularity, in that current work locations were repetitions; and by stability in that at least one period had been spent at a place of permanent residence. If the place of permanent residence were outside of the area of enumeration, the patterns of such migrants could be generalized into the sequence: From impermanent address at the season's end 1 year ago to permanent address and back to impermanent address. If the area studied were the permanent address of the migrant, the sequence changed to: Permanent address to impermanent address outside the area to permanent address.

In the Belle Glade area the most common two-move migration was of the first type, and a majority of such migrants maintained permanent addresses in Georgia (see table XII). This was also true of the two-move migrants to the Hammond area, and Mississippi was commonly the State of permanent address. The second type of sequence characterized most two-move migrants studied in the Sanford area. They maintained permanent addresses in Sanford and migrated in the off-season. Most of these workers followed the celery harvest to New York State. Much of the uniformity in the Sanford migration was due to the fact that several of the Sanford growers also operated celery fields in New York, and transported their workers to these fields.

Many of the more-than-two-move interstate migrants to the Belle Glade area had spent at least one period at their places of permanent address in the year preceding enumeration. Unlike the one- and two-move migrants, however, the permanent addresses of multiple-move migrants did not appear in any distinct or characteristic sequence. The "home base" of multiple move interstate migrants did not, aparently, offer definite or regular employment for the migrant.

Although the movement patterns of multiple-move interstate migrants could not be generalized into definite sequences in terms of recurrent locations and permanent address, the composite outline of their patterns was fairly clear. As the charts shows, migrants to the Florida areas had traveled three main routes in the past year. One route ran up through the eastern seaboard States to New York and New Jersey; one route ran through Tennessee and Kentucky to Michigan; and the third route took in the States of Alabama, Arkansas, and Missouri. The Louisiana migrants used the last two routes as well as a third western route running through Texas to the western coastal States.

The individual migrations of interstate migrants furnish details of time and place for these general routes. A Negro family of five who were picking beans in the Belle Glade area had followed the same route for the past 3 years. From November to May they picked beans in Belle Glade, from May through July they picked beans in Hurlock, Md.; from August to October they dug and picked potatoes in Pikestown, N. J. In November they were back in Florida picking beans.

Another Belle Glade family had gone to Michigan for the past 6 years by the following series of work locations: From October to May they worked in Belle Glade; through May they picked cherries in Hart, Mich.; in June they picked tomatoes in Freemont, Ohio; and they picked fruits and vegetables in Clewiston, N. Y., from July to September.

In January 1938 a Hammond migrant was picking strawberries in Plant City, Fla. He left Florida in the middle of March to go to the strawberry harvest in Hammond. From May to September he was working in cotton in Lubbock, Tex. This was followed by 2 weeks of threshing wheat in Gainesville, Tex. He then went back to Lubbock to pick cotton. When the cotton was picked, he filled in with odd jobs in Mission, Tex., until the strawberry season opened again in Hammond.

PRELIMINARY FACTS FROM THE HAMMOND, LA., FARM LABOR STUDY[1]

A. STATUS

Race and sex.—Roughly, 8 out of 10 of the workers were colored: Three-fourths of the white workers were male, and 61.1 percent of the colored workers were male. On the basis of race and sex, the workers enumerated in the Hammond survey were predominantly male and colored. (See table I.)

Attachedness and where work is done.—All of the Hammond workers were field workers at the time of enumeration, and a majority of them were unattached. (See table II.)

Migratory status.—From the standpoint of migratory status, the great majority of the workers were migrants, and a two-thirds majority of the migrants were intrastate. (See table III.)

Age.—The average age of all the workers was 31.6 years. This average characterized the workers of the component migratory status groupings as well as the total group surveyed. The average age of all intrastate migrants was 31.8 years; the average of all interstate migrants was 31.4 years. Nearly one-fourth (23.1 percent) of all the workers were more than 45 years old, and nearly one-third (32.6 percent) were less than 25 years old.

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[1] In the analysis of the schedules, several terms with special definitions were used. These definitions were:

1. The workers discussed in the first 4 sections are the subjects of the farm wage worker schedules—unattached workers and chief agricultural bread-winners in attached cases. The section on education includes data on the families of attached agricultural workers.
2. Attached workers are those who have one or more members of their families with them in the area at the time of enumeration. Unattached workers are single workers as well as those who have no members of their families with them in the area.
3. Migratory status terms are defined on the basis of current and permanent addresses and on record of movement. Resident workers are those whose permanent and current addresses are the same; that is, all workers whose permanent addresses are in the Hammond area. Nonresident workers are those whose permanent addresses are outside of the Hammond area. Resident workers are regular if they have fairly full employment throughout the year; they are seasonal if they are seasonally employed; intrastate if they moved within the State; and interstate if their movement carried them across State lines. The intrastate and interstate character of nonresident workers is similarly defined.
4. All averages, unless otherwise stated, signify median values. Cases not ascertainable or cases of no report have been excluded in the calculation of percentages.

Size of family.—Three-tenths of all the Hammond workers were attached; that is, they had one or more members of their families with them in the area. Nearly six-tenths (58.3 percent) of the attached workers were intrastate migrants. Intrastate migrants tended to have slightly larger families than interstate migrants. Approximately three-sevenths (43.3 percent) of the attached intrastate migrant families numbered two; 18.3 percent had three members, and 38.4 percent had from four to nine members. The proportion of 2-member families among interstate attached workers, on the other hand, was more nearly half (48.4 percent), and nearly one-fifth (19.4 percent) of such families had three members. The proportion of four- and more-member families was correspondingly smaller (32.2 percent), and the largest interstate migrant family had seven members.

Ownership of farm.—Most of the Hammond workers had no present or prospective link with farm ownership; they did not own farms and were not paying or saving for farms or farm equipment. Nine-tenths (90.9 percent) of all resident workers, 90.6 percent of all intrastate migrants, and 87.4 percent of all interstate workers fell in this category.

Years as a migratory worker.—A majority of both intrastate and interstate migrants had had at least 1 year's experience in migratory work. More than one-third (34 percent) of all intrastate migrants and three-tenths (29.4 percent) of all interstate migrants had been migrants for less than a year. Nearly two-fifths (38.7 percent) of the intrastate migrants and 36.7 percent of the interstate migrants, on the other hand, had had 5 or more years' experience as migratory workers. The two groupings of migratory workers, therefore, were seasoned to a large and approximately equal degree.

Migration pattern and intention to settle down.—More than half (51.1 percent) of all intrastate migrants regularly sought work from the same employers and intended to settle down, or quit migration, in the future. Slightly more than one-seventh (15.3 percent) of the intrastate migrants planned to settle down, but did not seek work from the same employers; and four (2.3 percent) were nonascertainable as to seeking work, but planned to settle down. In addition to the intrastate migrants discussed above, there were first-year intrastate migrants who, of course, were unable to respond concerning seeking work in the past. Thirty-three of the 37 first-year intrastate migrants, however, intended to settle down. In all, seven-eighths (87.4 percent) of the intrastate migrants intended to settle down. Apart from the first-year migrants, relatively fewer of the interstate migrants intended to settle down; 24.2 percent of the interstate migrants regularly sought work from the same employers and planned to settle down; 19.2 percent did not seek work from the same employers, but planned to settle down. Thirty of the 32 first-year interstate migrants, however, planned to settle down. For comparison the proportion of intrastate and interstate migrants in the various migration pattern categories are given in table V.

B. HOUSING

Type of housing.—All of the resident Hammond workers lived either in houses or in labor cabins on the farms where they were employed. Four out of seven (57.6 percent) lived in houses; three out of seven (42.4 percent) lived in labor cabins on the farm.

The housing of nonresident workers, on the other hand, was characterized by variety in type and relatively slight use of houses. Three-fourths (75.8 percent) of the nonresidents lived in labor cabins on the farms, while only about 1 out of 17 (6 percent) lived in houses. Ranking next in importance to labor cabins was barrack housing. Roughly one-sixth (16.8 percent) of the nonresident workers lived in dormitorylike structures used exclusively by the additional nonlocal workers which the strawberry harvest attracts to the Hammond area. The rest of the nonresidents lived in miscellaneous types of housing; one worker lived in a barn, one in a car, and one in a tourist cabin. One nonresident had no housing whatever.

Relatively more of the intrastate workers lived in houses and barracks; relatively more of the interstate workers lived in labor cabins. One-fifth (19.6 percent) of the intrastate migrants, as compared with one-eighth (12.6 percent) of the interstate migrants, lived in barracks. Seven-tenths of the intrastate migrants lived in labor cabins as compared with eight-tenths of the intrastate migrants. The remaining tenth of the intrastate migrants lived in houses. Only 3.6 percent of the interstate migrants lived in houses, and all of the miscellaneous types of housing occurred in the interstate grouping.

Number of rooms.—Half of the nonresident housing was one-room; one-fifth (21.7 percent) was two-room; and one-fifth (18.9 percent) three- or four-room. Less than one-tenth (9.2 percent) was five or more rooms. Nearly one-fourth (24.2 percent) of the resident housing, on the other hand, had five or more rooms. More than two-fifths (42.4 percent) of the resident housing had three or four rooms, 15.2 percent had two rooms, and 18.2 percent had one room. Although the small number of resident cases qualifies the resident housing proportions, it is evident that resident housing tended to have more rooms than the housing of nonresident workers.

Number of occupants.—Nearly half (45.4 percent) of the resident workers lived in housing which sheltered from 5 to 11 and more persons. One-third (33.3 percent) of the resident housing sheltered 3 or 4 persons, 18.2 percent sheltered 2 persons, and only 3 percent sheltered a single occupant. When these percentages are considered in relation to the percentage distribution of number of rooms, it is evident that overcrowding was the rule in the Hammond area. (See table IV.)

Number of windows.—Twenty-four (7.6 percent) of the Hammond workers had no windows in their housing; 21 (6.6 percent) had more than 10. Most of the workers, however, had 1- or 2-window housing. About one-fourth (25.9 percent) of the housing had 1 window, and slightly more than one-fifth (22.7 percent) had 2 windows. (The median number of windows was 1.9.)

Type of windows.—The most common (45.1 percent) type of windows was shuttered and without screens. Of next importance (21.6 percent) was glass without screens, while glass windows with screens described the windows of 12.2 percent of the workers' housing.

These three types of windows described the uniformities in this aspect of Hammond housing. Although there were other types and combinations of types, they did not occur frequently enough to acquire statistical significance.

Toilet facilities.—The toilet facilities of the strawberry workers were classified by their structure and utilization. Structurally there were two types of toilet facilities: Flush and open-pit. On the basis of utilization, facilities were either individual or community; that is, utilized by two or more famlies.

Twenty-seven (8.3 percent) of the workers had no toilet facilities, 6 had community toilets whose structural type was not ascertainable, and the facilities of 3 workers were completely nonascertainable. The rest of the toilet facilities were completely classifiable.

Nine out of ten (88.6 percent) of the workers had facilities of the open-pit type. Among the nonresidents, most (77.0 percent) of the facilities were community open-pit. Only 27.3 percent of the resident workers' facilities, on the other hand, were community open-pit. Six-tenths (60.6 percent) of the resident workers had individual open-pit type facilities, while the comparable proportion for nonresidents was only 6.4 percent. Although open-pit type toilets described nine-tenths of the facilities of both resident and non-resident workers, the proportionate distributions of individual and community type open-pit toilets were reversed for these two groupings. The proportionate distributions of individual and community type open-pit toilets in the intrastate and interstate groupings, however, were similar.

Only four of the workers had flush type toilet facilities—all of them individual. Two of these occurred in the resident grouping; two in the nonresident intrastate grouping.

Cooking facilities.—Two of the workers "ate out;" that is, they did not themselves use cooking facilities. There was also one worker who had no place to live and consequently no cooking facility. For the rest of the workers the predominant type of cooking facility was wood stove. Seven-eighths (87.2 percent) of all the cooking facilities were of this type. The only sizeable proportion of cooking facility other than wood stove, was kerosene (oil) stove. One out of 20 (5.0 percent) of the Hammond workers used this type. The cooking facilities of the rest of the workers were various, including campfire, charcoal buckets, gas or gasoline stoves, and combinations of these types. None of the miscellaneous types, however, occurred frequently enough to gain numerical significance.

Although the proportionate difference in cooking facilities were not great, it is of interest to note that the greatest dependence on wood stoves occurred in the intrastate migrant grouping (93.2 percent), and that the least dependence (78.7 percent) occurred in the interstate grouping.

Types of lights.—The predominant type of lighting in the Hammond area was kerosene lamp. Nine of the workers (2.8 percent) had no lights whatever, 13 (4.0 percent) had electric lights, and the rest (93.2 percent) used kerosene lamps. All of the cases without lights were nonresident, 8 of the 9 cases were nonresident interstate.

Water supply.—The water supply of the Hammond workers was derived, for the most part, from wells, either surface type, overflowing wells, or wells with hand pumps attached to them. A few (5.6 percent) derived their water from the town water system. Six workers (1.9 percent) derived their water from private water systems, and one worker used rain water collected in a cistern. More than nine-tenths of the workers, however, used well water; 35.5 percent depending on overflowing wells; 56.7 percent usind hand-pumped well water.

All of the cases of private water systems, as well as the cistern supply, occured in the nonresident grouping; and 16 of the 18 cases of city water users were also nonresident. Resident workers, in other words, used well water almost exclusively. They also depended on overflowing well type water supplies to a relatively greater extent than did the nonresident group.

C. CURRENT WORK

Payment of transportation to and from work location (Hammond).—19 of the classified migrants in the Hammond study, or 6.8 percent, were in the Hammond area prior to taking their current job. Slightly more than 5 out of 8 (63.3 percent) of the migrants incurred no transportation expense in taking their Hammond jobs, however, because their transportation costs to the area as well as transportation costs to their next location were paid by their wage payers. Roughly, 2 out of every 8 migrants (26.3 percent), on the other hand, bore the full cost of taking jobs in the Hammond area. They themselves bore the costs of transportation to and from the Hammond area. Five of the migrants had their travel expense to the area paid by their employers but had to pay their costs out of the area. Four of the migrants had to pay their costs to the area, but their travel costs away from the area were to be paid by their employers.

There was considerable variation in transportation-expense data when viewed from the standpoint of migratory character. Employers' payment of travel costs was far more prevalent among the intrastate migrants.

The transportation costs of six-sevenths (81.8 percent) of the nonresident intrastate migrants, as compared with less than two-sevenths (25.6 percent) of the nonresident interstate migrants were paid by their wage payers. One-ninth of the nonresident intrastate migrants, on the other hand, as compared with more than five-ninths (57.8 percent) of the nonresident interstate migrants bore themselves their entire travel costs. In other words, 86.9 percent of the nonresident migrants who had their transportation costs paid for them were intrastate migrants. Conversely, 72.2 percent of all the nonresident migrants who bore the full costs of travel were interstate migrants.

Distance from current residence to job.—The great majority (96.3 percent) of the strawberry workers lived less than 1 mile from their work. None lived more than 9 miles from his work. The nearness of residences to work made walking the most prevalent (97.2 percent) means of travel to current job. With the exception of one worker who drove his own car to work, all of the workers who did not walk to work were transported at their employers' expense.

Time of wage payment.—Almost without exception the strawberry pickers were paid weekly. One interstate migrant was paid daily; one intrastate migrant was paid at the end of the job.

Wages paid by and deductions from wages.—A similar uniformity characterized the identity of wage payer and deductions from wages. All of the resident workers, migrant and nonmigrant, were paid by the operator of the fields which they worked and had no deductions taken from their wages. Ninety-six percent of the nonresident intrastate workers, and 97 percent of the nonresident interstate workers were also paid by their operators and had no deductions. The rest of the nonresident workers were paid by their operators but received reductions.

D. THE PAST YEAR

Mobility in the past year.—About nine-tenths of the attached workers and 95 percent of the unattached workers made one or more moves in the past year. The great weight of this mobility occurred within the State. Seven-tenths of the attached workers and three-fourths of the unattached workers had a record of intrastate movement in the past year; one-fourth of the attached workers and one-third of the unattached workers made interstate moves.

Unattached workers were migrant to a slightly larger degree than attached workers, and their movements were more numerous, especially their intrastate movements. About one-third of the unattached workers made from three to six intrastate moves, whereas one-sixth of the attached migrant workers made three or more moves. Three-tenths of the unattached migrants and one-fourth of the attached migrants made three or more interstate moves. The majority of all movement for both groups, however, was in one- and two-move migration; roughly, four-tenths of the migrants made one interstate move; one-third, two. These proportions were reversed for intrastate movement, the most numerous class for both groupings being two-move.

Two-fifths of the interstate migrants had permanent residences in Mississippi; 16.7 percent in Louisiana; 8.4 percent in Arkansas and Missouri, each; and 6.2 percent in Texas and Alabama, each. Smaller proportions had permanent addresses in Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, District of Columbia, Wisconsin, Washington, and California. Although a major proportion of the interstate migrants thus originate in the States adjacent to Louisiana, the strawberry migration involved workers originating in every major geographical section of the United States, except New England.

The dispersions and the concentrations which characterized the permanent addresses of the interstate migratory workers also characterized their movements during the year preceding enumeration. Chart I shows that although Mississippi figured largest in the movement of interstate migrants in the past year, the Louisiana interstate migrants were factors in the labor forces of 19 other States.

Employment and unemployment.—Half of the attached workers were employed 175 days or less in the past year, and the highest number of days employed was 312. The median for unattached workers was lower, 160 days, but their highest employment was 362 days. A more emphatic statement of employment is provided by unemployment data. Half of the attached workers had from 141 to 280 days of unemployment in the past year, while half of the unattached workers had from 153 to 305 days of unemployment.

Income.—In analyzing income, the total income derived in the year preceding enumeration was broken down into four types: The cash earnings of the schedule subject, the valuation of perquisites attaching thereto, other family income, and relief income.

The earnings-perquisite income is the income accruing to the schedule subject from his employment in the past year. Half of the attached field workers received an earnings perquisite income of $152 or less, while the highest income received in this grouping was $998. Unattached workers had a slightly higher median average, $159, and their income range went as high as $1,291. The similarity of average income figures for attached and unattached workers indicates that income differentials do not inhere in the earnings-perquisite incomes on the basis of attachedness.

Nearly three-fourths of the earnings-incomes of attached workers, however, represented renumeration for the efforts of two or more persons; that is, they were earnings to which several members of the family contributed. About three-fifths represented the work of from three to six contributors. The earnings-perquisite incomes of unattached workers, on the other hand, represented remuneration for the work of one individual. To the extent that the earnings-perquisite incomes of attached workers include remuneration for the work of two and more contributors, therefore, the year's earnings for attached workers are lower, on the average, than the comparable earnings of unattached workers.

Earnings-perquisite incomes were also conditioned by the extent to which they were composed of perquisites, or nonmonetary income. This factor was constant for both attached and unattached workers. About nine-tenths of the workers in both groupings received perquisites. The valuation of perquisites was less than $50 in practically all cases.

Other family income, income deriving from sources other than relief or the work of the schedule subject, was a sizable factor in the incomes of attached workers. In most cases other family income represented the earnings of other members of the family on jobs other than that of the schedule subject. When other family income is added to earnings-perquisite income, the total family income (exclusive of relief) is increased about $100, on the average, for attached workers. Half of the total family incomes of attached workers were $253 or less, and they ranged from $22 to $2,088. There was much less change between the earnings-perquisite incomes and family incomes of unattached workers: Half of their family incomes amounted to $184 or less, and the upper limit remained $1,291.

Relief, the fourth source of income, contributed comparatively little to the incomes of the Tangipahoa workers. Nine-tenths of the attached workers and 98 percent of the unattached workers received no relief sums in the past year. The median total family income, including relief, of attached workers was $269, while that of unattached workers was $187. The range of attached workers' total incomes ranged from $71 to $2,088, and the comparable range for unattached workers was from $35 to $1,291. Table IV, appearing below, summarizes the relative importance of income factors by race and migratory status.

Education.—There were 35 white and 66 colored children of school age—that is, between the ages of 6 and 15 years, inclusive—in the Hammond survey. Less than half (45.7 percent) of the white children and three-fifths (69.1 percent) of the colored children were in school; that is, had attended school during the current school year. Roughly one-third of the school-age children of both racial groupings were working and not in school; one-fifth of the white children and 7.6 percent of the colored children were not in school and were not working.

The great majority of the school-age children who were in school worked. Thirteen of the sixteen white children and 29 of the 39 colored children who were in school also worked.

Only seven (17.9 percent) of the colored school-age children who were in school were either normal or advanced in their school achievement. One-fourth (25.7 percent) of the colored school children were retarded one or two grades; one-third, three or four grades; and 23.1 percent, five or more grades. The small number of cases of white school children makes unprofitable a detailed examination of their school achievement. Only three of them, however, were not retarded.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN BEECHER—Resumed

The CHAIRMAN. Aside from the Farm Security grants, do these migrants in Florida receive any assistance from any other source?

Mr. BEECHER. They receive very little assistance from other relief agencies. We found after the freeze last year—the tremendous freeze which occurred during this last winter—that the State agencies were absolutely unable to cope with the problem, and the Farm Security Administration pretty well carried the ball entirely on the relief of the destitute migrants, after the freeze, except for the fact that the State welfare department did distribute some surplus commodities, which were, in turn, secured from some of the Federal agencies.

Mr. CURTIS. I believe you mentioned the fact or made the statement that the field work in your area was generally done by Negroes and that the packing-house work was done by whites. Will you compare the wage of these two types of workers?

Mr. Beecher. The field work is usually done by Negroes, and the customary daily rate of pay ranges from a dollar to $1.50 per day. Usually in the harvesting of crops, the pickers are paid on a piece basis. The white people in the packing houses earn 25 cents an hour in the Lake Okeechobee section almost universally. A few of them earn more than that; but that is what most of them receive.

When Negroes do the same work in the celery industry in the Sanford territory where white people do that work in the Lake Okeechobee area, these Negroes at Sanford get about from one-half to two-thirds as much for the same kind of work; I would say 12½ to 15 cents an hour for the same thing that the white people get 25 cents an hour for in the Lake Okeechobee section.

Mr. Curtis. Have you any information on the average annual income of these people?

Mr. Beecher. Yes; I have that in my statement.

Mr. Curtis. All right; what educational facilities are given these migrants?

Mr. Beecher. Well, schools do exist for both races, but if all of the migrant children were in school and were to be in school, the present facilities would not only be overloaded, but they would be completely swamped. They are overloaded even at the present time, with a large number of migrant children staying out of school.

The Chairman. From your experience in dealing with these matters and in the handling of these problems, what organization do you consider the best suited to properly handle the problem, in your opinion?

Mr. Beecher. It seems to me that the Farm Security Administration is the best suited, because we do have the coordinated program for dealing with the underprivileged farm people generally back in the areas where these migrants come from as a general rule, as well as the areas to which they go; and furthermore, we have had 5 years' experience in working out camps and grant programs for the migrants, and it seems to me that the Farm Security Administration would be the best agency to continue it.

Mr. Osmers. I have one general question that I would like to ask if you can answer it briefly. Based on your experience in the handling of agricultural migrants, would you care to make any suggestion as to the best way that the Federal Government could approach the problem looking toward a permanent solution? Do you see any way, or do you have any thoughts in mind that you could give the committee on that which might be helpful?

Mr. Beecher. Well, looking toward a permanent solution, first, the further development of camps in the areas where the migrants go; in connection with those camps, the maximum development of garden homes where the most stable of the migrants can be settled down and taken out of this endless flux, and to control it, if possible, at the source; that is, increasing control.

Mr. Osmers. Now, for the moment, swinging away from the problem of those migrants that go from Florida to North Carolina and on to New Jersey and back again, as you call it, the continuing or endless flux, I am thinking of those people who have gone from Oklahoma to California and are destitute, and who have remained in California, and people who have gone from this area to the North and who have stayed there; do you think that we should concentrate on the problem where they are located or where they are starting from?

Mr. BEECHER. I think that we have to do both.

Mr. OSMERS. You think that we have to do both?

Mr. BEECHER. Yes, sir. If we attempt to stabilize as many as possible where they have gone and integrate them into the communities where they have gone, I think we should do that.

Mr. CURTIS. And to remove the causes back home also?

Mr. BEECHER. Yes, sir; and to remove the causes back home also, by some agricultural measures if possible, and the development of farm commodities and cooperative farming, and so on.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand in Washington that your Farm Security Administration has taken care of approximately 800,000 families in the South—that is, providing them with feed, a horse and a mule, or a cow—to keep them at home, but that there are still 500,000 families not being taken care of because of lack of appropriation; is that correct?

Mr. BEECHER. At least there is a half million families not taken care of yet by the Farm Security Administration.

Mr. OSMERS. Before I came to the hearing here this morning, in the company of Mr. Morgan and others of the Farm Security Administration, Mr. J. H. Wood and Mr. William Elsbury, I went out into the country here, and I observed some of the work of the Farm Security Administration, and I want this statement to go into the record. We saw both ends of the problem. We saw one extremely happy solution, and we also saw a very miserable case where we just stopped along the road and walked in, and we could see both ends of the axis, and there is certainly no doubt in my mind that the changes in that connection should begin at home, right at the source of the problem; that is where the work should be done, and as it develops, it may become apparent that a certain part of the population will have to be shifted to other parts of the country, but from my observation of a few hours, it seems that a great deal can be done at home along this line.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you very much, Mr. Beecher. That is a remarkable statement that you have presented in a very intelligent manner, and it contains a very valuable contribution to this investigation.

Mr. BEECHER. I thank you very much.

Mr. CURTIS. I would like to ask a question or two at this point. In this permanent housing that you have spoken of, the permanent units, what was your average cost of the completed family unit?

Mr. BEECHER. The average cost per family unit—we built some single houses that cost $1,600 each, and some double houses that cost us $2,350 each. In the three camps that are now under construction the cost will be considerably less per unit than that. On the permanent units being built we do not propose to spend more than $1,000 per family unit.

The **Chairman**. We will take a 5-minute recess.

Mr. **Beecher**. I have a number of charts and other statistical matter here that I would like to present as a part of the record; various material and one particular batch of tables that I have stapled together. These statistics and charts and material I desire to be made a part of the record here if possible.

The **Chairman**. Yes, sir; you will be permitted to do that, and the documents that you have there will be received as exhibits.

(Charts and other statistical matter above referred to were received in evidence as follows:)

TABLE I.—*Agricultural wage workers in 8 southeastern localities by migratory status* [1]

Migratory status	Sanford, Fla.		Lakeland, Fla.		Belle Glade, Fla.		Manatee, Fla.		Hammond, La.		Copiah County, Miss.		Benton County, Ark.		White County, Ark.	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Resident nonmigrant	147	62.3	351	71.0	148	27.8	93	52.0	22	6.7	162	67.8	3	2.3		
Resident intrastate migrant	16	6.8	41	8.3	31	5.9	14	7.8	8	2.5	49	20.5				
Resident interstate migrant	51	21.6	33	6.7	42	7.9	9	5.0	3	.9	14	5.9	1	.8	1	2.0
Resident, nonagricultural			1	.2	1	.2							2	1.6		
Nonresident intrastate	9	3.8	28	5.7	89	16.7	31	17.3	184	56.3	12	5.0	26	20.3	24	48.0
Nonresident interstate	13	5.5	39	7.9	221	41.5	32	17.9	101	30.9	2	.8	93	72.7	25	50.0
Nonagricultural, intrastate									2	.6						
Nonagricultural, interstate			1	.2					7	2.1			3	2.3		
Total	236	100.0	494	100.0	532	100.0	179	100.0	327	100.0	239	100.0	128	100.0	50	100.0
All intrastate	25	10.6	69	14.0	120	22.6	45	25.1	194	59.3	61	25.5	26	20.3	24	48.0
All interstate	64	27.1	73	14.6	263	49.4	41	22.9	111	33.9	16	6.7	97	75.8	26	52.0

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[1] Migratory status terms are defined on the basis of current (areal) aand permanent addresses and on record of movement. Resident workers are those whose permanent and current addresses are the same; that is, all workers whose permanent addresses are in the area surveyed. Nonresident workers are those whose permanent addresses are outside of the area surveyed. Resident workers are regular if they have fairly full employment throughout the year; they are seasonal if they are seasonally employed; intrastate if they moved within the State; and interstate if their movement carried them across State lines. The intrastate and interstate character of nonresident workers is similarly defined.

TABLE II.—*Interstate migrants in 8 southeastern localities by race and sex*

Interstate migrants race and sex	Sanford, Fla.		Lakeland, Fla.		Belle Glade, Fla.		Manatee, Fla.		Hammond, La.		Copiah County, Miss.		Benton County, Ark.		White County, Ark.	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Male white	2	3.2	50	68.5	66	25.1	25	61.0	41	37.3	1	6.2	83	85.6	23	88.5
Male colored	60	96.8	5	6.8	164	62.4	15	36.6	50	45.4	14	87.5	6	6.2		
Male, nonresident	2			24.7					1							
Female, white			18		14	5.3	1	2.4	1	.9			8	8.2	3	11.5
Female, colored					19	7.2			18	16.4	1	6.3				
Total	64	100.0	73	100.0	263	100.0	41	100.0	111	100.0	16	100.0	97	100.0	26	100.0
All white	2	3.2	68	93.2	80	30.4	26	63.4	42	38.2	1	6.2	91	93.8	26	100.0
All colored	60	96.8	5	6.8	183	69.6	15	36.6	68	61.8	15	93.8	6	6.2		

TABLE III.—*Interstate migrants in 8 southeastern localities by size of family*

Interstate migrants, size of family	Sanford, Fla.		Lakeland, Fla.		Belle Glade, Fla.		Manatee, Fla.		Hammond, La.		Copiah County, Miss.		Benton County, Ark.		White County, Ark.	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1 person (unattached)[1]	12	18.7	36	49.3	87	33.1	31	75.6	80	72.1	6	37.5	37	38.1		
2 persons	19	36.5	13	35.1	73	41.5	5	50.0	15	48.4	5	50.0	17	28.3		
3 persons	22	42.3	15	40.5	28	15.9	1	10.0	6	19.4			10	16.7	3	11.5
4 persons	6	11.5	3	8.1	27	15.3	4	40.0	4	12.9	3	30.0	10	16.7	3	11.5
5 persons	3	5.8	3	8.1	15	8.5			3	9.7	1	10.0	9	15.0	3	11.6
6 persons	2	3.9	2	5.4	14	8.0			2	6.4			5	8.3	9	34.6
7 persons					7	4.0			1	3.2	1	10.0	2	3.3	2	7.7
8 persons					6	3.4							3	5.0	2	7.7
9 persons					1	.6							2	3.3	2	7.7
10 or more			1	2.7	5	2.8							2	3.4	2	7.7
Total	64	100.0	73	99.9	263	100.0	41	100.0	111	100.0	16	100.0	97	100.0	26	100.0

[1] Percentages for unattached workers based on total number of workers; percentages for family size based on total number of attached workers.

TABLE IV.—*Interstate migrants in 8 southeastern localities by years as a migratory worker*

Interstate migrants years as a migratory worker	Sanford, Fla.		Lakeland, Fla.		Belle Glade, Fla.		Manatee, Fla.		Hammond, La.		Copiah County, Miss.		Benton County, Ark.		White County, Ark.	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than 1 year	27	42.8	22	30.6	78	29.7	5	12.5	32	29.4	8	50.0	44	53.7	5	21.7
1 year, less than 2	2	3.2	8	11.1	20	7.6	3	7.5	10	9.2	1	6.2	5	6.1	2	8.7
2 years, less than 3	9	14.3	6	8.3	19	7.2	2	5.0	11	10.1	1	6.2	2	2.4	1	4.4
3 years, less than 4	9	14.3	4	5.6	35	13.3	5	12.5	7	6.4			2	2.4		
4 years, less than 5	2	3.2	7	9.7	20	7.6	4	10.0	9	8.2	1	6.2	2	2.4	3	13.0
5 or more years	14	22.2	25	34.7	91	34.6	21	52.5	40	36.7	5	31.3	27	32.9	12	52.2
Nonagricultural years	1		1				1		2				15		3	
Total	64	100.0	73	100.0	263	100.0	41	100.0	111	100.0	16	99.9	97	99.9	26	100.0

TABLE V.—*Interstate migrants in 8 southeastern localities by total jobs*

Interstate migrants, total jobs	Sanford, Fla.		Lakeland, Fla.		Belle Glade, Fla.		Manatee, Fla.		Hammond, La.		Copiah County, Miss.		Benton County, Ark.		White County, Ark.	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
None																
1			8	11.3	14	5.4			2	1.8			8	8.4		
2	12	18.7	27	38.0	102	39.4	5	12.2	28	25.2	3	18.7	27	28.4		
3	39	60.9	26	36.6	97	37.4	6	14.6	35	31.5	3	18.8	20	21.1	5	19.2
4	9	14.1	6	8.5	27	10.4	7	17.1	19	17.1	7	43.8	11	11.6	7	27.0
5	3	4.7	3	4.2	9	3.5	12	29.3	18	16.2	3	18.7	12	12.6	4	15.4
6	1	1.6	1	1.4	8	3.1	7	17.1	7	6.3			8	8.4	2	7.7
7					2	.8	4	9.7	1	.9			2	2.1	5	19.2
8 or more									1	1.0			7	7.4	3	11.5
Nonagricultural			2		4								2			
Total	64	100.0	73	100.0	263	100.0	41	100.0	111	100.0	16	100.0	97	100.0	26	100.0

TABLE VI.—*Interstate migrants in 8 southeastern localities by days employed*

Days employed	Sanford, Fla.		Lakeland, Fla.		Belle Glade, Fla.		Manatee, Fla.		Hammond, La.		Copiah County, Miss.		Benton County, Ark.		White County, Ark.	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1 to 25					1	0.4			2	2.0			9	11.8		
26 to 50			2	2.9	2	.8			4	4.0			6	7.9		
51 to 75	5	7.8	1	1.5	4	1.6			5	5.1			8	10.5	3	23.0
76 to 100	9	14.1	2	2.9	9	3.5	3	7.5	7	7.1			4	5.3	1	7.7
101 to 125	13	20.3	4	5.8	7	2.7	4	10.0	8	8.1			6	7.9		
126 to 150	13	20.3	4	5.8	16	6.3	5	12.5	13	13.1			7	9.2	2	15.4
151 to 175	10	15.6	8	11.6	22	8.6	7	17.5	10	10.1	1	6.2	7	9.2	2	15.4
176 to 200	3	4.7	6	8.7	26	10.2	6	15.0	6	6.1	4	25.0	7	9.2	2	15.4
201 to 225	4	6.2	9	13.0	23	9.0	7	17.5	9	9.1	2	12.5	5	6.6		
226 to 250	2	3.1	14	20.3	56	22.0	5	12.5	11	11.1	2	12.5	3	4.0	2	15.4
251 and over	4	6.3	19	27.5	89	34.9	3	7.5	24	24.2	7	43.8	14	18.4	1	7.7
None, nonagricultural	1	1.6	4		8		1		12				21		13	
Total	64	100.0	73	100.0	263	100.0	41	100.0	111	100.0	16	100.0	97	100.0	26	100.0
Median (days)		134.7		224.6		233.8		180.2		178.1				143.9		

TABLE VII.—*Interstate migrants in 8 southeastern localities by total income*

Total income	Sanford, Fla.		Lakeland, Fla.		Belle Glade, Fla.		Manatee, Fla.		Hammond, La.		Copiah County, Miss.		Benton County, Ark.		White County, Ark.	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
$100, or less	1	1.7	1	1.7	3	1.2			5	7.2			1	1.4		
Over $100, including $200	6	10.3	4	6.9	13	5.3	2	5.0	20	29.0	2	25.0	12	17.1	3	14.3
Over $200, including $300	21	36.2	2	3.4	41	16.7	6.	15.0	11	15.9	3.	37.5	16	22.9	4	19.0
Over $300, including $400	11	19.0	4	6.9	42	17.1	8	20.0	11	15.9	2	25.0	12	17.2	6	28.6
Over $400, including $500	6	10.4	5	8.6	55	22.4	3	7.5	6	8.7			8	11.4	1	4.8
Over $500, including $600	5	8.6	6	10.3	30	12.3	3	7.5	6	8.7			4	5.7	3	14.3
Over $600, including $800	4	6.9	23	39.7	38	15.4	11	27.5	5	7.3			6	8.6	2	9.5
Over $800, including $1,000	2	3.4	5	8.6	11	4.5	3	7.5	3	4.4			6	8.6	2	9.5
Over $1,000, including $1,500	2	3.5	5	8.6	9	3.6	3	7.5	2	2.9	1	12.5	5	7.1		
$1,500, including $2,000			2	3.5	3	1.2										
$2,000			1	1.8	1	.4	1	2.5								
Nonagricultural	6		15		17		1		42		8		27		5	
Total	64	100.0	73	100.0	263	100.0	41	100.0	111	100.0	16	100.0	97	100.0	26	100.0
Median (dollars)		310		631		444		534		287				351		

TABLE VIII.—*Interstate migrants in 8 southeastern localities by cash earnings and perquisites*

Cash earnings and perquisites	Sanford, Fla.		Lakeland, Fla.		Belle Glade, Fla.		Manatee, Fla.		Hammond, La.		Copiah County, Miss.		Benton County, Ark.		White County, Ark.	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Less than $100.50	1	1.7	1	1.6	13	5.1			20	23.5	1	7.7	24	30.8		
$100.50, less than $200.50	14	23.3	5	8.2	28	11.0	3	7.5	24	28.2	4	30.8	15	19.2	3	12.0
$200.50, less than $300.50	25	41.7	4	6.6	60	23.6	6	15.0	14	16.5	5	38.4	12	15.4	6	24.0
$300.50, less than $400.50	9	15.0	10	16.4	56	22.0	8	20.0	8	9.4	2	15.4	11	14.1	5	20.0
$400.50, less than $500.50	5	8.3	9	14.7	45	17.7	2	5.0	5	5.9			4	5.1	5	20.0
$500.50, less than $600.50	3	5.0	8	13.1	21	8.3	3	7.5	6	7.1			1	1.3		
$600.50, less than $800.50	2	3.3	17	27.9	21	8.3	11	27.5	2	2.3			4	5.1	3	12.0
$800.50, less than $1,000.50	1	1.7	4	6.6	4	1.6	3	7.5	4	4.7			3	3.8	2	8.0
$1,000.50, less than $1,500.50			2	3.3	4	1.6	4	10.0	2	2.4	1	7.7	4	5.2	1	4.0
$1,500.50, less than $2,000.50			1	1.6	1	.4										
$2,000.50 and over					1	.4										
Nonagricultural	4		12		9		1		26		3		19		1	
Total	64	100.0	73	100.0	263	100.0	41	100.0	111	100.0	16	100.0	97	100.0	26	100.0
Median		$260		$519		$347		$534		$225				$200		

TABLE IX.—*Interstate migrants in 8 southeastern localities by relief received*

Relief received	Sanford, Fla.		Lakeland, Fla.		Belle Glade, Fla.		Manatee, Fla.		Hammond, La.		Copiah County, Miss.		Benton County, Ark.		White County, Ark.	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
None	60	93.8	71	97.3	257	97.7	41	100.0	104	93.7	16	100.0	68	70.8	14	63.6
Less than $25.50	1		1		2				1				8		2	
$25.50 and less than $50.50					1								2		2	
$50.50 and less than $75.50									2						1	
$75.50 and less than $100.50													4		1	
$100.50 and less than $125.50													2			
$125.50 and less than $150.50			1						1						1	
$150.50 and less than $200.50	1				1				1				3			
$200.50 and less than $300.50					1								3		1	
$300.50 and less than $500.50	2				1				1				4			
$500.50 and over													2			
Nonagricultural									1				1		4	
Total	64		73		263		41		111		16		97		26	

TABLE X.—*Interstate migrants in 8 southeastern localities by type of housing*

Type of housing	Sanford, Fla.		Lakeland, Fla.		Belle Glade, Fla.		Manatee, Fla.		Hammond, La.		Copiah County, Miss.		Benton County, Ark.		White County, Ark.	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
House	64	100.0	64	87.7	97	36.9	41	100.0	4	3.6	4	15.4	23	23.7		
Tent					6	2.3							10	10.3	9	34.6
Trailer			1	1.4	13	4.9							8	8.3	3	11.5
Tourist cabin			8	10.9	31	11.8			1	.9			1	1.0		
Barracks					69	26.2			14	12.6			3	3.1		
Labor cabin on farm					45	17.1			89	80.2	22	84.6	23	23.7	11	42.3
Barn									1	.9			13	13.4	2	7.7
Car, not trailer					1	.4			1	.9			7	7.2	1	3.9
None					1	.4			1	.9			9	9.3		
Nonagricultural																
Total	64	100.0	73	100.0	263	100.0	41	100.0	111	100.0	26	100.0	97	100.0	26	100.0

TABLE XI.—*Interstate migrants in 8 southeastern localities, by total moves*

Total moves	Sanford, Fla.		Lakeland, Fla.		Belle Glade, Fla.		Manatee, Fla.		Hammond, La.		Copiah County, Miss.		Benton County, Ark.		White County, Ark.	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
None	10	15.6	7	9.7	16	6.1	3	7.3								
1	6	9.4	20	27.8	86	32.8	2	4.9	23	21.0	2	13.3	35	38.9	1	4.3
2	46	71.9	32	44.4	112	42.8	12	29.3	33	30.0	6	40.0	17	18.9	4	17.4
3	1	1.6	8	11.1	26	9.9	2	4.9	26	23.6	4	26.7	12	13.3	4	17.4
4	1	1.5	4	5.6	10	3.8	3	7.3	14	12.7	3	20.0	8	8.9	7	30.4
5			1	1.4	9	3.4	11	26.8	10	9.1			7	7.8	4	17.4
6					3	1.2	7	17.1	4	3.6			4	4.4	1	4.4
7 or more							1	2.4					7	7.8	2	8.7
Nonagricultural			1		1				1		1		7		3	
Total	64	100.0	73	100.0	263	100.0	41	100.0	111	100.0	16	100.0	97	100.0	26	100.0

TABLE XII.—*States of permanent residence—Interstate migrants, three Florida areas*[1] *and Hammond, La.*

	Florida		Louisiana		Total	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Alabama	19	6.1	6	6.3	25	6.1
Arkansas	6	1.9	8	8.3	14	3.4
Florida	129	41.1	1	1.0	130	31.7
Georgia	101	32.2	1	1.0	102	24.9
Kentucky	3	1.0	3	3.1	6	1.5
Louisiana	---	---	16	16.7	16	3.9
Michigan	6	1.9	---	---	6	1.5
Mississippi	1	.3	39	40.6	40	9.7
Missouri	2	.6	8	8.3	10	2.4
North Carolina	7	2.2	---	---	7	1.7
Tennessee	8	2.5	2	2.1	10	2.4
Texas	---	---	6	6.3	6	1.5
Virginia	7	2.2	---	---	7	1.7
Others[2]	25	8.0	6	6.3	31	7.6
Total	314	100.0	96	100.0	410	100.0

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[1] Belle Glade, Sanford, and Manatee areas.

[2] Includes New York, New Jersey, South Carolina, West Virginia, Illinois, Maryland, Kansas, Indiana, Iowa, California, Ohio, Colorado, Delaware, Washington, and Wisconsin.

(Whereupon, a short recess was taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order. Timothy Farmer is the next witness.

TESTIMONY OF TIMOTHY FARMER (COLORED), CARE NEGRO MIGRATORY CAMP, BELLE GLADE, FLA.

Mr. PARSONS. State your name to the reporter, Timothy.

Mr. FARMER. Timothy Farmer.

Mr. PARSONS. What is your address?

Mr. FARMER. Belle Glade, Fla.

Mr. PARSONS. Where were you born, Timothy?

Mr. FARMER. Richland County, Augusta, Ga.

Mr. PARSONS. When were you born?

Mr. FARMER. 1896.

Mr. PARSONS. Were you born on a farm?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Your parents were farmers?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. And you worked on the farm?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Until when?

Mr. FARMER. Until 1925.

Mr. PARSONS. How old were you when you left your father?

Mr. FARMER. 1925.

Mr. PARSONS. You left the old home where you were born at that time, did you?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Did your father own that farm?

Mr. Farmer. No, sir.

Mr. Parsons. He was just a renter?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Was he a sharecropper?

Mr. Farmer. No, sir; he was a renter.

Mr. Parsons. Did you take over the farm then when he died?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. As renter?

Mr. Farmer. No, sir; I sharecropped.

Mr. Parsons. What is the difference between a renter and a sharecropper?

Mr. Farmer. One of them gets all of the stuff that you raise and the other only half.

Mr. Parsons. How is that?

Mr. Farmer. The sharecropper, he gets only half of what he makes and if you are a renter, you get all that you make.

Mr. Parsons If you rent and pay cash rent, you get all that you make on the farm and if you are a sharecropper, you only get half what you make; is that correct?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. When you rent, you mean you pay cash rent for the land?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. And you didn't want to pay cash rent for the land and you went on a sharecrop basis, is that correct?

Mr. Farmer. No, sir; I just wasn't able to pay cash rent for the land.

Mr. Parsons. You weren't able to pay cash rent for the land?

Mr. Farmer. No, sir.

Mr. Parsons. How many years did you farm?

Mr. Farmer. I farmed about 8 years.

Mr. Parsons. What crops did you raise?

Mr. Farmer. Cotton and corn and potatoes and peas.

Mr. Parsons. But mostly cotton?

Mr. Farmer. Mostly cotton, yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Why did you leave the farm?

Mr. Farmer. Well, I got to the place where I was making no money no how.

Mr. Parsons. You were making nothing?

Mr. Farmer. Not making nothing.

Mr. Parsons. Did you make anything the first year that you farmed?

Mr. Farmer. The first year that I farmed?

Mr. Parsons. Yes.

Mr. Farmer. Yes; I made something the first year.

Mr. Parsons. About how much did you make, do you suppose?

Mr. Farmer. Well, I made about $150.

Mr. Parsons. $150 net?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. What did you make the next year?

Mr. Farmer. I didn't make nothing the next year.

Mr. Parsons. What was the matter?

Mr. Farmer. I don't know, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Was it a drought?

Mr. Farmer. No, sir; pretty good crop.

Mr. Parsons. Boll weevils?

Mr. Farmer. Well, the boll weevils kinder hit it.

Mr. Parsons. How is that you made nothing if you made $150 the first year that you farmed?

Mr. Farmer. The boll weevils hit us the next year.

Mr. Parsons. And what about the third year?

Mr. Farmer. Well, we didn't make anything the third year; the boll weevils still got worser.

Mr. Parsons. And what about the fourth year?

Mr. Farmer. We made something the fourth year; we made a little that year.

Mr. Parsons. Would you say that you made as much as $150 that year?

Mr. Farmer. No, sir; I only got $75.

Mr. Parsons. How many bales of cotton did you grow that year?

Mr. Farmer. About 12 bales.

Mr. Parsons. And you only had $75 after growing 12 bales of cotton; is that what you mean to tell us?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. The last year that you farmed the land, you didn't make anything?

Mr. Farmer. No, sir; I didn't clear nothing the last year.

Mr. Parsons. What year was that?

Mr. Farmer. 1925.

Mr. Parsons. Was the price low that year, or was it that you just didn't raise any cotton?

Mr. Farmer. The price was very low, and I didn't make much cotton, either.

Mr. Parsons. Where did you go when you left the farm?

Mr. Farmer. I went to Augusta, Ga.

Mr. Parsons. Did you work just as hard the last year that you were on the farm as you did the first year that you were on the farm in order to try to make something for yourself?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir; I think I worked harder than I did the first year.

Mr. Parsons. Did you work increasingly harder as the years went by while you were on the farm, and did you find that the money became less and less?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. You worked harder each year?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. And still you didn't make anything?

Mr. Farmer. Still I didn't make anything.

Mr. PARSONS. Then you went back to Augusta, is that correct?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. And what did you do there?

Mr. FARMER. I worked at the oil mill and the cotton mill.

Mr. PARSONS. How long?

Mr. FARMER. Up until 1937.

Mr. PARSONS. 1937?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. About how much a year did you make there?

Mr. FARMER. Well, I don't know, I didn't keep track of it, but I was getting $2 to $2.25 per day, but I wasn't regular at work.

Mr. PARSONS. That was for about how many days in the year? Would you say that it was for a hundred days in the year, do you suppose, or was it for as much as 200 days in the year?

Mr. FARMER. No, sir; I would say about 2 months; it lasted about 3 months, those jobs did.

Mr. PARSONS. That would amount to between 90 to 100 days, would you say?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. How much rent did you pay where you lived?

Mr. FARMER. We were paying $6 per month.

Mr. PARSONS. Where did you go from there in 1937?

Mr. FARMER. I came to Florida.

Mr. PARSONS. How did you come to go to Florida?

Mr. FARMER. I had a brother down here, and he said, "I think you can do better there."

Mr. PARSONS. Why did your brother come down to Florida?

Mr. FARMER. Just roaming around, I guess, trying to find something better.

Mr. PARSONS. He was one of those early migrants down to Florida, was he?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir; I guess so.

Mr. PARSONS. And somebody else was an earlier migrant, and he evidently invited your brother to come down, and your brother invited you, in turn, to go to Florida, did he?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. What do you do in Florida?

Mr. FARMER. I pick beans.

Mr. PARSONS. Pick beans?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. How long have you lived in Florida?

Mr. FARMER. From 1937 up to now.

Mr. PARSONS. Where did you live and what kind of living quarters did you have?

Mr. FARMER. Kinder a bad condition, unsanitary.

Mr. PARSONS. Tell the reporter something about the conditions that you lived under—did you have any water supply?

Mr. FARMER. No, sir; we had to haul the water.

Mr. Parsons. What kind of buildings did you live in?

Mr. Farmer. Abandoned buildings; had big cracks in it, and it leaked, rained in it then whenever it rained and everything got wet.

Mr. Parsons. How much did you have to pay for a place of that kind to live in, a place that leaked, and as you described it?

Mr. Farmer. Nothing.

Mr. Parsons. Who furnished it?

Mr. Farmer. I was staying on the man's place named Klein, and it was called Klein's quarters.

Mr. Parsons. You worked for Mr. Klein?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. About how much did you earn when you worked for him?

Mr. Farmer. Well, some weeks me and my wife and children would make $25 or $30, and then some weeks we would not.

Mr. Parsons. How many were in your family that were working?

Mr. Farmer. Five of us.

Mr. Parsons. Five?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. You and your wife?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. And three children?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. How long would that $20 or $25 per week last?

Mr. Farmer. It didn't last very long by the time that you would buy groceries out of it.

Mr. Parsons. I didn't hear what you said.

Mr. Farmer. I said that it wouldn't last very long by the time that you would buy groceries out of it.

Mr. Parsons. I meant this, about how long was the season during the time that you were making that much money per week—would it last for 8 or 10 weeks? That is the question that I was asking you.

Mr. Farmer. Oh, the season lasted from the latter part of October until May.

Mr. Parsons. What kind of lights did you have?

Mr. Farmer. We had electric lights.

Mr. Parsons. What kind of arrangements for cooking your food?

Mr. Farmer. We had an oil stove.

Mr. Parsons. Have you ever worked in any State besides Georgia and Florida?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Where?

Mr. Farmer. Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey.

Mr. Parsons. You have been in that potato crowd up the Atlantic coast, have you?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. We heard about those boys over in New York.

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir; I was with some of them.

Mr. PARSONS. How did you happen to go up there? Did you contract with somebody to go up there and work in the potato harvest, or how did you happen to go up there on that trip?

Mr. FARMER. No, sir; I just didn't have enough money to stay down here, and I thought that I would go up there and follow up that work.

Mr. PARSONS. What kind of pay did you get up that way?

Mr. FARMER. They paid us about like they did down here.

Mr. PARSONS. Did you ever keep account of just how much money you earned in 1 year for all the labor that you did?

Mr. FARMER. No; I never did keep an accurate account of it.

Mr. PARSONS. You never did have to pay income tax on it, or make any accounting of it in that respect, did you?

Mr. FARMER. No, sir; I didn't get hold of that much.

Mr. PARSONS. Where are you living now?

Mr. FARMER. I am living at the Belle Glade, Fla., migratory camp, the migratory labor camp.

Mr. PARSONS. You are living at one of these Farm Security Administration's camps down there, is that correct?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. What are your quarters there—are they something like Mr. Beecher described them here this morning? Did you hear his testimony?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir; I heard it.

Mr. PARSONS. And do you live in one of those camps?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you like it, living in that camp?

Mr. FARMER. Oh, yes, sir; fine, fine.

Mr. PARSONS. About how many people are living there now?

Mr. FARMER. About 175 now, I guess.

Mr. PARSONS. How many will this camp hold?

Mr. FARMER. About 325 families, I think.

Mr. PARSONS. That is families?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Do most of the families, migrant families, have anywhere from four to five children with them?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir; one to four or five.

Mr. PARSONS. And the children work the same as the parents do if they are old enough?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. How old are the children before they are placed in the fields?

Mr. FARMER. Around about 8 years old.

Mr. PARSONS. Around about 8 years of age?

Mr. FARMER. Eight to ten.

Mr. PARSONS. What do you think of the camp and how do you feel about it?

Mr. FARMER. I think it is just grand for the colored folkses.

Mr. Parsons. Were you down there before they constructed any Farm Security Administration camps?

Mr. Farmer. Was I down there?

Mr. Parsons. Yes.

Mr. Farmer. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. You like it much better now?

Mr. Farmer. Yes; much better.

Mr. Parsons. Than you did before?

Mr. Farmer. Oh, yes, sir; yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Do you have any sideline which you follow besides being a berry picker or a potato picker?

Mr. Farmer. No, sir; nothing.

Mr. Parsons. It seems that somewhere along here I got the impression that you were a minister.

Mr. Farmer. Oh, yes, sir; I am a minister. I have been a pastor in the church.

Mr. Parsons. You have been a pastor of the church?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir; I have in my life.

Mr. Parsons. Where is that church?

Mr. Farmer. In Georgia.

Mr. Parsons. Do you do any pastoral work at this camp in Florida?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir; I preaches at that camp up there now.

Mr. Parsons. Do you get any pay for preaching?

Mr. Farmer. No.

Mr. Parsons. I don't suppose that they have any funds to give you?

Mr. Farmer. No, sir; they haven't got nothing to give now.

Mr. Parsons. And it is very well for one to preach a good word whether he receives any return for it or not, isn't it?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. What are you doing for a living at the present time?

Mr. Farmer. Working a little bit there in the camp.

Mr. Parsons. What do you have to pay a week for your quarters?

Mr. Farmer. I get $30 per month.

Mr. Parsons. You get $30 a month?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. How do you get $30 per month—what are you doing?

Mr. Farmer. I am working right there in the camp.

Mr. Parsons. For the camp committee?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir; anywhere there in the camp.

Mr. Parsons. What kind of work are you doing at the camp?

Mr. Farmer. I've got no certain job.

Mr. Parsons. Are you kind of overseer or something like that in the camp?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir; I am the chairman of the camp council.

Mr. Parsons. Oh, you are chairman of the camp council?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. And you look to see that the camp is kept clean?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. And you see that the regulations are in force?

Mr. **Farmer.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons.** And as a result of that, you are paid about $30 per month?

Mr. **Farmer.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons.** Are you doing any work at the present time other than that?

Mr. **Farmer.** Yes, sir; I am doing work besides that.

Mr. **Parsons.** Are the other members of your family working too at the present time?

Mr. **Farmer.** No, sir.

Mr. **Parsons.** About how much will you make per year doing that kind of work? Being chairman of the camp council and then you and your family working outside in addition to that?

Mr. **Farmer.** I don't know, sir. I haven't never did that before.

Mr. **Parsons.** You just started that this spring?

Mr. **Farmer.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons.** As chairman of the camp council?

Mr. **Farmer.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons.** Do you think that you are doing a pretty good job?

Mr. **Farmer.** Pretty good; yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons.** Do the other members of the camp committee get any pay?

Mr. **Farmer.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons.** You have to be elected by popular suffrage, don't you?

Mr. **Farmer.** Yes.

Mr. **Parsons.** Do you politic around among them and curry favors for their votes?

Mr. **Farmer.** No, sir.

Mr. **Parsons.** That's all.

Mr. **Curtis.** Would you have anything to suggest to the gentleman from Illinois on the question of getting votes?

Mr. **Farmer.** Would I have any objections?

Mr. **Curtis.** No; do you have any suggestions to make to the gentleman from Illinois on how to win an election?

Mr. **Farmer.** No, sir; I wouldn't have a bit.

Mr. **Parsons.** The gentleman from Nebraska happens to be a Republican and he likes to be facetious at times.

Mr. **Farmer.** That is all right, sir.

Mr. **Curtis.** Are the health conditions pretty good in the camp now?

Mr. **Farmer.** Sir?

Mr. **Curtis.** Are the health conditions much better in the camp now than it was in the days before this new camp was constructed?

Mr. **Farmer.** Yes, sir; much better.

Mr. **Curtis.** What is the average weekly earnings of you and your family now?

Mr. **Farmer.** Now?

Mr. **Curtis.** Yes.

Mr. **Farmer.** I don't earn no more than what they are paying me, the $30.

Mr. **Curtis.** $30 per month?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Is that the only colored camp in this community around the Everglades?

Mr. Farmer. As far as I know of.

Mr. Curtis. Are there any white camps around about?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir; we have one down there, too.

Mr. Curtis. What is the ratio of white and colored migratory workers—are there more colored people?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir; the most are colored people, about 75 percent are colored.

Mr. Curtis. Where do most of these people that are in the camp come from?

Mr. Farmer. Well, from different parts of Georgia and the Carolinas and the Southern States.

Mr. Curtis. You might tell the committee something about what your duties are in regard to the regulation of this camp. I think that it might be of interest to the committee. I understand that you are chairman of the camp council, is that correct?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Now, tell us in a few words how you operate and how you control this camp. What are your duties and what are the duties of those under you?

Mr. Farmer. The duties of the men under me, of the other councilmen, I make the laws and see that they are "deforced," and I see that the camp is kept clean and see that everything is kept quiet and there is no "disturbment" among them, but that there is peace among them.

Mr. Curtis. Are you the only officer in the camp that is elected and the only one that draws a salary while looking after the camp?

Mr. Farmer. No, sir, we have 16 more councilmen, but I am just the chairman of the council.

Mr. Curtis. Do they draw a salary?

Mr. Farmer. No, sir, some of them are working, all of them are working—I don't get any salary for just doing that.

Mr. Curtis. I thought that is what you were getting your $30 per month for.

Mr. Farmer. No, sir; you see we do other work besides for that.

Mr. Curtis. Under the present conditions existing there, you are probably better off than you have been since 1925, aren't you?

Mr. Farmer. From sanitary, I am; and the financial, I am.

Mr. Curtis. Now, to be real honest with yourself and with the committee, you are a little happier in that camp today, in fact, a lot happier in that camp today than you have been at any time since 1925, aren't you?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir; I am sure happy there.

Mr. Curtis. That is a mighty fine thing of the Farm Security Administration that it has made at least one colored family happy, and you are very appreciative of it, aren't you?

Mr. Farmer. Yes, sir, I sure am; and I believe that the others are happy too.

The Chairman. Before you were elected chairman of the council, how did you handle your election?

Mr. FARMER. By vote.

The CHAIRMAN. Did the people vote?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How many people voted?

Mr. FARMER. Sixteen of us.

The CHAIRMAN. Sixteen voted?

Mr. FARMER. No, sir; 16 councilmen, and I got the most votes, and we had two of us standing for chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have an opponent running against you?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. More than one or just one?

Mr. FARMER. More than one.

The CHAIRMAN. And you cleaned up on all of them, did you?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. How do you vote, by ballot?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you vote by secret ballot?

Mr. FARMER. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. The chairman's election is only a week off—the gentleman from California is interested in trying to get some political pointers also.

The CHAIRMAN. That is why I am trying to keep it secret, too.

Thank you very much, Timothy. You are excused.

(Whereupon, the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF JOHN A. DULANY, MAYOR OF THE CITY OF PAHOKEE, PALM BEACH COUNTY, FLA.

The CHAIRMAN. Is Mr. Dulany present?

Mr. PARSONS. Will you give your name to the reporter for the record, Mr. Dulany?

Mr. DULANY. My name is John A. Dulany.

Mr. PARSONS. Your address?

Mr. DULANY. Pahokee, Fla.

Mr. PARSONS. You are the mayor of the city of Pahokee, Fla.?

Mr. DULANY. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. What is the population of the city of Pahokee, Fla.?

Mr. DULANY. It is appoximately four or five thousand.

Mr. PARSONS. What is the population of your city at the peak of the harvest time?

Mr. DULANY. I would say that it would be about 15,000 at that time.

Mr. PARSONS. So you have an increase of about 300 percent in the population of your city during the harvest time?

Mr. DULANY. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. How long is this seasonal influx of the labor, and when does it start?

Mr. DULANY. Well, I would say that it would spread over an 8-month period during the year and it gets its peak in 6 months out of that period.

Mr. Parsons. It begins and grows up to the highest peak and then tapers off, back down to normal; is that about the way it runs?

Mr. Dulany. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. And for about 4 months of the year you would say that you have a population of about 5,000 in your city?

Mr. Dulany. Yes, sir; and in the next 4 months it comes up to reach a peak population of 15,000.

Mr. Parsons. And then in the next 4 months it tapers back to the normal population?

Mr. Dulany. It tapers at both ends and it increases up to the peak in the middle of that period.

Mr. Parsons. How do you house these people, these migrants that come in there as laborers?

Mr. Dulany. At the present time they are housed by growers on their own farms and there is also some rental property constructed for them.

Mr. Parsons. Are these migrants principally colored people?

Mr. Dulany. They show about 3 to 1 colored.

Mr. Parsons. What kind of facilities do the owners of the plantations or owners of the farms furnish to the migrants?

Mr. Dulany. Most of the outlying farm settlements have city water if they are not too far out to receive a water supply from the municipal water-supply system.

Mr. Parsons. What are the financial conditions of the people when they come into your town, and when did this migration begin or when does it begin?

Mr. Dulany. The only way that I could answer that question correctly, I would naturally have to refer to the Department of Agriculture figures on shipments as to the increase. Now, as to the town, I think that it was incorporated in 1922, and at that time the movement was very light, and it has increased every year since that time.

Mr. Parsons. With the improvement of the farming facilities?

Mr. Dulany. Yes, sir; and everything.

Mr. Parsons. You mean that the migration to your city has increased since that time with the improvement in everything, transportation facilities, increase in the farming operations there, and so forth?

Mr. Dulany. Yes, sir. In this area, we now have 80,000 acres under cultivation. It is muck land.

Mr. Parsons. That is new land that has been improved and the cultivation there expanded since 1922?

Mr. Dulany. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. Parsons. What are the financial conditions of these people when they arrive in your area? They are usually broke and stranded, are they not, particularly if they don't immediately secure work?

Mr. Dulany. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. Parsons. What problem does it present to your city administration from the standpoint of sanitary conditions and law enforcement and things like that?

Mr. DULANY. Our situation is about the same as other similar communities, without the influence of this great number of workers. Of course the question of law enforcement would be much less, however we are of the opinion that the law-enforcement problem does not increase except in the ratio that it would normally increase with the addition of that much population to our community; by that we do not mean to say that these people are a lawless type of people, but during the peak period the law-enforcement problem is merely increased by the increasing numbers of population as it normally would be.

Mr. PARSONS. In the main, are these migrants that come into your community law-abiding citizens, or are they law violators in the main, or would you say they are just about as honest and obey the laws as well as the rest of the people?

Mr. DULANY. I think that they are just as honest and law abiding as the rest of the people. They are not lawless.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have any suggestions to make to this committee relative to the housing conditions for these migrant families?

BELIEVES MIGRANT CAMPS WILL BE GOOD INFLUENCE

Mr. DULANY. The Farm Security Administration having constructed two camps at the present time—they only got started at the end of the last season—and they are now constructing two additional camps in the area, and I think that will lend a great deal of assistance toward the solving of our housing problem in that immediate area. The town of Belle Glade is only 12 miles from Pahokee, and two housing projects are being constructed there now, or are already constructed.

Mr. PARSONS. I understand they will house about 250 families each; is that correct?

Mr. DULANY. Yes, sir; and that will help out considerably in that area.

Mr. PARSONS. I understand that with the housing already completed and that under construction by the Farm Security Administration that it will take care of from 700 to 1,000 families; is that correct?

Mr. DULANY. Yes, sir; that is my understanding of it. I have this in mind also, that the reaction of these housing projects will be that those people who now offer rental housing will probably, due to the competitive angle caused by the construction of the Farm Security Administration housing projects, that they will improve their property to a great extent. Regular rental property in that area is in competition with the Government buildings that are being put up, and in order to rent their houses, the private rental people will have to reduce the rates and also will have to improve their facilities in order to obtain any occupants.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have any complaints from the people in and surrounding your town about the Government coming in and supplying these new facilities for the migrant workers to occupy?

Mr. **Dulany**. Yes, sir; we do, but we believe that the complaints are from a selfish angle and it is just one of those questions of progress. Someone is very likely to be hurt and in doing so they have to take it right along with everyone else. It will react beneficially in the long run, we think.

HOSPITALIZATION NEEDED

Mr. **Parsons**. Do you have any other suggestions to make to this committee in reference to the problem in your section?

Mr. **Dulaney**. Yes, sir; I do have some, very definitely. The farmer in the Everglades section of Florida is doing all that he can reasonably do for labor. He appreciates the problem that labor does present to itself and the community and to the Nation as a whole. One of our great problems that we have to contend with in Florida is the question of tariff control and making Florida vegetables directly competitive with the Cuban-produced vegetables, when Florida is trying to maintain a relatively high wage scale in competition with the peon labor which they have in Cuba. This reacts very seriously against us and against migratory labor and against destitute citizens because of the fact that the Florida farmer cannot market his stuff profitably because of the foreign competition. I think that our good-neighbor policy is all right in some respects and we are all Democrats in Florida although we have a Republican outlook. There is another angle that I might also mention while I am here. There was a bill recently introduced in Congress, and I think that it finally became a law, I am not quite sure about that, but what I refer to is this rural hospitalization bill—you gentlemen know better than I do whether it is a law or not—I think it is—but at any rate, if it is not yet a law, it has not been defeated but is still in the mill, according to my recollection.

Mr. **Parsons**. I don't think that the measure was passed.

Mr. **Dulany**. But it hasn't been defeated. If there is any place in the United States that I have seen that needs such a health unit, considering it from a national standpoint, the Everglades of Florida does present a crying need for such a health unit, for a hospital unit that this bill makes provision for. Of course, I might say for my people down in that section that we earnestly would solicit your support of that bill, because after all, even though some of those tariff arrangements might contradict, we still insist that we are a part of the United States of America and that we would like to have your support of anything of that kind to lend us a little protection in our vegetable field.

Mr. **Osmers**. What county is the city of Pahokee located in?

Mr. **Dulany**. The city of Pahokee is located in Palm Beach County.

Mr. **Osmers**. Do you feel that the present tariff regulations regarding the importation of Cuban vegetables are very harmful to Florida?

Mr. **Dulany**. Very definitely; yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you happen to know if that condition exists in New Mexico and Arizona in regard to Mexican vegetables?

Mr. DULANY. I believe so, but I am more familiar with the Cuban situation as it relates to Florida.

Mr. OSMERS. Naturally, you would be. In your opinion, from your own observations on the ground there, do you feel that there is any way in which the Everglades vegetable producers there can conduct their business so that there will be more of a year-around need for labor than on the present seasonal basis?

Mr. DULANY. Based on the fact that the State of Florida has its mild climate, that we can produce winter vegetables when other States cannot, economically, it is impractical to arrange a year-around growing schedule unless we diversify our crops into something that we have not yet produced. The winter vegetables are strictly a winter crop. The people up in New Jersey raise the same things that we can raise, but at a later date in the season and the differential between the North and the South in the freight rates does prohibit the Florida grower from that additional competition.

Mr. OSMERS. As I understand it, most of Florida vegetables are transported to the North by truck; is that correct?

Mr. DULANY. We now estimate that 50 percent of the Florida vegetables are transported to the North by truck.

Mr. OSMERS. So that the freight rate differential of which you speak is becoming increasingly less important to the State of Florida?

Mr. DULANY. That is true.

Mr. PARSONS. Is Florida fruit better than California fruit?

Mr. DULANY. I take it, sir, that you are trying to get me in bad with the chairman of this committee. You know that if I would tell you the truth I would get in bad with him.

Mr. PARSONS. Does the sun shine all the time in the State of Florida? I think they claim that it shines all but about 48 hours in California.

Mr. DULANY. Well, in answer to that, I will say that there is a city located in the State of Florida where the newspaper publishers advertise each day that they give away a complete edition of their paper for every day that the sun does not shine in that city, and I am informed that they have only had to give away one or two editions of their paper since they have been in business, which is over a very long period of time.

The CHAIRMAN. Regardless of what you think about Florida or California, they all want to go there at some time or other, don't they?

Mr. DULANY. Yes, sir, Mr. Chairman; we must have something.

The CHAIRMAN. And we are willing to advertise our sunshine and our climate.

Mr. DULANY. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. OSMERS. There is one question that is of great interest to the committee and that is with respect to the health of these workers that come in there. What health facilities do you have at the present time?

Mr. Dulany. We have a hospital.

Mr. Osmers. How many beds does the hospital have?

Mr. Dulany. I have forgotten the number of beds that it has, but it is not very many beds. It is just a small hospital.

Mr. Osmers. Do you have a city health department at Pahokee?

Mr. Dulany. No, sir; it is handled through the county health unit.

Mr. Osmers. I am asking the question now for information: Under the Florida State laws are you permitted to have city health departments?

Mr. Dulany. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. You are allowed to have such a set-up?

Mr. Dulany. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. Do you feel that the creation of such a health department in Pahokee would alleviate some of the conditions that you have referred to?

Mr. Dulany. There is no question about that. All of those things contribute something to make the situation better.

Mr. Osmers. Has the governing body given any thought to that situation?

Mr. Dulany. Yes, sir. And the fact is that we do make contributions to the hospital there. The hospital is not a taxing unit or supported by taxes, and its upkeep is practically a matter of free will offerings in addition to such small revenue as it can make and the town subsidizes it, partly from its own budget. It is kept up partly by contributions from different sources.

Mr. Osmers. Has any thought ever been given in your community, or in the State of Florida, or in your county to the establishment of any hospitalization plan operated by private medicine such as is being done in the North?

Mr. Dulany. No, sir.

Mr. Osmers. Where there is a per capita cost fixed. In New York, I think that it is 3 cents a day.

Mr. Dulany. No, sir.

Mr. Osmers. Instead of imposing this great hospitalization plan upon the whole country, which I have so far opposed in Congress—it would be better to put in the hospitalization plan such as they are now using in some parts of the North and require the vegetable growers to make a contribution of 3 or 4 cents a day, while the migrants were there and have it on a self-supporting basis in that manner.

Mr. Dulany. Well, we have tried to get such a thing started, in a way. We have sold to certain of the employers so many cards which is an admission ticket to the hospital for hospitalization and he in turn may or may not pass them on to his employees, we don't care what he does with them, if he sells them to the employees, it makes no difference to us, and if he sells the tickets to the employees, then the employees would make the contribution—we have done some of that, sold some of those tickets with a little success, but we have not established such a thing as a general policy, but probably we should.

Mr. Osmers. I would think so.

Mr. **Dulany**. The present hospital there was built by free will offerings; it is small and inadequate, but it was very necessary. When it becomes necessary, we take donations here and there to keep it up and going.

At the last session of the State legislature, we created what is known as the Western Palm Beach County District, a special assessment district, and this district will go into operation in the first part of October, and naturally it is not involved yet, but at that time it is felt that it will distribute the cost of hospitalization over the entire area that it serves.

Mr. **Osmers**. That's all I have, thank you, sir.

The **Chairman**. Thank you very much.

Mr. **Dulany**. Thank you very much, sir. I will see you in Florida some time, Mr. Chairman.

The **Chairman**. I will see you in California some time.

(Thereupon Mr. Dulany was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF DR. WILLIAM WEEMS, COUNTY HEALTH OFFICER, PALM BEACH COUNTY, FLA.

The **Chairman**. Dr. Weems, Congressman Osmers will question you and we will give you permission to offer any time today any statement that you want to make for the record, so don't worry about that part of it and it will go into the record if you will submit it at any time today.

Dr. **Weems**. Thank you, sir.

Mr. **Osmers**. You are Dr. William Weems?

Dr. **Weems**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Osmers**. You are the county health officer of Palm Beach County, Fla.?

Dr. **Weems**. I am county physician, I am employed by the county as county physician, but we take care of the health problems, too.

HEALTH UNIT IN PALM BEACH COUNTY

Mr. **Osmers**. You are the county physician and take care of the health problems, too?

Dr. **Weems**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Osmers**. What is the population of Palm Beach County, the normal population, I refer to?

Dr. **Weems**. The last census showed it to be 86,000 to 88,000; I forget exactly.

Mr. **Osmers**. And you are the only physician in charge of the public-health matters in that county; is that correct?

Dr. **Weems**. No, sir; we have a city physician in West Palm Beach that is responsible for about 30,000.

Mr. **Osmers**. And that leaves about 55,000 for you to give attention to?

Dr. **Weems**. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. As I understand it, Palm Beach County, as it has been developed here through testimony, has on the coast an exceedingly prosperous and wealthy area.

Dr. Weems. That is correct.

Mr. Osmers. And then back inland, where they have these vegetable-growing areas, they have some very bad living and housing and sanitary conditions; is that correct, Doctor?

Dr. Weems. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. How long have you held your present job, Doctor?

Dr. Weems. For 3 years, sir.

Mr. Osmers. Does that cover the entire period that they have had sizable quantities of migrant labor coming in there?

Dr. Weems. No, sir; but we know that the influx is getting progressively larger all the time.

Mr. Osmers. It has increased a good deal in the 3 years of your incumbency?

Dr. Weems. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. How much of the health work depends upon the laws of the State of Florida? I am asking you that question because I am not familiar with the laws of your State. Will you tell the committee in your own words just how you go about looking after the public-health problem of 55,000 people with just one pair of hands? That is rather interesting to me.

Dr. Weems. As I told you, I took the job 3 years ago, but it was only a part-time job at that time. They appointed me full-time county physician later.

Mr. Osmers. What does your official position pay you?

Dr. Weems. It pays me $5,000 per year. When I went on, I immediately established clinics in Belle Glade, Pahokee, Boca Raton, Delray Beach, and Rivera, which covers the county pretty well, and we have regular clinic hours at each of those places. We were particularly interested then in anti-syphilitic treatment and prenatal work.

Mr. Osmers. Do you have a staff of nurses?

Dr. Weems. Yes, sir; and secretaries.

Mr. Osmers. How many other members of the county health staff are there?

Dr. Weems. Two secretaries and one nurse. We have other nurses in the county besides that, the school nurses, and the Red Cross, too. Now, this is just my individual department that I am speaking of.

Mr. Osmers. Do you have certain allotted hours for these clinics?

Dr. Weems. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. And you operate at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, we will say, at Delray Beach, and the people are notified to come there if they can't go to a private physician and obtain such treatment as they need?

Dr. Weems. Yes, sir; and every case that comes to us for a treatment is investigated.

Mr. Osmers. By whom?

Dr. Weems. One of my secretaries is a welfare worker. It is not a thorough investigation, of course, but we use our own common good judgment to decide if they are entitled to come into our clinic for treatment or not.

Mr. OSMERS. In other words, you investigate as to their means?

Dr. WEEMS. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. As to whether or not they should have private medical attention or be entitled to receive treatment at your clinics?

VENEREAL-DISEASE CONTROL

Dr. WEEMS. Yes, sir. We established these clinics with particular interest in venereal diseases and especially syphilis, and since we have established the clinics we have taken over 7,000 blood tests and we have found that about 42 percent of the colored population is afflicted with syphilis, and we have tried to make the treatment of syphilis available to everyone in Palm Beach County who wishes it. At the present time, with our set-up, we treat between 250 and 400 cases a week.

Mr. OSMERS. What treatments are you giving?

Dr. WEEMS. We are giving treatments accepted by the United States Bureau of Public Health Service. We are giving the best treatment available.

Mr. OSMERS. I presume that you are giving the arsphenamine.

Dr. WEEMS We are giving the neo-arsphenamine treatment. Arsphenicals and bismuth is the kind of treatment that we are giving for syphilis. We have a clinic established at every one of these places that I have named, and we give the treatments there. The month before we left we had over 2,000 appointments in my department.

I might say that during the coming year, through the cooperation of these different municipalities that I have just named, we hope to make it mandatory for every employee within the city limits of these municipalities to have blood tests made and to have health cards and to take treatment in order to work there.

Mr. OSMERS. How do you hope to make it mandatory upon the people to take these blood tests or treatments and have these health cards? Do you intend to do that by local laws in these different cities?

Dr. WEEMS. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Are you allowed under the Florida constitution to enact such laws?

Dr. WEEMS. We thought that we would have the local laws passed upon that assumption. For instance, the majority of these people that will come under those regulations are handling food, packing beans, or gathering beans, and some of them are picking beans, and they can be considered as food handlers, I think. In doing this we expect to increase our clinic next year to 1,500 or 2,000.

Mr. OSMERS. And to do that you would have to have a much larger department, would you not?

Dr. WEEMS. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Doctor, there are a couple of matters that I would like very much to inquire into. You say that you have given seven thousand blood tests?

Dr. WEEMS. Yes, sir; that is correct.

Mr. OSMERS. I presume that those were the Wassermann or the Kahn blood tests; is that correct?

Dr. WEEMS. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, Doctor, of these 7,000 people that you gave a blood test, did you have to seek them out or did they come to you voluntarily?

Dr. WEEMS. They came to me.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you mean that they came to you for a blood test of their own free will?

Dr. WEEMS. Yes, sir; with a few exceptions, when the employer insisted that they come to us. One or two of the packing houses insist that all of their employees come for blood tests.

Mr. OSMERS. Does that mean that it is a prerequisite for employment at those places?

Dr. WEEMS. Yes, sir; but the majority of the cases, they came to me for their blood tests on their own, of their own free will.

Mr. OSMERS. If you start treating a patient in Palm Beach County and the patient fails to return to continue the treatment which is, of course, so necessary, what powers do you have to bring that party back or remove him from society until he is cured up?

Dr. WEEMS. None whatsoever unless they are employed and we have the cooperation of the employer. That is all the power that we have.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, in the section of the county over which you have control, there are approximately 55,000 in the normal population; that would be on a census basis, would it not?

Dr. WEEMS. That was taken from the United States census of this year.

Mr. OSMERS. And that wouldn't include quite a number of migrants who come into your county during certain seasons of the year.

Dr. WEEMS. No, sir; it would not.

Mr. OSMERS. How many migrants come into Palm Beach County, Fla., during the season?

Dr. WEEMS. I would say not to exceed 20,000 during the season.

Mr. OSMERS. So that would be about a 40 percent increase in the population; is that your best estimate?

Dr. WEEMS. Yes, sir. To give you a better estimate, last year we had a freeze in the spring and over 5,000 families were helped there in that area and so we would consider that there were at least 20,000 migrants there at that time.

Mr. OSMERS. Now, Doctor, without reflecting in any way upon your work—I think that you are doing a colossal job, an inhuman job so far as that goes—but it is my observation, and wouldn't it be your observation that the county health facilities are woefully inadequate?

Dr. WEEMS. Yes, sir, I think that they are inadequate. I don't think that they are as inadequate as they were. We have hoped, and we have a definite idea to improve them. We had a problem there that I don't think it is quite so distressing in any place in the country as there, because of the congested conditions in which they live.

I have seen as many as 10 people in one room, sleeping in one room not over 8 by 12, and they sleep there in that little room with only two windows. I think as a matter of fact that we have been very fortunate indeed in the past, considering these terrible conditions, that we have not had more sickness than we have.

Mr. OSMERS. I should think so too.

Dr. WEEMS. The health situation is very closely associated with the economic situation and with the housing situation.

Mr. OSMERS. What is the financial condition of Palm Beach County as a governmental unit? Is it sound?

Dr. WEEMS. Well, yes, we would say it was the average.

Mr. OSMERS. They are meeting their obligations?

Dr. WEEMS. Yes, sir, but the problems we have are these migrants that are not residents of Palm Beach County and by local law they are not eligible for relief or assistance from Palm Beach County. However, we never refuse medical assistance to the migrants, although from a financial standpoint they are not eligible for relief.

Mr. OSMERS. What is the total appropriation in Palm Beach County for public health?

Dr. WEEMS. For public health?

Mr. OSMERS. Including your salary and the expenses of your staff and your operations, the operation of your clinics and so on

Dr. WEEMS. I would have to take that under a separate item. I would say—well, I would say roughly $50,000.

Mr. OSMERS. You would say $50,000, or maybe a little more?

Dr. WEEMS. They pay out of that $30,000 for hospitalization for the indigent, and $20,000 wouldn't take care of my salary and my office force and the medicines that we use.

Mr. OSMERS. For the purpose that we had in mind, I would not consider the $30,000 that you say is spent for hospitalization of the indigent; the $20,000 is what I would consider—that is principally for your efforts and for your salary and for the salary of your assistants and your traveling expenses, medicine, and so on?

Dr. WEEMS. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. It seems to me that the problems in Palm Beach County will get worse rather than better. Do you believe that there should be established in that county a regular county health department on a much wider basis than a county physician's office?

HAS NOT RECOMMENDED A COUNTY HEALTH DEPARTMENT

Dr. WEEMS. Well, we have discussed that a great deal in the past year, and I have not recommended one.

Mr. OSMERS. What have your recommendations been? We are interested in what these counties are doing for these migrants when they get there.

Dr. WEEMS. I have made a study of the several other health units in the State of Florida. For instance, I have more clinics in my county than in any other State health unit in the State of Florida, and 3 months ago, from one of their workers, I learned that I was seeing more syphilitic cases than any other health unit in the State.

I think that our main problem is to give the medical treatments, to give the clinical assistance rather than the investigation. If we are faced with 20,000 migrants, it is impossible to investigate them and give them the necessary treatment and it would depend on the investigations to a great extent. I know that with Negroes, due to their promiscuous nature, it is impossible to investigate each and every case that comes to us to determine the source of the disease and such things as that. We are assuming the responsibility of these migrants, and it is important to us to see that they get the best health conditions possible, and I would like to suggest after a study that I think it should be made mandatory for every one of them to have health cards and to take treatments, and make it mandatory to the extent that not only the employees but the employer be held responsible for these patients to take the remaining treatments as they should.

We know from our experience that 10 percent of all heart diseases and 10 percent of all insanity comes from syphilis or is traceable to syphilis and we know that with the spread of the disease as it is today, unless some emergency means are taken, that every institution, Federal, State, or county, or municipal, whichever it might be, will be filled with these complications of syphilis.

WORK ESPECIALLY ON VENEREAL DISEASE

Mr. Osmers. Don't you think that a great many other deaths and illnesses are attributed to syphilis or might be attributed to syphilis or really should be attributed to syphilis that are not so named or classified?

Dr. Weems. Yes, sir. I think that syphilis is the most important contagious disease that we have to contend with today and we have fewer laws as to its control today than most any of the other diseases that we are confronted with. We can quarantine scarlet fever and typhoid fever and smallpox and put the patients in jail if they break the quarantine, in order to control the disease.

Mr. Osmers. I was instrumental when I was in the legislature in the State of New Jersey in putting the premarital health law and the prenatal health regulations and the premarital syphilitic law on the books of the State of New Jersey, and I would suggest that if the State of Florida does not have those three laws on their statute books that they should waste no further time in getting them enacted into laws, and in seeing that the laws are enforced.

Dr. Weems. I heartily agree with you and I think that they should have those laws, but they don't have them.

Mr. Osmers. We have a migrant law in the State of New Jersey and our State department of health last year took it upon itself to blood test every migrant worker in New Jersey and we found, amazingly enough, about the same percentage of syphilis that you found in your investigations in Palm Beach County.

Dr. Weems. I had at least a hundred cases referred to me from the New Jersey department during the past year, and I referred them back to the New Jersey authorities when these migrants left here. I gave them a slip showing the treatments that they had received here and I returned a slip of the same kind to the New Jersey authorities showing the treatments that I had given them.

Mr. Osmers. Do you find much resistance on the part of the migrants to blood tests or to treatments?

Dr. Weems. No, sir. The most disappointed people that I had to contend with are the ones that do not have syphilis, but they want to take the shots anyway. They are very much disappointed because they can't take the shots too.

Mr. Osmers. I wonder if you would give your idea to the committee as to the possible assistance that the Federal Government can be to localities like yours in the handling of the health problem for the migrants?

Dr. Weems. I would like to. In considering the health of a migrant, or of any individual, we have to consider three factors—the economic factor, the housing factor, and the health factor. The economic factor is the most important to the migrant himself and to the employer. It is necessary for him to make a livelihood; that is of prime importance; and to give health assistance we must give our treatments in such a way that it will not interfere with his earning a living. We have to find such a time, even at night if necessary, or early in the morning, to give that health assistance so it won't interfere with the patient making a living for himself and family. Now, we must have the wholehearted cooperation of the employer in order to do that. I recommend that it might be made mandatory on the employer, if possible, or as near that as we can, for all migrants to be blood tested and where necessary for them to take the required treatments. I really think that they should pay a small fee; that the patient himself should pay a small fee of, say, 25 cents for the medicine in order to make him help in the carrying out of this idea of ours. I don't believe in pauperizing anyone that does not need pauperizing. I think that there should be some Federal control or be under some Federal control. We have tried to work it out under local authority, but you can stretch these things around so that I believe if we had a Federal man there to enforce such regulations that it would be much better; that is, some man to enforce it that had no local connection whatsoever.

Mr. Osmers. I do want to bring this point out, to the committee, and get some information from you about it. You said that the State authority had no mandatory treatment laws. You start the treatment of a migrant worker and then the season ends and he goes away to Georgia and then to the Carolinas and then to Virginia, we will say—do you make any effort, or does the State of Florida make any effort, to follow that man along to see if he keeps up his treatments? You mentioned that you had received some reports of treatments from the State Health Department of New Jersey.

Dr. Weems. The State of Florida does not follow that up in that manner. I make a report of every case of syphilis that I treat to the State, and I make a note out showing the treatments that the man has had under my care, and I give it to each patient. Many of our patients come in from year to year for their treatments. A lot of them don't take any treatments at all during the time that they are gone, but they take them from me during the particular season that they are located in our area.

Mr. **Osmers.** Do you think that the Federal Government should register these migrants, or these migrant citizens, in some way so as to keep some record of their travel in the course of their business so that they may be treated as they go along and thereby have a tendency to prevent the spread of this horrible disease through the various States and communities that they visit?

Dr. **Weems.** Yes, sir; I do think that some kind of an arrangement of that sort could be properly worked out to where it would be very beneficial. We know that with treatments for 3 weeks that we can make an individual noninfectious, and even though he only takes from 3 to 6 treatments we have made him noninfectious for a long period of time, and we feel that we do three things in treating these people. The first is we make them noninfectious, and we give them an opportunity of being cured, and we protect them against complications. I really feel that we can treat 100 or even 200 cases much cheaper than we can institutionalize 1 of these individuals who may suffer complications in the later stages of the disease that will keep him there during the remainder of his life. Last year I had a number of deaths from complications of syphilis, such as heart disease, insanity, and so forth, and it is a horrible death, and when a patient comes to you in advanced stages like that there is nothing in the world that you can do for him when it progresses to that stage. They come to you because of heart trouble, and there is nothing that you can do for them but to keep them just as comfortable as you can when you find that they are in that condition, and every injection of treatment that I give I feel that I have prevented that one person from suffering the agonies of hell during the later years of his life.

Mr. **Osmers.** I think, Doctor, that you are doing a colossal job and doing it very well under a great handicap, and I wish to thank you very much for coming here and giving us the benefit of your knowledge and experience. We commend you very highly.

Dr. **Weems.** May I say something further?

Mr. **Osmers.** Sure.

HOUSING AS RELATED TO HEALTH CONDITIONS

Dr. **Weems.** There is another problem that we are confronted with, and that is the housing problem down here.

Mr. **Osmers.** We have spent considerable time on that subject and have taken a considerable amount of testimony relative thereto.

Dr. **Weems.** I would like to mention the fact that the housing problem that has been established here has done a wonderful thing for this area. By the way, I have another clinic at the migratory camp where they make it compulsory for the people living in this camp to take the treatments, but other than that, at a number of these rental camps here, they charge these migrant workers as much as $4 per week for a shed of one room with no facilities and with a rather limited water supply, if any, and such conditions as that. We should have some way of protecting the migrants from having to pay such exorbitant rental prices as they are sometimes compelled to pay in this area.

Some of these people advertise about the wonderful opportunities that are existing in Florida, and these migrant laborers are influenced sometimes by such advertising to come here, and as a result, consequently you have a surplus of labor, and these people who need their work done can get their work done at a minimum cost, and it is my opinion that we need some protection for these migrants as to the amount of money that he has to pay for rent of these shacks, and we need some information to be sent out over the country as to what the migrant might expect in the way of living conditions if he comes to this area.

Mr. **Osmers**. You say "they advertise"—who advertises?

Dr. **Weems**. I mean that some of the farmers advertise for the need of the labor and what conditions are and so forth.

Mr. **Osmers**. Do you mean that some of the farmers advertise?

Dr. **Weems**. Yes, sir. We had a case that came to our office from Canada, a migrant from Canada who had come down here to work, and he had spent all of his resources coming to Florida; he had read about the wonderful resources and opportunities in the Everglades section, and he came down to the Everglades to obtain work, and he had spent all of his money, and was in destitute circumstances. I think there should be come system set up whereby information could be furnished for these migrant people so they would not be misled into coming into certain areas and expecting employment. Another thing, I think that there should be some arrangements made where these migrant workers would not have to pay excessive rent or expenses. If you are going to work a man all week long and then take his money away from him that he has earned by charging him excessive rent and excessive prices for his groceries and so forth, he will be just as much a pauper at the end of the week after he has worked, and he will not have accomplished anything. I think that it is a very serious problem, and I think that some great effort should be used to try to bring it down to a standard to try to protect these migrant people. If I were to go to Bermuda and they charged me $20 per day for a room, I would have to pay it, because there would be no other place for me to secure accommodations, and so it is with the migrants that come here, they have to pay the charges that are demanded of them for these shacks.

Mr. **Osmers**. Doesn't the Florida State Government exert any control at all over that situation?

Dr. **Weems**. I have tried to get some authority myself or tried to get something for some person from Palm Beach County, but I have been unable to accomplish anything along that line. The only group in Florida that has that authority is the Florida State Board of Health. I will cite you an example—about 2 years ago I saw 21 sick children with acute dysentery in a camp under very unsanitary conditions and I recommended to the State Board of Health that they should close the place, and they have not closed it to this day. It is still open, and consequently, while I have all the respect in the world for the State Board of Health, I feel such emergencies can therefore be handled best through local interests, people who are vitally interested in their homes.

Mr. **Osmers**. It is primarily a local problem and we all admit that.

Dr. **Weems**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Osmers**. But unless you have an alert State Board of Health the local people will not move because they think it is to their economic disadvantage to rip down the shacks and replace them with decent quarters, but I think that it has been well demonstrated that good housing conditions make for better workers and that they pay for themselves very quickly. Do you agree with that?

Dr. **Weems**. Yes, sir; and I think that the condition of the people in the migratory camps has improved a great deal of late.

It is my belief that some coordination of the needs of labor and the needs of the farmers, such as the Farm Placement Bureau, should be established to make a study of and to assist both the grower and the laborer, thereby giving a true picture to those who might want to come into Florida to work, that they might know what to expect in the way of employment.

Mr. **Osmers**. That's all. We thank you very much, Doctor.

The **Chairman**. Thank you very much, Doctor, and you may insert any other statement that you desire to make into the record at any time today.

(Thereupon, Dr. Weems was excused.)

(The following statement was later submitted by the witness and accepted for the record:)

STATEMENT BY WM. H. WEEMS, M. D., COUNTY PHYSICIAN FOR PALM BEACH COUNTY, FLA.

During the past few years, as county physician of Palm Beach County, Fla., I have had the opportunity of seeing and becoming familiar with the conditions among the migratory people of the Everglades area of this county, which are becoming worse as time goes on.

I feel these conditions are contributed to by three different causes, which I would like to set out under three different headings, and present my idea of a solution as a means of obtaining an ultimate improvement.

First cause.—Economical problem.—Five or ten years ago, due to the great need of field workers and to the competition between the farmers, it was possible for the laborers to be paid as high as 40 cents an hour for their labor and as much as 30 or 40 cents a hamper for picking beans. In order to overcome this wage being paid, the farmers have advertised in many northern newspapers as to the wonderful opportunity offered in the Everglades section and have consequently encouraged more and more migration to this section.

At this time, and even in the height of the harvesting season, we have a surplus of labor, and consequently the farmers are paying a much lower rate of wages to these workers than offered before, a wage that is practically impossible to live on even if the employment was steady, which it is not in this Everglades section. These farmers refuse to assume any responsibility of these workers, and at the end of the season the workers are left stranded without any financial income whatsoever or any means of transportation to other harvest areas.

I feel that until some law or Federal act is enacted, forcing the employer to assume some of the responsibility as to the care of these migrants, and their transportation, we will be confronted with the same problem all the time. By this, I mean some form of tax similar to social security or head tax while they are employed.

As you probably know, it is practically impossible to get local cooperation for such a problem unless laws are passed to cover these problems.

Through the summer of 1940, it is estimated we have some 2,000 more migrants staying in the Everglade section than we had last year, and on account of this some of the farmers at Belle Glade have consented to take up a voluntary collection amongst themselves to alleviate acute emergencies.

I would like to submit the following figures indicating the emergency we are confronted with at this time:

The State welfare board had approximately 1,000 requests in the Belle Glade area alone for surplus commodities, but only 500 were certified during the month of July, and at least 70 percent of these were colored agricultural laborers.

There were no W. P. A. projects in the Glades area at this time.

Forty-six people during the month of July in the Pahokee area alone received unemployment compensation; 193 people put in application for work; this only includes skilled and clerical workers.

Eighty-eight people received employment compensation in the Belle Glade area, which is among the clerical and skilled-laborers, applications from 254 were received for jobs.

In addition to this, the freeze added to hardship, and on account of this 5,680 grants were given by the Farm Security Board after the freeze; this included 12,677 people, grants averaged $14.20, amounting to an approximate total of $156,000.

Second cause—Housing problem.—The migrant camps in the Everglade section have helped the situation tremendously; however, as you know, it only cares for a small percent of the migratory element. I have inspected the migrant camps, and I find the morale, the standard of life, and the health of the people residing therein have improved greatly, and I think it is a very important factor to consider in discussing these problems.

I submit herewith some pictures showing the conditions among some of the less fortunate as to their mode of living. There is no scale whatsoever for these rooms, which are inadequate, and in most instances the rent is exorbitant. I know of one man in this neighborhood who collects $2,000 per month for such substandard quarters that should not be allowed to exist.

My solution to such a problem would be: First, have all such quarters come up to minimum requirements of the United States Board of Health. To have a definite limit to the number that could live in a unit. There have been cases where as many as 10 people have been herded and lived in a room 12 by 14 with only two windows and have paid $4 a week rent. I would like to suggest that a definite scale be set as to rental on these camps to protect the migrant from such exorbitant rent.

I know of one quarters in the Glade section that kept its water supply locked up except for 2 hours a day. I know of another where water was sold at a penny a bucket. We have no control at all over such conditions under the present law. The only organization that has such authority is the State board of health, who at all times has been hesitant to use such drastic measures.

It seems to me that if we had proper laws and Federal supervisors above local political control that we could increase the standard of living and relieve ourselves of the housing problem and in so doing relieve the Government of the migration we are now confronted with.

Third—To the general health.—This should be divided into three parts:

First, emergency treatments, as injuries during fights and while working; care for surgical cases requiring immediate operations. These cases always become a local problem and must be cared for through such provisions as they can provide.

Second, conditions due to the low standards of living, such as congested quarters, improper dieting, and poor ventilation. I would like to say here that I know of cases where as many as 8 or 10 people have lived in 1 small room with 2 small windows to serve as ventilation. We can naturally expect this to affect the general health to a great extent. At the present time the only solution I find is either by the establishments of migratory camps or else similar camps owned by the employers.

Third, I find the most important cause is due to the control of contagious diseases. During the past 6 months we have established a tuberculosis clinic at Everglades Hospital at Pahokee. We are making every effort possible in educating the people for necessary examinations. As to other contagious diseases, we have been very fortunate in not having epidemics, such as typhoid, dysentery, pneumonia, and I feel that under the present condition we are at all times in great danger of such an epidemic. I would like at this time to say that in 1938 I served 1 camp and saw 21 babies with an acute dytsentery. Through proper medical nursing it was possible to control this epidemic without any casualties or any further similar epidemics.

As to the problem of venereal diseases, I have been particularly interested in this problem since I was appointed county physician 3 years ago and have made every effort possible to educate the people and give treatment to everyone within Palm Beach County who so desires, regardless of their financial status or as to whether they were local residents or immigrants. In doing this we have established clinics in six localities within the county, West Palm Beach, Belle Glade, Pahokee, Del Ray Beach, Boca Raton, and Riveria. Our primary aim in these clinics was to treat venereal diseases and to give prenatal care to all expectant mothers. Since establishing these clinics 3 years ago we have taken over 7,000 blood tests, finding 42 percent of the colored population tested to have syphilis. With these figures I estimate that we have over 10,000 cases of syphilis in Palm Beach County alone today. I treat between 250 and 400 cases each week in my clinics throughout the county, and through the cooperation of the different local governments we expect to treat as high as 1,000 to 1,500 cases each week next season. I would like at this time to quote some figures from the United States Public Health Service. During the year 1939 there were over half a million new cases of syphilis reported. There were over half a million old cases of syphilis reported for the first time. When we consider that this constitutes only a very small percentage of the amount of syphilis in the United States today, I feel that unless some mandatory law is passed, especially for these migrant people, requiring them to have blood tests, health cards, and take treatment, that it will be impossible for the United States Board of Health, in cooperation with the medical profession, to ever expect improvements in these conditions. We have laws to protect our people against food handling from syphilis, so why can't we pass laws to protect the migrants against such a disease? After all, if we are to assume the responsibility of these migrants, as we must do, it is to our particular advantage to keep them in the best of health possible. We know from past records that approximately 10 percent of all blindness, incurable heart disease, and insanity come, as a complication of syphilis, and with syphilis spreading as it is today among the lower class of people, I believe unless something drastic is done in the very near future, that institutions in every State in the United States will be filled with inmates from complications of this disease.[1]

I feel that if such a law could be passed making this treatment mandatory and holding both the employer and the employee responsible for this treatment, the program could be carried on much more successfully. Since the majority of these people are gardening and packing and grading vegetables, it would give a definite protection to the public who purchase these vegetables. I believe, though, that these employees who are required to take treatment for syphilis should pay a minimum sum to cover the price of the medicine. In many experiences with this class of people it is my opinion that charity becomes a disease if it is forced upon the individual. I also believe that in the long run he will appreciate the chance of paying his part toward this treatment. The towns in Palm Beach County are willing to pass such ordinances as to require all workers within their limits to have health cards and these treatments in the future, which will easily increase our clinics from 300 to 1,500. The important question now is the expense of such a large program, allowing $3 per person per year. With clinics of 1,500 to 2,000, the expense of medicines above equipment would cost approximately $4,500 to $6,000 for that year. It is my belief that the United States Board of Health should furnish this medicine to any institution within the boundary of the United States that is willing to give its services for such a cause.

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[1] The medical services rendered have been furnished by Palm Beach County alone. The farmers have had none of the responsibility along this line.

The question that has come up many times in Palm Beach County is as to why we have not established a State health unit there. After making a study of health units in the State of Florida and in other States, I hesitate to make such a recommendation for many reasons:

First, there would be a tendency for this responsibility to be transferred from local organizations to a State organization, and I feel that if such a problem is to be overcome, it has to be through the cooperation of all local authorities.

Second, a skeleton health unit would cost the taxpayers of Palm Beach County $15,000 per year. In comparison a health unit large enough to treat 2,000 cases of syphilis would cost the county $40,000 to $50,000 per year. We differ in our opinion as to investigation of cases.

I have lived among the Negroes of the South all of my life, and it is my belief that it will be impossible to give a thorough investigation of any case because of their way of living and because of their hesitation to tell the truth to strangers, and I feel that the approach of making this treatment mandatory and then having clinics to take care of the increasing number would be much more sensible and practical. By this, I mean in giving more actual treatment and doing less investigation.

I would like at this time to say that I have more clinics in Palm Beach County than any physician within the State of Florida. Three months ago I was treating more syphilis than any county health officer, according to one of their representatives.

Another problem that we are faced with in our venereal-disease clinic is the economic factor. We can gladly get the cooperation of the employer for such clinic work if we are willing to do this clinic work at a time when it will not interfere with the individual's work, but on the other hand if we can only give such treatment from 9 to 5 or any regular hours it would be impossible to expect this cooperation. It has been my intention during the next season to have these clinics at night or early morning, at the most satisfactory time for the employer and the employee. With this attitude I had hoped to get the cooperation of many large farmers in the area to the effect that they would insist on all of their employees having a health card.

In closing I would like to leave this thought:

First, that you consider the emergency and the danger of such a disease and the rapidity in which it has spread, and consider the enactment of some law to make the treatment of this disease mandatory. In some cities of the United States, particularly in Los Angeles, any individual having venereal disease is forced to take treatment at one of the county clinics. If he refuses he either has to leave town or is punished by the law.

Second, that you would consider some means of Federal control of the housing conditions among the migrants, which will protect them against exorbitant prices and to insure their good health. Most of these conditions we see and work with could be greatly improved by higher standards of living, higher income, and better housing facilities.

The CHAIRMAN. We will adjourn now until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p. m., a recess was taken until 2 p. m.)

AFTERNOON SESSION, AUGUST 15, 1940

(The committee reconvened at 2 p. m.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

TESTIMONY OF READ DUNN, JR., SECRETARY-MANAGER, DELTA COUNCIL, STONEVILLE, MISS.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you give your full name, please?

Mr. DUNN. Read Dunn, Jr.

The CHAIRMAN. Whom do you represent, Mr. Dunn?

Mr. DUNN. I represent the Delta Council.

The CHAIRMAN. Where is the Delta Council located?

Mr. DUNN. The Delta Council has its headquarters at Stoneville, Miss.

The CHAIRMAN. And I understand that Mr. Howard Stovall, representing the Delta Council, could not appear?

Mr. DUNN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are taking his place?

Mr. DUNN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Are you going to present a written statement?

Mr. DUNN. I have a written statement, Mr. Chairman, and I will do as you suggest about presenting it.

The CHAIRMAN. We have so many witnesses scheduled for this afternoon and in view of the fact that we must conclude here tomorrow, the chairman will permit you to introduce your full statement in the record, and you know the problem that we are investigating, and if you will do that, I think that will be the better way.

Mr. DUNN. All right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And then you may proceed in your own way to make such additional statement as you desire.

Mr. DUNN. All right.

The CHAIRMAN. And at this point you may have your statement included in the record.

(Statement was submitted and appears below. A statement by Howard Stovall, submitted by Mr. Dunn, appears on p. 606.)

PROGRAM TO RELIEVE A SITUATION CREATED BY EXCESS FARM POPULATION

(Statement by Read Dunn, Jr., secretary-manager, Delta Council, Stoneville, Miss.)

Matters of farm-labor migration and indigency are not immediate problems for the Mississippi alluvial area as foregoing facts and resulting opinion tend to prove. However, the question exceeds the bounds of the section represented by the Delta Council, and the burdensome influence of excess population on agriculture in general must be recognized.

During the years of suppressed commodity prices farmers have encountered great difficulty in cutting cost of production to point where their products can sell, and at the same time maintain any accepted standard of living. Any extra burden of sustaining an additional population will depress further living standards for all farm people and impair to a great extent the efficiency of the system under which agricultural enterprise must operate.

With labor demands constantly changing in every field, it is impossible, furthermore, to adequately fit certain populations into particular fields of endeavor. To do so will ultimately create a static economy.

As a natural result of the increase in output per unit of labor in agriculture and industry, there has been a proportionate decrease in capacity to employ. However acute the problem may be, the answer cannot be found in turning back the wheels of progress in agriculture any more than in industry. Rather it seems we should observe more closely trend of employment and encourage the development of employment opportunities where production and consumption will be increased and progress and efficiency will not be hampered.

Census estimates by persons gainfully employed in various occupations in the United States over the past several decades show tendency of agriculture to employ a smaller and smaller percentage of the country's population, while industry increased employment to a saturation point and is now leveling off.

For example, 70 years ago the surplus production of nine persons on farms was required to feed one person in urban centers. Today that ratio has changed to that of one to three. In 1870, 54 percent of gainfully employed persons in the United States above 16 years of age were engaged in agriculture, mining, and fishing. But this figure has declined to the extent that today only 24 percent of the gainfully employed register in this field. Manufacturing and processing industries employed 22 percent of labor in 1870, 28.6 percent in 1910, 30.4 percent in 1920, and 28.6 percent in 1930. Indications point to a further decrease in the last 10-year period.

The growing field of services has been one, however, which has absorbed large numbers of the employed population in the past few years. Included in this category are transportation and communication, merchandising, retailing, and distributing; personal domestic and clerical help and various professions. Percentage of employed in this group has shown a gain from 23.7 percent in 1870 to 48 percent this year.

This trend has been observed in histories of all nations of the Western World. As the state matured and achieved higher standards of living for its people, services enjoyed by the people generally increased. Contra, we find India, China, and some of the more backward countries where the percentage of population employed in agricultural pursuits has remained static for hundreds of years.

If we hold that our goal is total production in agriculture and industry it is necessary that thought be given to problem of increasing consuming capacity of those with whom we would exchange. It is evident that we cannot accomplish this end by increasing the number engaged in agriculture or industry unless the combined index of production and price is increased. To distribute the same production among a greater number is to retrogress.

If on the other hand there is an increase in the luxuries group, consuming capacity will increase proportionately. Such a system is dynamic, the more luxuries we use the greater the effective consumption capacity, and the greater the effective production. There is no limit to luxuries desired by man.

As example of effectiveness of expansion in this third group of services, we can cite the tourist business in the United States which has grown from nothing only a few decades ago to a $6,000,000,000 industry in 1939, the third largest in the United States, employing hundreds of thousands of people. Certainly this field has not been exploited to its maximum. The movie industry is another good example. There are others that increase the enjoyment of leisure, and give recreational and cultural opportunities.

Should it be necessary in the temporary adjustment to reemploy in agriculture a portion of those now unemployed, then it is recommended that consideration be given to those programs which best develop the potentialities of the individual. Assistance to the farmer should be self-liquidating, and obligations should extend only for such periods as will not bind him to the land for life and prevent his moving to more remunerative occupation should the opportunity arise. It is important that the espirit de corp of the agricultural group and the elasticity of the system be preserved.

To assure maximum efficiency and greatest productivity, any program should be supervised and directed by competent technicians. As unit of a program the family size farm should be encouraged cautiously. Commercial units of this size are proving less economic and less productive in the technological process. A question also can be raised as to the need for additional agricultural production, and the idea of self-sufficiency is false with little if any of the produce consumed on the farm.

As further protection against luring labor from region for illicit purposes, Federal regulations controlling bidding and advertising for agricultural labor should be established. Reputable agencies and organizations to facilitate placement of additional labor at peak planting and harvesting seasons will assist in solving the immediate problem.

TESTIMONY OF READ DUNN, JR.—Resumed

Mr. Dunn. In response to the request of your chief field investigator, Mr. George Wolf, for the Delta Council to make some statement upon the labor supply and labor demand in the Mississippi area, we have made a survey to reveal something of the present supply of labor and the demand for that labor and have gone as far as we could in predicting what might be the future requirements and the future demands for labor in this cotton-raising section.

As you know, the Mississippi Delta is a highly specialized commercial farming area in which cotton is the principal commercial crop supplying about 85 percent of the income for the entire area, and that the land in the Delta is operated, of course, largely under the tenant system, 85 percent under the tenant system, and the tenants are about 90 percent Negroes. As a result of these conditions the area is one of the most highly specialized commercial farming areas in the country with a very high percentage of Negroes and a high percentage of tenants, and the area is greatly dependent upon cotton.

NO LOSS OF POPULATION IN THE DELTA

We find upon surveying the plantation tenants that today the farm population in the Mississippi Delta is just about the same as it was 10 years ago. We have gathered these figures from the fifteenth United States census and also from the preliminary reports of the 1940 census. We find, however, that the labor requirements in this area have been reduced on a per-acre basis by three factors: First, mechanization; second, the shift of acreage from cotton to other crops; and third, yields. For illustration, we have compared the influence of these various factors, and we find this, to show the influence of mechanization, that if we held the yields constant and the acreage constant during a 10-year period we would have a decrease in the labor requirements as a result of those figures of about 4 percent of the total labor required in 1930, whereas if we had held mechanization factor and yield constant the reduction in the labor required as a result of changes in acreage by a reduction in working time would be something like 30 percent, so this is by far the most important factor which has influenced the working requirements and labor requirements. This has largely been offset by increasing the yields. Today the area plants 60 percent of the cotton that it formerly planted, but the yield per acre has increased from the 4-year average from 1929 to 1932 amounting to 215 pounds to an average yield of 412 pounds per acre over the 4-year period 1935 to 1939. This increase in yields has taken more labor per acre, because more labor has been required to harvest it.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the Delta Council?

Mr. DUNN. The Delta Council is a federation of the 18 counties in the Mississippi Delta. We think of it in terms of a regional development board, studying those problems of flood control and agriculture and other general and economic problems that confront the people of the Delta area. It is largely supported by public taxes in the 18 counties.

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you. Because of the density of the population, the Mississippi Delta is looked upon by many as one of the prime potential sources of migration. Do you agree with these views?

Mr. Dunn. No, Congressman; we do not. The Delta, we know, does have a population greater than any other agricultural area of its size, but at the same time the cultivation is more intensive in this area than it is in any other area. The production per square mile is greater than it is elsewhere. The average yields and the greater amount of labor required for the production of the cotton requires the denser population per acre or per square mile, and we feel that this population will be required in the future if our cotton acreage is to remain as it is now.

THE MECHANICAL COTTON PICKER

The Chairman. What will the mechanical cotton picker do to you on that point?

Mr. Dunn. There is no mechanical cotton picker on the market and I think that the speaker who will follow me from the experiment station at Stoneville has some figures that show some interesting facts about the cotton picker. We feel that its influence upon labor will be very little in our section.

The Chairman. Cotton has resisted mechanization longer than any other major crop. What, in your opinion, is the reason for that?

Mr. Dunn. I believe that Mr. McNamara can answer that question for you better than I can.

The Chairman. All right. What is the average income of the average sharecropper family? How does it compare with that of the wage hand family? How does it compare with the income of the share cropper, say, 5 years ago?

Mr. Dunn. That question is a hard one to answer and the average annual income is very difficult to ascertain. I have some figures here on one of the large plantations that we regard as typical.

The Chairman. If you have those, insert them in the record.

Mr. Dunn. All right. The average income per farm family on this plantation, according to these surveys, which in our opinion are quite authentic, is about $495. That is an average per year for 7 years.

The Chairman. The Delta employs a great number of cotton pickers from outside its boundaries. How many are white? How many are Mexican? What provisions are made for housing? How are they recruited?

Mr. Dunn. As far as I know, no survey has been made to show what percentage of these people are white and black and Mexican, but I would say that 10 percent are Mexican and that at least 80 percent are colored.

The Chairman. What are your housing conditions?

OUT-OF-STATE LABOR FOR COTTON PICKING

Mr. Dunn. There are very few of these extra pickers used in the Mississippi Delta over a long period. In the peak years more are required. We never know when those peak years are going to come. In

1937 we increased our cotton production about 40 percent, which required additional labor during the latter part of the season.

The CHAIRMAN. Where do you recruit the workers from, what State?

Mr. DUNN. There is not much recruiting done. It is more an established system where laborers from cotton fields and vegetable areas in southern and eastern Mississippi, after laying by their own crops which mature several weeks earlier than ours, usually come each year to assist in the picking of the cotton during the season. In regard to the recruiting, we have enlisted the facilities and assistance of the Mississippi Employment Service as the agency for locating available labor and in assistance with the transportation of and placement of that labor.

The CHAIRMAN. Do they send you more of that labor than you require?

Mr. DUNN. No, sir; they find out what the requirements are and then they attempt to locate that labor in other sections of Mississippi and it has worked rather successfully. There is a small percentage of additional labor used in the area because the planters prefer to allow the tenants to pick their own cotton.

The CHAIRMAN. Has there been any increase in gardens and subsistence livestock among the tenants? Do the planters encourage such efforts?

Mr. DUNN. Yes; quite a substantial increase. The livestock population has more than doubled in the last 5 years. The poultry and hogs and so forth has probably quadrupled and I would say at the present time at least 80 percent have gardens and poultry.

The CHAIRMAN. Do the planters encourage those efforts?

Mr. DUNN. Yes, sir; they do.

The CHAIRMAN. The individual planters, are they making any effort to improve the health and educational facilities on their plantations?

Mr. DUNN. Yes, sir; the individual planters are, and they are using facilities and assistance of the county health department. At the present time each county in the Mississippi area maintains a full-time county health department, and the larger plantations have their own physicians who attend the tenant families on those plantations.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, Mr. Dunn, if you will pass Mr. Stovall's statement to the reporter it will be made a part of the record here.

Mr. DUNN. All right, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. This entire statement will be made a part of our record and we wish to thank you for your appearance here before us today.

(Thereupon Mr. Dunn was excused.)

(Statement of Howard Stovall, referred to by the witness, reads as follows:)

STATEMENT BY HOWARD STOVALL, DIRECTOR, DELTA COUNCIL, STONEVILLE, MISS.

My name is Howard Stovall. I speak for the Delta Council, an economic federation of the 18 counties in the northwestern section of the State of Mississippi, known as the Yazoo-Mississippi Delta, representing agricultural and other business interests in that region. As preface to the discussion of the labor situation in the area, I will, with your permission, first describe briefly the general economy of the section in order that our comments may be interpreted more clearly.

The Delta's economy is founded upon agriculture. Approximately three-fourths of the basic income in the region is derived from production and ginning of cotton and crushing of cottonseed, while the remaining forth is derived from forest products and wood-using industries, miscellaneous crops, and production of livestock. The population of the Delta is 85 percent rural. More than 75 percent of the people are actively engaged in farming.

With an alluvial land area of 4½ million acres, 2,000,000 of which are now in cultivation, the section produces annually near 1,000,000 bales of long-staple cotton and supports a population of better than half a million people. Approximately 85 percent of the land is operated under the plantation system, cultivated by tenants, 90 percent of whom are Negroes. As a result of these conditions the Delta ranks first among other agricultural sections in production per square mile, in dependence upon cotton, in density of population, in percentage of tenancy, and in percentage of Negroes.

The plantation is the unit in the Delta's highly specialized system of commercial farming on which the section's economy is based. In the operation of these farms the principles of specialization, mass production, and expert technical supervision have been employed on much the same basis as in the modern industrial plant. Since cotton has always produced a higher net return per acre than any other agricultural crop, plantations have concentrated on this production planting, previous to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program, approximately 78 percent of the land to cotton, 10 percent to corn, 3 percent to hay and legumes, and 9 percent to other crops. The size of the farms are large as result of the efforts of the plantation owners to realize the full capacity of available managerial abilities and achieve the lowest unit cost of production. Near 70 percent of all the land in the Delta is farmed in large-scale tracts of 500 acres or more, and 20 percent is in farms of 2,000 acres or more. For efficient supervision the larger plantations are first divided into managerial units, a common scale being 1,000 acres and then further divided into production units in sizes that can efficiently be farmed by one family, varying from 10 to 40 acres depending upon the size of the family and the producing capacity of the land.

All phases of the operation are closely directed by technical supervisors who are responsible for the efficiency of the various producing units. Most managers of modern plantations now employ heavy machinery in preparing and planting the land for all crops and also in harvesting small grains and hay. But hand labor exlusively is used in the cultivation and harvesting of cotton. For this purpose tenants are maintained the year round on 95 percent of the plantations.

By applying these principles of industry to agriculture the plantations have done much in making the necessary adjustment to the new conditions forced by drastic decline in agricultural commodity prices since 1930 when the average basic price for cotton dropped to less than half of what it had been in the 10-year period before 1930. In an effort to bolster prices the plantations reduced cotton acreage in compliance with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration production control program and intensified operations by using winter cover crops, commercial fertilizers, insect poisons, improved varieties, and better cultivation practices. As a result the average yield of cotton per acre in the entire Delta almost doubled, stepping up from 215 pounds for the 4-year average, 1928–32, to 412 for the period 1936–39.

With higher yields these Delta plantations have been able to sustain practically the same farm population during the 10-year period on approximately half the cotton acreage.

Since this condition may be unusual, I would like to offer as substantiation of the fact, statistics from the Fifteenth United States Census for 1930 and estimates from the preliminary population returns for the 1940 United States census. I shall use the 10 counties lying wholly within the Delta; namely, Tunica, Coahoma, Quitman, Bolivar, Sunflower, Washington, Leflore, Issaquena, and Sharkey. The population of the other 8 part-Delta counties is difficult to divide correctly because of the indefinite demarkations.

The aforementioned counties in 1929 had a total cultivated acreage of 1,816,725 of which approximately 78 percent or 1,417,689 were planted to cotton. In 1939 complying with the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program these same counties planted an average of 45 percent of their total cultivated acreage to cotton, in amount of 879,475 acres, which is just 60 percent of the cotton planted 10 years earlier.

The farm population of these same counties in 1930 was 294,145 and in 1940, according to the preliminary estimates, is 292,210, which is only 1,935 or 6 percent under the number of people on the farm when almost twice the cotton acres were planted 10 years before.

It is interesting to note that a smaller percentage of the population according to Department of Commerce figures has been on the Federal relief rolls in this section than in any other rural area of the Nation except two small regions which had oil booms; one of these known as the southern Pacific region, a small area in southern California, and the other in southern Louisiana. For the last few years the average number of persons certified for relief in these counties totaled only 6,000 to 7,000 a month which is approximately 1.6 percent of the total population. The persons actually receiving relief only average 2,500 to 3,000. In the smaller counties of Tunica, Issaquena, and Sharkey there have been too few certified applications regularly on the relief rolls to inaugurate full-time Work Projects Administration projects.

The principal reasons for the constant population despite technical improvements and acreage reduction, in our opinion, are both humanitarian and economic. Foremost is the fact that the total production of cotton in bales has remained about the same through increased yields and therefore as many people are needed for picking as formerly. Since cotton deteriorates in quality and hence in value the longer it remains in the field after opening, farmers endeavor to pick the crop as soon as possible. To assure an adequate supply of labor for this purpose every effort is made to maintain as many tenants as possible. Planters have always been distrustful of becoming too dependent upon migratory labor for the harvesting and prefer that tenants pick their own crops. It is a fact that cotton picked by tenants who have an interest in the crop is usually of a better grade than that picked by disinterested migrants. To maintain these tenants it has been necessary, of course, to reduce the number of cotton acres each family and each worker operates. However, the average tenant actually produces as much cotton now as he did formerly and in addition receives half the Government benefit payments which in the area amounts to approximately $6 an acre to him.

Another reason for the constancy in the farm population is the low birth rate and high death rate which in 1930 resulted in an excess of births over deaths of only 2 per 1,000, giving this section the lowest rate of increase and the fewest number of children per family of any agricultural section in the United States.

This reproduction and the immigration increase has, of course, been offset by the natural migration of laborers to the smaller towns within the area where they find employment in the growing light industries and other business operations, and to the industrial areas of Memphis, St. Louis, Detroit, Chicago, and Cincinnati. While a small percentage of new farm land has been opened to cultivation by immigrants principally from other sections of Mississippi, the total newcomers who have found livelihood on new ground represent only a small portion of the total population. The new lands, found principally in Sharkey, Issaquena, Humphreys, Washington, and Quitman Counties, have totaled only about 100,000 acres in the last 10 years, amounting to approximately 5 percent of the 1,900,000 acres now in cultivation in the 10 counties.

Mechanization and similar improvements have caused little or no labor displacement and have had no appreciable effect on the population in this area, in our opinion, since labor requirements have been reduced very slightly by these innovations. For example, labor requirements in producing cotton have been reduced only in one department of the operation, preparation and planting, to an extent of 3.2 hours per acre or 2.8 percent of the total labor required to produce an acre of cotton in 1930. In corn, the total reduction in all operations has been 2.3 hours per acre or 6.7 percent of the total time required. In the production of legumes there has been a reduction of 2 hours per acre, or 9 percent of the total time, and there has been no perceptible decrease in time required in other crops. In other words, assuming the same division of acreage today and the same yields per acre as 10 years ago, farm operations on a typical 100-acre farm would require only 270 hours less man-labor as a result of mechanization. This is a decrease of only 2.8 percent under the total 9,334 man-hours required in 1930 on a 100-acre farm with 76 acres to cotton, 10 to corn, 3 to legumes, and 11 to other crops. A change in labor requirements, of course, has taken place in the acreage shifts from cotton to the production of other crops which require less labor. The total effect of this shift has been a reduction of approximately 12 percent in the working time. These figures are derived from a report of H. C. McNamara, superintendent of the Delta Experiment Station, at Stoneville, Miss.

While it has been estimated that at least 50 percent of the farms employ heavy equipment in preparing and planting land, tractors have not replaced mules entirely in the Delta except in a few instances notably in the lower counties of Sharkey and Issaquena, where plantations have been forced to mechanization by the frequent floods and backwater from the Yazoo and Mississippi Rivers which make tenantry hazardous. A few other isolated operations using all tractor and no mules have been established in other areas for peculiar reasons. For example, planters found it difficult to secure labor after the major flood of 1927 and the labor migration to industrial centers of the same period. However, it is estimated that less than 5 percent of the land in the Delta is cultivated under this system.

There has also been a slight change in the labor pattern in the Delta which is evidenced by a decrease in the number of production units referred to by the census as farms. In the 10-year period the census indicates a reduction of 19 percent in the number of farms in the Delta. This is explained by the fact that many of the smaller family-size farms after the depression were foreclosed or forced to sell out, this land area having been consolidated and made a part of larger tracts. After this consolidation and following the inauguration of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program the plantations for greater efficiency divided their new cotton acreage into production units among better tenants for the purpose of intensive cultivation and farmed in one unit the remaining acreage planted to soybeans, corn, hay, oats, and so forth. These large units of other crops are cultivated largely on a day-wage basis and persons formerly classed as tenants are now employed in the production of these crops by the day. Hence they are not listed in the census as farm operators since they do not have crops of their own. Tenants, of course, have corn land and garden plots for their own needs in addition to cotton allotments. A recent survey indicates that a number of the plantations today employ from 10 to 25 percent of the people on the farm as day-wage operators rather than as tenants. These day-wage persons are housed and given garden plots on the farm and furnished if necessary during the winter in the same manner as tenants. There has been no reduction in the farm population notwithstanding reduction in the number of farms.

Since there have been many erroneous impressions about population trends in the last few years in the Delta, probably a result of statements made on the basis of the 1935 agricultural census estimates, we wish to offer one further explanation. We feel that estimates made from the 1935 census figures showing a decrease in farm population of about 14 percent are not comparable since the 1935 enumeration was made in January when tenants ordinarily employed in farming were either living in town or visiting, a general custom in the section during the winter months, whereas the 1930 enumeration was made on April 1 when all farm operations were in progress. The 1940 census was taken in April and compares with the 1930 figures. This change in population during the winter months is further attested by the fact that Work Projects Administration relief rolls which are relatively heavy in the nonfarming months of November, December, January, February, and March, show a drop of more than half during the farming season.

In the light of our experience and investigation we believe there has been no appreciable labor migration from the Mississippi Delta and likewise there is no surplus of labor on the plantations today. In fact many plantations need more tenants than they are able to secure.

In addition to sustaining the former population on these plantations the Delta also supplements the income of thousands of people from the agricultural areas of South and East Mississippi each year during the harvesting season. Most of these people who find temporary employment are farmers in their own section who work on a wage basis in the Delta following their own harvesting period which is several weeks earlier. Through the Mississippi Employment Service a permanent labor agency is being established which will facilitate transfer and placement of this additional labor needed during the seasons of heavy production, with a minimum of disturbance and without the difficulties presented by surreptitious labor agents. Last year when the employment bureau operated for the first time more than 7,000 cotton pickers from South and East Mississippi were successfully placed in the 18 Delta counties.

During the next 2 or 3 years there will undoubtedly be a definite shortage of labor on all plantations as a result of the demands created under the national defense program.

Prospective labor demands in the Delta in the more distant future is most difficult to predict at this time since no one of us knows how the international situation may affect our economy. The outcome of the war, future world markets for agricultural products and general economic conditions at home will have a great bearing on labor requirements. If world consumption of American cotton is increased and if adjustments should be made in the production control program to allow greater cotton acreage, there will be undoubtedly increased demand for labor in the Delta. On the other hand, if we should be forced to follow an isolationist program with further acreage reduction employment operations on the farm will naturally be less. In the face of these uncertainties we are unable to make a prediction.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES HAND, JR., PRESIDENT OF THE DELTA COUNCIL

The CHAIRMAN. Your name is James Hand, Jr.?

Mr. HAND. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And you are the president of the Delta Council?

Mr. HAND. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. You have a statement to offer, do you, Mr. Hand?

Mr. HAND. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you desire to have your statement entered into the record?

Mr. HAND. Mr. Chairman, I am here today to offer the statement of Mr. Oscar Johnston, president of the National Cotton Council of America. It was impossible for Mr. Johnston to be present here today. Mr. Johnston is the president of the National Cotton Council, and is the manager of the largest cotton farm in the world.

The CHAIRMAN. Pass the statement over to the reporter and it will be made a part of the record, and we thank you for being present with us here today.

(Thereupon Mr. Hand was excused.)

(Statement of Oscar Johnston, presented by the witness, reads as follows:)

STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF THE NATIONAL COTTON COUNCIL OF AMERICA, PREPARED AND SUBMITTED BY OSCAR JOHNSTON, PRESIDENT

Your chief field investigator, Mr. George Wolf, has invited the National Cotton Council of America to appear through a representative or representatives, or to file a statement or statements, with respect to the subject matter with which the members of your committee are engaged.

For the invitation and resulting opportunity, we are grateful, and wish to express our thanks.

For your information, and for the benefit of the record, you will permit me, I am sure, to make a brief statement regarding the National Cotton Council of America, its composition, and its objectives.

The council is an industry organization representing the various groups engaged in production, initial processing, handling and marketing of cotton and cottonseed. There are five so-called raw-cotton interests which together comprise the raw-cotton industry. These groups, or, as they are normally referred to, interests, are:

Producers, of whom it is estimated there are some 2,500,000 families, or approximately 10,000,000 persons.

Cotton ginners, who first process the cotton by separating the lint and seed. It is estimated that there are in the Cotton Belt in operation some 12,000 cotton-gin plants or operations.

Cotton warehouses and compresses, where the cotton is stored until marketed and by whom it is compressed to facilitate transportation. All warehouses do not perform functions of compresses, but all compresses do perform the functions of warehousing. There are in the Cotton Belt approximately 3,000 warehousing establishments, of which approximately 350 operate compresses.

Cotton merchants or shippers who purchase the cotton from producers and sell same either domestically or abroad to consuming establishments. It is estimated that there are approximately 750 persons designated as shippers, and handling 90 percent or more of the annual crop. The figures given do not include several thousand persons usually referred to as "country buyers," who are in the nature of middlemen between the producer and the larger merchants or shippers. There are no available data from which to make an estimate of the number of these.

Cottonseed crushers. There are approximately 460 cottonseed-crushing plants in the belt. Members of this group purchase the cottonseed, and process it by breaking it into its component commercial parts as oil, linters, meal, and hulls. These several products of the seed are then marketed.

It is rather roughly estimated that there are approximately 15,000,000 persons directly engaged in the operations covered by the 5 divisions of the industry enumerated.

There are a number of interest organizations within the industry. For example, producers in many of the States are organized into State divisions of the American Farm Bureau Federation, the National Grange, and other farm organizations. Within the several cotton-producing States there are associations of ginners, and there is also a belt-wide national ginners' association. Similarly the other interests are organized. These interest organizations deal primarily with specific subjects matter directly affecting the persons identified with each of these interests.

The five interests are combined in the National Cotton Council of America, the government of which is vested in a representative body made up of delegate members from each of the interests, from each of the cotton-producing States, these representatives being selected by interest organizations.

Cotton is produced in 19 of the 48 States. For administrative purposes, the council has divided the 19 States, generally referred to as the Cotton Belt, into 14 States, or State group, units. Five of the States, in each of which the production of cotton is less than 20,000 bales annually, are severally combined with adjacent States in which cotton is produced in considerable quantities, as for example, Virginia is combined with North Carolina, etc.

The primary objective of the National Cotton Council of America is to promote and expand the consumption of domestically produced cotton, cottonseed, and the products thereof both at home and abroad at prices that will return to the industry an equitable share of the Nation's annual income.

Representing, as it does, some 15,000,000 persons engaged in the raw-cotton industry, the council is vitally concerned with and interested in each and every problem which bears directly or indirectly upon the welfare of the persons engaged in any phase of the cotton industry.

We note that the primary objective of your committee is to investigate "migration of destitute citizens." We assume from the language of the resolution authorizing the establishment of your committee, and from the title of your committee, that you are primarily interested in the problem presented by the seasonal migration of thousands of destitute persons from one section or State of the Union to another in search of employment in agriculture. We assume that you are primarily concerned with the problem so dramatically represented to the American people in the book Grapes of Wrath, which drama has been so vividly pictured before the people of the United States in our motion-picture theaters.

Fortunately, the cotton industry has felt very lightly, if at all, the evils of "migratory, destitute labor." Insofar as we are advised, there has been no mass migration of destitute persons from one section to another to engage in any of the activities embraced within the industry.

A relatively small percentage of the 25,000,000 acres of land now planted to cotton is farmed by day wage labor. More than 75 percent of the cotton produced in America is produced by families operating from 10 to 20 acres planted to cotton, producing annually from 3 to 10 or 12 bales of cotton per family. Virtually 100 percent of the cotton produced must be harvested, that is, picked or gathered in the fields, by hand. No mechanical device has yet been perfected and put into operation which can be, or has been, substituted for human labor. No altogether satisfactory substitute has been found for manual human labor for "chopping" the cotton, that is, cleaning from the fields noxious grasses, weeds, and vines. With the exception of tobacco and possibly sugar beets, no large-scale farm operation requires as much manual labor per unit during the season of its production as does cotton. Because of these factors, the employment of human labor in the production of cotton has not been seriously affected by the general trend toward mechanization.

Mechanization has found its chief expansion in west Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, and California. In these States the process of mechanization did not displace any substantial amount of human labor because the production of cotton in these sections has developed within recent years, and from the beginning has developed through the use of mechanical equipment. These are irrigated areas relatively free from noxious grasses and weeds. For this reason mechanical preparation of soil for planting, planting of the seed, and cultivation of the crop can be accomplished in a satisfactory and economical manner with mechanical equipment. In these areas, particularly southwest Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico, the crops are harvested largely by Mexican labor, of which there is apparently an abundance, and which is imported for the purpose. In these areas there may be some voluntary migration of indigent labor, but insofar as we have been able to learn, there has either been none of this, or so little as to have escaped observation—certainly no serious results or consequences have followed. In other areas of the Cotton Belt the cotton is harvested by the families by whom it was produced, with the aid of labor brought in by landowners or by tenants themselves from nearby cities, towns, and villages. During the harvest period, that is, August 15 to November 15, thousands of domestic servants, persons otherwise on relief, persons engaged in doing odd jobs and having occasional employment in the cities, towns, and villages go to nearby cotton farms and pick cotton for which they are paid by the hundredweight. In some instances these persons go to the farms, are provided with housing facilities, and remain until the major part of the crop has been harvested. In other cases they go out from their homes Monday morning and remain until Saturday evening. In a majority of cases, however, they are transported from their homes, morning and evening, to and from the farms in automobiles, trucks, and busses by the landlord. A common practice is for farm tenants and small landowners working their own farms to import one, two, or three persons to pick cotton, usually relatives or close friends of the tenant or farmer. These persons live in the home of the tenant or farmer, are boarded by him, and paid for their picking by the hundredweight. During the harvesting season several thousand persons from the cities, towns, and villages earn from two to four and six dollars a day picking cotton. There is not involved in this operation any "mass migration" or any general migration of indigent migratory labor. There is no interstate movement except in a limited sense where labor goes out from a city or town near a State line, as for example, thousands of cotton pickers are transported daily from Memphis, Tenn., to farms in eastern Arkansas and northern Mississippi. Similarly, some pickers are transported from Helena, Ark., into the western section of Mississippi. But in all of these cases, the cotton pickers are provided with transportation to and from the fields in which they work. Reports to the United States Department of Commerce indicate that in the Cotton Belt there is an enormous decrease in the number of persons working for Work Projects Administration or on relief during the harvest period. It is customary for relief and Work Projects Administration agencies to aid their "clients" in finding employment in picking cotton.

The type of migration disclosed in Grapes of Wrath presents a serious economic problem and threat, and is a problem that can and should be immediately solved and disposed of once and for all. The National Cotton Council of America recommends as a solution for this problem Federal control of interstate migratory labor. Unemployed persons, asking seasonal employment in agriculture, should not be permitted to migrate from one State to another unless such persons are able to furnish satisfactory evidence of—

(*a*) Sufficient finances to maintain themselves until employment is obtained, or to return them to the places from which they migrate.

(*b*) Satisfactory evidence of definite employment at adequate wage levels.

Persons needing seasonal labor in agricultural pursuits should not be permitted to advertise generally for such labor, nor should they be permitted to cause labor to migrate across State lines without adequate guaranty of employment at stated wages.

Federaly employment agencies should handle interstate agricultural labor, that is to say, labor migrating from one State to another for agricultural employment.

Persons wishing to import from another State seasonal labor should do so through properly established Federal and State agencies, and in accordance with prescribed regulations which should operate to insure employment of labor imported at stipulated wage levels. The seasonal migration of labor from the citrus groves of Florida to the cranberry bogs of the East should be investigated and controlled. There should be appropriate cooperation between State and Federal authorities in handling the problem. It is our judgment that the aggravating problem as it was depicted in Grapes of Wrath can be satisfactorily handled.

There is another problem, however, not so simple, that is, the inevitable shift in agricultural population which will be brought about by a more serious economic and technological development. We have reference to several phases of the problem—

(1) The tendency of the more intelligent and highly skilled farm boy or farm laborer to leave the farm for industrial centers where greater than farm income can be realized. The result of this is a tendency to overpopulate industrial centers, making it more difficult to maintain satisfactory industrial wage levels because of the supply of surplus wage labor; then in periods of industrial depression the throwing of these laborers into bread lines, soup kitchens, and putting them on relief and W. P. A. rolls, thus imposing a serious burden upon the taxpayers of the Nation. The lack of balance between financial returns from labor on the farm and labor in industry presents a far more serious problem than mere "migration of indigent agricultural workers." It is essential that this inequitable relationship of farm income and industrial income be remedied.

(2) The loss of export markets for cotton, unless restored, will inevitably result in a gigantic shift in agricultural production. Prior to 1930 we were annually planting in the Cotton Belt approximately 40,000,000 acres to cotton We were producing an average of approximately 13,000,000 bales annually. Of this we were consuming annually between five and six million bales domestically, and exporting approximately 8,000,000 bales. The acreage planted to cotton has been reduced from an average of approximately 40,000,000 to a present level of approximately 25,000,000. Fifteen million acres of land have been taken out of cotton production. To date this has been accomplished without serious labor displacement. We do not have access to preliminary figures from the 1940 census for the Cotton Belt as a whole, but using the 10 counties of the Delta as an example, and regarding it as typical, we find

that in 1929 the acreage planted to cotton in this area was 1,500,000; that in 1939 this had been reduced to 775,000, an acreage cut of 525,000 acres, or 40 percent. The 1930 census gave the farm population of this area as 294,145. Preliminary estimates from the 1940 census indicate a farm population in the same area of 292,201, a decline of only 0.6 percent. The ability of such reduced acreage to support substantially the normal farm population is accounted for by the fact that in 1929 the average production of lint cotton in this area was 215 pounds; the production in 1939 was 400 pounds per acre, an increase of 46.3 percent. In addition to this the lands that were taken from cotton had to be cultivated to soil-building, soil-improving, food, and feed crops. This cultivation required labor, for which landowners were required to pay cash, thus supplementing the tenant's income from cotton.

Still further this income has been supplemented by soil conservation and cotton price-adjustment payments. Prior to the application of the farm programs of Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Cotton Belt had bought a large part of its food and feed for man and beast from other sections of the United States. As a result of the program the Cotton Belt is at an annually increasing rate becoming more self-sufficient in the matter of feeding itself. The cotton-farm people have benefited under this program substantially, but the program is costing the taxpayers of the Nation annually more than $150,000,000, and notwithstanding the program, the problem has not been solved. During the 2 depression years 1931 and 1932 there were exported from the United States an annual average of, in round figures, 8,600,000 bales. During the next 6 years, 1933 to 1938, both inclusive, there were exported an annual average of 5,500,000 bales. From the 1939 crop, with the aid of an export subsidy, a cotton-rubber barter deal with Great Britain, and the stimulus of a threatened war, the exports were increased to approximately 6,300,000 bales, an increase of but 800,000 bales above the previous 6-year average, thus bringing the 7-year average to 5,600,000 bales. On August 1, 1933, the carry-over of cotton in America was, in round figures, 8,000,000 bales. By August 1, 1939, this figure had been increased to approximately 13,000,000 bales, and as of August 1, 1940, is, in round figures, 10,000,000 bales, or 2,000,000 bales more than was the carry-over prior to the application of the crop-control programs. Of the carry-over August 1, 1940, approximately 8,000,000 bales are being carried at the expense of the taxpayers by the Commodity Credit Corporation, a Federal agency. This is not intended as a criticism of the crop-control program; it is merely a frank statement of an existing condition which cannot be questioned and illustrates the necessity for more serious efforts to increase both domestic consumption and exports of cotton. The problem presented by the facts quoted may not directly affect the migration of indigent labor, which is the matter immediately before you, but I assume that you are looking into the broader aspects of the problem, that you are interested in determining, insofar as you can, the danger which lies ahead as a result of agricultural policies and programs or the lack of such programs. The Bureau of Crop Estimates on August 8 estimated that the crop of 1940 would be 11,429,000 bales. Domestic consumption for the preceding year, approximately 7,750,000 bales, was the second highest on record. If we can step this to 8,500,000 for the next year, and produce the quantity indicated by the Government estimate, we will have from the current crop 2,929,000 bales to dispose of. What part of this we can export is problematical. The amount of this that will find its way into the hands of the Government through the 1940 loan will depend directly upon the amount we can consume domestically plus the amount we export. To remedy this situation the National Cotton Council of America recommends that every conceivable effort be made, first to expand domestic consumption and, second, to develop export markets. The alternative will be further reduced production. To us a further curtailment of cotton acreage is unthinkable.

Without the slightest fear of contradiction, we make the statement that a further curtailment of cotton acreage cannot be effected without serious labor displacement and without an enormous increase in the cost to the Government. A further decrease will not only affect labor in the Cotton Belt, but will disrupt and disturb labor conditions throughout agricultural America. Of necessity, the lands taken from cotton will be put into the production of dairy cattle, beef cattle, wheat, corn, oats, rice, tobacco, and numerous other crops which will compete with producers of the same crops in other sections. If driven out of cotton, many sections of the Cotton Belt can produce dairy cattle and support dairies at an infinitely lower cost than can the farmers of Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, and the Dakotas. The farmers of the Cotton Belt are today customers of the farmers of the Middle West and Northwest. Further curtailment of cotton acreage will convert these customers into competitors, who will have the advantage of better climate, cheaper food and feed crops, and cheaper labor, and who have, through years of necessity, accustomed themselves to lower living standards. This switch from cotton to other crops will not only injure farmers in other sections of the United States, but will increase the labor problem in the Cotton Belt, since, as is elsewhere stated in this presentation, less human labor is required in the production of other agricultural commodities than in the production of cotton. A further cotton acreage reduction will result in hundreds of thousands of families in the Cotton Belt being thrown on relief, or becoming indigent, migratory, agricultural labor. "An ounce of prevention is better than a pound of cure." An old Negro, whom the writer knows, once advised that the best way, and the least dangerous way, to kill a snake is to step on the egg. We hope that Congress, in its wisdom, will develop some method of solving the serious cotton problem that will make unnecessary further acreage curtailment, one that will permit an expansion of the acreage now planted to cotton, and at the same time relieve the taxpayers of the Nation of the burden involved in providing payments for price adjustment. Payments for soil conservation are economically sound. The Government should properly defray a part of the annual cost of preserving and conserving the fertility of the soil upon which generations yet unborn will have to depend for a livelihood, but there is something radically wrong with an economy which necessitates the subsidizing of any group either agricultural, industrial, or "migratory." Our economy and our policies, both domestic and foreign, must be so adjusted that the returns to the landowner and the factory owner, the agricultural worker, the day laborer, and the industrial laborer will bear an equitable and fair relation, the one to the other.

With respect to the cotton problem. We respectfully urge intelligent and intensive activity to increase domestic consumption of cotton to the end that there may be be a mattress on every bed in America, at least a change of sheets, towels, bedspreads, etc., in every home, adequate clothing for every man, woman, and child, and an economic situation which will permit the citizens of the United States to earn wages sufficient to enable them to pay for all of the necessities and some of the luxuries of life. With a proper distribution, the United States can consume domestically ten or eleven million bales of cotton. We must then develop a foreign policy, backed by power to enforce that policy, which will permit American agricultural commodities to be sold in the markets of the world on terms satisfactory to us. The American farmer, whether he produce cotton, wheat, corn, tobacco, rice, cattle, or hogs will not submit to the development of a foreign policy which will provide markets for American industrial commodities if to do this we must sacrifice foreign markets for American agriculture. Industrial and agricultural commodities must be given equitable treatment.

TESTIMONY OF HOMER C. McNAMARA, SUPERINTENDENT, DELTA EXPERIMENT STATION, STONEVILLE, MISS.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McNamara, I believe that you are the next witness.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Give your name to the reporter, please.

Mr. McNAMARA. Homer C. McNamara.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And what is your position, Mr. McNamara?

Mr. McNAMARA. I am superintendent of the Delta Experiment Station, Stoneville, Miss.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will you please proceed with such statement as you care to make? We will be glad to hear from you.

Mr. McNamara. I prepared a brief outline, and I will be glad to read it if you wish me to do so.

Mr. Sparkman. I believe that we have been supplied with copies of that statement, have we not?

Mr. McNamara. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. It will be entered in the record at this point.

(The statement mentioned appears below.)

Statement By Homer C. McNamara, Superintendent Delta Experiment Station, Stoneville, Miss.

TREND IN LABOR REQUIREMENTS IN DELTA AGRICULTURE

Any consideration of recent trends and labor requirements affecting Delta agriculture might very well be considered under three different heads: (1) Labor requirements as affected by shift in acreage of the various crops grown and increased cotton yields, (2) labor requirements as affected by mechanization, and (3) an appraisal of the total effect of both of these factors.

In comparing farm practices in the Delta between the years 1929 and 1939 we find that in 1929, 76 percent of the cultivated land was planted to cotton as compared with only 44 percent in 1939. In 1939, 24 percent of the acreage was planted to other crops, and in 1939, 56 percent was so planted. Therefore, in 1939 the Delta farmer was working 32 less cotton acres out of every 100, which were planted in other crops. These other crops require considerably less labor than cotton, but in the aggregate this acreage has absorbed a great deal of the labor that was formerly expended on cotton.

The 4-year average Delta yield from 1929 to 1932 was 215 pounds of lint per acre. During the past 4 years that average has increased to 411 pounds of line, or an increase of 193 pounds of lint per acre, which is nearly double that produced in the 1929–32 period. Based on labor requirements that have been obtained by the Delta Experiment Station on plantations for various crops over a period of 5 years, and applying these hours of labor to the acreages grown in 1929 and 1939, a fairly accurate estimate can be had.

With 76 acres out of every 100 acres planted to cotton in 1929, 673.4 hours of man labor were required to prepare and plant this land; 3,534 hours of man labor were required to cultivate, hoe, chop, and poison; and 4,453.6 hours were required to pick, weigh, load, and haul to the gin, making a total of 8,661 hours for the 76 acres of cotton. The 10 acres out of each 100 planted to corn in 1929 required 339 hours of man labor. The 2 acres of summer legumes planted required 44.2 hours of man labor; the 1 acre of alfalfa grown in 1929 required 40 hours of man labor; and the 11 acres of other crops required a total of 220 hours of man labor, making a grand total for all 1929 crops of 9,304.2 hours to farm 100 acres of land.

The situation was quite different in 1939, when only 44 acres were planted to cotton, requiring 361 hours of man labor to prepare and plant; 1,870 hours to cultivate, hoe, and poison; and 4,171 hours to pick, weigh, load, and haul to the gin, making a total of 6,402 hours to grow 44 acres of cotton. In the meantime, however, 26.4 acres of corn were planted, requiring 834 hours of man labor. Legumes had increased from 2 acres to 14.3 acres and now required 286 hours. Alfalfa land increased from 1 acre to 3½ acres, requiring 140 man hours. Other crops had increased to 11.8 acres, requiring 236 hours, or a grand total of 7,898 hours. In 1939 the planter had 588 more pounds of seed cotton to pick from every acre than he had in 1929.

Subtracting the total amount of man hours required to operate 100 acres of land in 1939 from the number of hours required to operate that same 100 acres in 1929, we have a difference of 1,406.2 hours less required to make the crop, or a difference of 15.1 percent. Assuming no change in population, this would be equal to about 10 working days per worker.

Each worker in the Delta who was growing over 6 acres of cotton in 1929 was growing less than 4 acres in 1939. The size of family farming these units averages a little better than 3½ persons. These changes have come about as a result of shift in acres and increased yields, together with some expansion in mechanized methods. Therefore tenants are producing about the same amount of cotton now as in 1929, with 10 days' less labor per worker. These same tenants are also enjoying a more varied diet and probably better health as a result of greater diversification of crops.

Cotton production in the Delta requires more labor than any other part of the Cotton Belt; the crop is cultivated from 6 to 14 times, or after every rain. It is hoed out from three to four times.

Diversification of crops is bringing into the Delta a livestock program which requires a great deal of labor. The amount of labor expended on livestock, fencing, housing, and pasture work cannot be estimated but probably represents a substantial part of the 15.1-percent loss in labor hours from 1929.

Labor Requirements as Affected by Mechanization.—Estimates made in 1939 indicate that Mississippi has only 5 tractors per 100 farmers as compared to Illinois with 63 tractors per 100 farms. About 5 percent of the plantations are completely mechanized in the Delta. Many plantations use tractor power for breaking and preparing land and for planting. A considerable number of plantations use a mechanized cultivation, although mule-drawn equipment is still preponderant throughout the Delta. There are only two cotton-growing operations susceptible to mechanizations: preparing and planting and cultivation. Theoretically, a labor saving on these two operations of about 14 man-hours per acres could be made through mechanization. In preparing and planting, 9.3 hours per acre are required for 1-row equipment, as compared with 4.9 man-hours for 4-row tractor operation. For cultivation, 13.2 man-hours would be required with 1-row equipment, as compared with 3.2 man-hours with 4-row tractor operation. Chopping is still done almost entirely by hand, although some few planters are now beginning to cross-cultivate the crops instead of chopping them out in the old way. There is some evidence to indicate that cross-cultivating of the crop is likely to result in a somewhat lower yield, although it is considerably less expensive and less labor-consuming.

Mechanical cotton choppers are now on the market, which are moderately priced, although they have been used in the Delta only in a very limited way. Such equipment is more likely to find ready acceptance in areas where grass is not so prevalent and persistent, since it is necessary to re-chop the cotton by hand where the mechanical operation is first made, in the Delta. These machines might be successfully used to block out the crop, but according to preliminary figures obtained by the Delta Experiment Station, there is likely to be no very large labor saving in the use of the mechanical chopper. These machines are made in single-row, horse-drawn types, as well as 2-row, tractor-drawn types. A one-row mechanical chopper will block out 1 acre of cotton in 0.7 of an hour, as compared with 12.7 hours' labor required on buckshot land to do the same job by hand. If subsequent hoeings are unnecessary, this would represent a tremendous saving. It is quite possible that some saving in the labor of chopping can be effected in particular cases by the use of the mechanical chopper.

If 4-row equipment is used in cultivating an acre of cotton, a saving of 10 hours per acre can be effected. Some of the units in the Delta that are completely mechanized today were probably mechanized in 1929. Some Delta planters are saving 10 man-hours per acre on cultivation by using 2-row or 4-row equipment.

Harvesting of cotton must be done by hand, just as it was twenty centuries ago. It requires the greatest single item of labor entering into the production of the crop. It takes 7 to 12 full-time days to pick 1 acre of cotton with yields of 400 pounds of lint, or more, per acre. Since weather at picking time may be unfavorable, 3½ acres of cotton requires approximately 30 days of steady labor for each worker. Counting out Saturday afternoons and Sundays, this would amount to more than 6 weeks of steady picking, granting that the weather was favorable for picking during that time. Otherwise, it may be extended over a much longer period and even find people picking cotton in December or January.

In recent years much has been heard in regard to the mechanical cotton picker. As yet, there are no machines on the market, and insofar as we know, there are none in use on Delta plantations or elsewhere. From the complex nature of them, they will undoubtedly be rather expensive. Operating costs for mechanical harvesters are undetermined. While in many cases the mechanical pickers will do a fairly good job of taking the cotton off the plant, the resulting seed cotton is usually one to three grades lower than hand-picked cotton. In the Delta, where long-staple varieties are grown, a lowering of more than two grades would mean a loss that could not be sustained.

The rank, vegetative growth of cotton plants, together with vines, grass, and weeds that grow in the field after the crop has been laid by, would indicate that mechanical harvesters will be successfully employed in other sections of the Cotton Belt before they are generally accepted in the Delta. Under ideal conditions, mechanical harvesters have done an excellent job of picking cotton from the plant late in the season after the leaves have fallen. The grade, however, of this cotton was too low. On moist, heavy land, which is a common thing in the fall, hand picking can be accomplished where it is not possible to use a machine. New inventions or processes that would clean the seed cotton and remove trash would do much, of course, to accelerate mechanical harvesting.

The Delta Experiment Station has tested all makes of mechanical harvesters in the past 6 or 8 years and feel that a great amount of work is yet to be done on both the cotton plant and the machines before a satisfactory solution to the problem has been achieved.

Summation of all factors.—We have shown briefly the shift in acreage from cotton to other crops in the Mississippi Delta and the resulting higher yields through more intensified methods of farming. Such mechanization as has taken place has greatly reduced the number of mules on that plantation. Indirectly, it may also have reduced the labor necessary to use that mule and to care for him. On the other hand, mechanization has created many new jobs in the way of maintenance and repairs of various types of farm equipment which will partially offset this loss. Plantations have added shops and employed people on a monthly basis at a substantial rate of pay to maintain the mechanical farm equipment. A question of importance, then, would be how much further is the Delta likely to mechanize its operations? It seems that the answer to this question would depend upon a number of different factors, including: (1) A continuance of the present soil-conservation program; (2) the price of farm commodities in relation to the price of farm machinery; (3) inertia; planters are not quick to make changes involving a large amount of money required for purchasing mechanical equipment and the sale of their mules and horse-drawn equipment without a full complement of mechanically trained labor; (4) investigations indicate that few, if any, people have changed to tractors to reduce labor, but that it has come about through necessity after losing labor or being unable to obtain sufficient farm labor; (5) the harvesting of cotton must still be done by hand, and a limiting factor of the amount of cotton that anyone can produce is very largely gaged by the amount of cotton that can be harvested. Many planters interviewed on this subject indicate that they do not expect to further mechanize their operations and that tractor and power equipment are required only for the heavier farm work—summer breaking and other conditions that mule-drawn equipment could not withstand.

The highest number of completely mechanized farms are in the lower Delta or backwater area, where in times of highwater livestock has to be moved out, as well as the people living on the land. This number, however, is very small compared with the Delta as a whole.

From experiments conducted on the Delta Experiment Station, in which various types of equipment from ½-row to 4-row units were used, it has been found that the ½-row equipment always results in a higher yield per acre than can be obtained from the 4-row equipment. Practical planters have discovered this and prefer to use the smaller unit of equipment, which represents a very small investment as compared to the larger motorized equipment. In such cases they choose to put their money into labor rather than into equipment. Probably the greatest resistance of all to further mechanization of Delta plantations lies in the fact that 56 percent of all cultivated land must be planted to crops other than cotton. In this case the operator can grow his own feed and produce his own workstock. He can grow his feed, and when prices are low avoid a large cash outlay for fuel, oil, and repairs. So long as this condition prevails there will not be the incentive to completely mechanize the plantations that there would have been under the old system of a single crop—cotton.

TESTIMONY OF HOMER C. McNAMARA—Resumed

Mr. Sparkman. And now suppose you digest it or give the high points of it.

Mr. McNamara. Mr. George Wolf, your chief field investigator, asked me to come before this committee and discuss briefly a number of things which, summed up, might reveal the trend in the labor requirements in the Delta agricultural section, and this I have tried to do. In studying the labor requirements or in making statements of the labor requirements affecting Delta agriculture, it seems to me that this subject should be considered under three heads: Labor requirements as affected by shift in acreage of the various crops grown and increased cotton yields in the past few years; secondly, the labor requirements as affected by mechanization; and, thirdly, an appraisal of the total effect of these two factors.

THE NEED FOR OUTSIDE LABOR FOR COTTON PICKING

In comparing the cotton acreage in the Delta section, between the years 1929 and 1939, in 1929, 76 out of every 100 acres of land were planted in cotton, and a 4-year average showed us to have an actual yield of 215 pounds of lint cotton per acre, while in 1939 we had only 44 out of every 100 acres planted in cotton, but we had increased the yields through intensified methods to where we now, in the past 4 years, show an average of 411 pounds of lint cotton per acre or 196 pounds more during the past 4 years than the 4-year average from 1929 to 1932. Therefore, in 1939 we have produced practically double the amount of lint cotton per acre that we grew in 1929. In other words, in 1939 with only 44 acres out of every 100, as compared with 76 acres out of every 100 in 1929, our planters have had to pick an additional 588 pounds of seed cotton from every acre. Or, putting it another way, in 1939 we are growing 32 acres less cotton out of every 100 acres on the plantation, and these 32 acres have been taken up with other crops. Now, these other crops have absorbed quite a lot of the labor that formerly went into cotton.

Mr. Sparkman. Right in that connection, if my calculation is correct, on the 44 acres now planted to cotton you are growing 18,084 pounds of lint, as compared with 16,340 pounds on the 76 acres planted to cotton in 1929?

Mr. McNamara. That is right. And that has taken up a lot of the slack right there as to the cotton lands.

We have increased our yields. Each worker in the Delta who was growing over 6 acres of cotton in 1929 was growing less than 4 acres in 1939. The size of family farming these units averages a little better than 3½ persons.

These changes have come about as a result of shift in acres and increase in yields, together with some expansion in mechanized methods. Therefore, tenants are producing about the same amount of cotton now as in 1929 with 10 days' less labor per worker.

I have all the figures in my written statement here that you gentlemen will have the opportunity to examine, but subtracting the total amount of man-hours required to operate 100 acres of land in 1939, as shown in my written statement, from the number of hours required to operate that same 100 acres in 1929, we have a difference of 1,406.2 hours less required to make the crop, or a difference of 15.1 percent.

Assuming no change in population, this would be equal to about 10 working days per worker. This tenant will work 10 less days to produce about the same amount of cotton plus these other crops than he did in 1929.

Mr. SPARKMAN. As you know, we are primarily interested in the migrant problem. Will you just tell us in what way and to what extent those changing conditions are contributing toward migration of farm labor?

Mr. MCNAMARA. I don't know that I can tell you about the effect these changes in the conditions are having on the migration of labor from the Delta. Possibly we are not as seriously affected by it as other areas, but I wouldn't venture an opinion. It would be a guess if I made it and that would do you no good. I presume that you gentlemen do not want guesses.

MECHANICAL IMPROVEMENTS IN COTTON RAISING

From the standpoint of mechanization, which Mr. Wolf asked me to discuss here, I would be glad to mention something in regard to the mechanical methods of chopping and picking cotton. The chopping and the picking of cotton require the great bulk of labor necessary for the cotton crop.

To make my statement very brief, a one-row method of cultivation will require 150 man-hours a year to be spent in the growing of a cotton crop, and with a four-row tractor equipment, it cuts the hours down to 135, and that is due to the fact that the preponderance of the labor in connection with the cotton crop is in the chopping and picking, particularly the picking.

I have discussed this rather in detail in my written statement.

Now, the mechanical cotton chopper may be something that you are interested in.

Mr. SPARKMAN. To what extent has that been developed?

Mr. MCNAMARA. The mechanical cotton chopper has been developed to the point where we have a fairly good mechanical chopper. It is not being used in the Delta but will probably find use in other areas where weeds and grass in the cotton rows are not so prevalent as they are in the rich, alluvial Delta soils and where it is necessary to have cotton choppers with hoes go in and dig out the grass and weeds. We can use a mechanical cotton chopper to block out the crop, but we have to follow it up, as I have stated, with hoes in order to get the grass and weeds out. A one-row mechanical chopper will block out an acre of cotton in seven-tenths of an hour as compared with 12.7 hours' labor required to do the same job by hand. If subsequent hoeings were unnecessary, this would represent a tremendous saving. It is quite possible that some saving in the labor of chopping can be effected in particular cases by the use of a mechanical chopper.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What about the mechanical picker? Have you experimented with that?

Mr. MCNAMARA. We have experimented for the last 7 or 8 years with every type of mechanical cotton harvester that has ever been brought forth. Today, there are no mechanical cotton pickers on the market and due to the complexity of these machines they are naturally very expensive. Nobody is offering a mechanical cotton picker for sale at this time, but when they do put them on the market, as I have stated, they will be rather expensive. There are mechanical cotton pickers that will pick about 90 percent or possibly 95 percent of the cotton from the plant, but it will leave say 5 percent of the cotton on the ground and 5 percent in the bolls. The grade of the lint cotton that is picked by the mechanical cotton picker is from one to three grades down, and in the Delta, where we specialize on staples, a loss in the grade in the staple cotton is much more severe than it is with the shorter staples. Cotton lint that is down one or two grades will cause such a loss that we could not afford to sustain it.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are we justified in drawing the conclusion from what you say that you do not regard the mechanized cotton choppers and pickers as a very great threat to farm labor?

Mr. McNAMARA. I do not. We do not have a picker yet that is on the market, and according to my opinion, we have a long ways to go from the standpoint of plant breeding and mechanical development in order to make the picker work successfully. Of course, if someone can develop a new method of removing trash, dirt and stems from the cotton that would make a staple satisfactory to the mills and to all concerned, then I think that the mechanical picker has more possibilities than it does at the present time. There is another thing to be considered, when fields are wet and soggy and muddy, the heavy mechanical equipment cannot operate in such fields. And in the Delta where the cotton is tall and rank and weeds and grass are very prevalent, I think the mechanical picker will find more use in other areas where the cotton is not so tall, much more quickly than it will in the Delta for the very practical reasons that I have just cited.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your ideas as to the lowered man-hours necessary in the production of a small acreage of cotton are that it is brought about through more intensive or more intensified farming, is that correct?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Getting a bigger yield per acre?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And the development of better breeds?

Mr. McNAMARA Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And that is the big thing that your station does or is engaged in doing?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes, sir; that is what we specialize in.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It is your idea that the better seed that you are producing down there is having a greater effect on farm labor, by the improved breeds and more intensified farming, than mechanization in the cotton fields?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes, sir; in the manner that we have handled the situation, we believe that the mechanization that has taken place in the Delta has not resulted in throwing people out of employment because we have had to set up a higher standard of wages to operate and to maintain this mechanical equipment that we have put into use.

Most plantations that have mechanical equipment now maintain a shop and they have these people employed the year round on a monthly basis to maintain this mechanical equipment. Another thing is that since the decrease in the cotton acreage and the increase in other acreage, other crops have been planted and livestock in that area has increased tremendously in the last 5 years, and just how much more employment people have gained in caring for this livestock and feeding it and building fences and houses and so on, I don't know, but it is appreciable.

Mr. SPARKMAN. It has given you a diversified crop system at least?

Mr. McNAMARA. Yes, sir; and it keeps people more nearly employed the year around than with just the one crop.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have much outgo of labor in your community, say from the Delta into the migrant class?

Mr. McNAMARA. That would be just a guess on my part, but I would say from what I know personally that the labor that had migrated from the Delta has gone to the large cities. What I do know about it is, I know that lots of them go to Memphis, St. Louis, Chicago, and Detroit. That is the path out of the Delta.

Mr. CURTIS. How much has your corn production increased in the last 5 years?

Mr. McNAMARA. Our corn production has not increased as much as we would like to see it, but we think we are on the threshold of increasing our corn production very greatly.

Mr. CURTIS. What amount have you increased your hog production?

Mr. McNAMARA. That would be another guess on my part, but I would say at least 100 percent.

Mr. CURTIS. I was very much interested in what you had to say about the increased production in spite of the fact that there had been a reduction of your acreage. In relation to the crop control program, do you feel that it would serve the general good to make the reductions not on an acreage basis but on a unit basis, such as a bushel of corn or a pound of cotton and so on.

Mr. McNAMARA. That is too deep for me. I am not sure which I would say, but here is what has happened. We did the practical thing in the Delta that folks would do anywhere else in the country. We had 76 acres out of every 100 in cotton in 1929, and they told us we could grow 44, and so, naturally, we put our cotton on our good land—cotton was our money crop, so we put it on our good land—and I think that practice has happened all over the United States in relation to the crop control regardless of whether it was corn or wheat or whatnot; I assume that you have the right to plant your best land to your money crop.

Mr. CURTIS. It has happened very markedly with corn. The Iowa people are planting fewer acres in corn and they are raising much more corn. My State of Nebraska is not as good a corn State, and we can't find enough corn to feed our chickens and pigs, and I wondered what you thought about the restrictions in the farm control plan to make it units instead of acres.

Mr. McNamara. Well, that is just the way it has worked out, and I think all the farmers all over the country have followed out that general idea that I have spoken of.

Mr. Sparkman. What if our cotton crop were reduced to nine million bales as suggested by Dr. Vance on yesterday—what would happen in your section?

Mr. McNamara. We would have trouble, and I would not like to predict what it would amount to. Cotton is and always has been our major cash crop, and when you take that away from the people, you will have trouble, and it would be a very serious thing indeed with us.

Mr. Sparkman. That is all.

The Chairman. Thank you very much, Mr. McNamara, and we will have your full statement inserted in the record.

The Chairman. All right, sir; we thank you.

(Thereupon, Mr. McNamara was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF H. L. MITCHELL, SECRETARY, SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS UNION, MEMPHIS, TENN.

Mr. Curtis. State your full name for the record, please.

Mr. Mitchell. H. L. Mitchell.

Mr. Curtis. And you represent the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union?

Mr. Mitchell. Yes, sir; I represent the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union.

Mr. Curtis. How many members do you have?

ORGANIZATION OF SOUTHERN TENANT FARMERS' UNION

Mr. Mitchell. We have approximately 40,000 members located in Arkansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Mississippi, and Tennessee.

Mr. Curtis. Speak a little louder so that the committee can hear you. When was your organization started?

Mr. Mitchell. In July of 1934.

Mr. Curtis. Is it a labor union or a farmers' union?

Mr. Mitchell. It is a kind of a cross between the two, I would say. Our work is largely of an educational nature among these groups of people who are badly in need of it.

Mr. Curtis. Are you affiliated with any other organization?

Mr. Mitchell. We are not at the present time affiliated with any other group. We are independent.

Mr. Curtis. And who is the president of your group?

Mr. Mitchell. Mr. J. R. Butler, formerly of Arkansas, is president of it. Our headquarters are located at Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. Curtis. Now, what type of people are in your organization? Please tell us where they are from and what these people do.

Mr. Mitchell. These people are sharecroppers, tenant farmers, and farm laborers. In the early days when we first started this organization, some 90 percent of the members were tenant farmers or sharecroppers. Today over 75 percent are day laborers; there has been a considerable change in the character of our membership.

Mr. Curtis. What brought about the formation of your organization; what were the reasons back of it?

Mr. Mitchell. It was largely due to the starting of the acreage-reduction program under the A. A. A. in 1934.

Mr. Curtis. Now, Mr. Mitchell, I have carefully read and reread your statement,[1] copies of which you have submitted to the committee, and it seems that you have some good suggestions and that you have given thought to your statement. What governmental activities do you feel there should be in order to relieve the situation in regard to the people that you represent?

Mr. Mitchell. I think that the most helpful thing to the people that our organization represents is the program of the Farm Security Administration, and I would like to see that program extended and developed along the lines of perhaps the establishment of labor homes in and near large agricultural and industrial areas where people could get some seasonal employment in either industry or agriculture.

Mr. Osmers. If I may interrupt at this point, what is a labor home, in your opinion?

Mr. Mitchell. The idea is a small house with perhaps a little tract of land where they could raise some subsistence food crop to supplement whatever income they could get.

Mr. Curtis. I notice in reading your paper that you state that the A. A. A. program, as it operated, has moved your people from the soil. Will you explain in detail just a little bit about that?

Mr. Mitchell. Originally the A. A. A. program was to provide benefits to all who are interested in the crops. The tendency has been to get away from sharecropping and tenant farming and to adopt a wage-labor system, particularly on the larger plantations in and near industrial centers or large centers of population.

Mr. Curtis. You are speaking of cotton plantations?

Mr. Mitchell. Yes, sir; in particular.

Mr. Curtis. Please be more specific. What features of the program have tended to eliminate sharecroppers or farm tenants and put it on a basis of the farm laborer working for wages and deprive them of their homes?

RECOMMENDATIONS

Mr. Mitchell. Increased mechanization has gone hand in hand with this new program. The Government payments, in some measure, have provided capital to buy the machinery and the machinery, of course, deprives a large number of these people of labor.

Mr. Curtis. Do you mean to say that the Government payments coming to a certain sized plantation so fit into the picture that it was to the financial advantage of the owner to do all of the farming and hire help rather than rent his land and share the Government payments? Is that what you meant?

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[1] See p. 626.

Mr. Mitchell. I think so. And I think, too, that it might be said on the part of the landowner that it is more economical and makes for efficiency to operate under a wage-labor system.

Mr. Curtis. I am sure that all of us connected with that program had no intention of working a hardship on the sharecroppers or the farm tenants—at least, that is my feeling. Do you have any specific recommendations to make about the administration of the farm program that would tend to eliminate that situation?

Mr. Mitchell. Particularly I think that the minimum wage law should be applied to all of these various crops that the Government is placing subsidies on. For instance, I don't think that a flat minimum wage would be applicable to all types of agricultural labor throughout the country, but I think that it would have to be on the basis of crops and regions; I think that hearings should be held on each crop or in each region and after such hearings that a rate of pay be determined in each area as a prerequisite for the sharing in these Government benefit payments.

Mr. Curtis. Is the purpose of that recommendation to make an inducement to rent the land to the tenants, or is it primarily to raise the wages, or both?

Mr. Mitchell. It might have the effect of doing either, but the entire trend is toward day labor, and I think it would raise the standards of living by providing a little higher wage. We heard one witness here during this hearing testify relative to wage rates, or with reference to rates of pay for agricultural workers, to the effect that in a certain locality in the South that they were paying 40 to 60 cents a hundred for picking cotton. In my particular territory the wage rates have been considerably higher. About the lowest that has been paid for cotton picking is 75 cents, with a dollar as the maximum rate.

Mr. Curtis. Now, you understand, of course, that this is an investigation on the migration question?

Mr. Mitchell. Yes, sir.

MOVEMENT FROM THE FARMS

Mr. Curtis. The movement from one State to another of destitute persons, and many of them are comparatively homeless and Stateless. Can you say something of your membership?

Mr. Mitchell. In addition to the 40,000 members that we have now, during the past 6 years, there have been over 100,000 enrollments in the organization, and many of them have migrated to other States—we have heard from them as far away as California. Another source of migration of our membership is from the farm to the town or the city where they live in the slum sections of the town. I know that is particularly true in the city of Memphis, Tenn., where there are some 30,000 former farm families who each year get a little work in the fields.

Mr. Curtis. Can we infer then that perhaps about 60,000 people who have at some time belonged to your organization are gone from your territory and at least that many of them have contributed to this problem of people wandering around trying to get located?

Mr. Mitchell. I think that is quite true. As I said in my statement, however, not 1 out of 10 that has been displaced has made it to California. Many of them are wandering up and down the highways in the South, particularly in the State of Texas; there is a large number there.

Mr. Curtis. I assure you that your full statement will be given full consideration and that it will be a valuable contribution to the committee.

Mr. Mitchell. I would like also to present a statement on behalf of Mr. John Rust, the inventor of the cotton-picking machine, who had intended to be at this hearing but who regrets that he is unable to attend. I would like to read it into the record, if I may.

Mr. Sparkman. How long is it?

Mr. Mitchell. It is a very short statement, about 3 pages.

Mr. Sparkman. You are going to furnish a copy of that statement to the reporter to be incorporated into the record, just as your written testimony, aren't you?

Mr. Mitchell. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. Do you think it is necessary to read it, under those circumstances?

Mr. Mitchell. Well, it is up to you gentlemen.

Mr. Sparkman. Is there any particular point that you want to get over?

Mr. Mitchell. I wanted to give you his viewpoint.

Mr. Sparkman. How long is it?

Mr. Mitchell. It is 3½ pages.

Mr. Sparkman. Without any discourtesy to you and to Mr. Rust, we would prefer to have your statement and his statement inserted in the record without the necessity of your reading them at this time, particularly in view of the fact that we are crowded for time to conclude this hearing today.

Mr. Mitchell. All right; I have attached Mr. Rust's written statement to my own written testimony.

Mr. Sparkman. And it will be incorporated in the record by the reporter.

(Whereupon Mr. Mitchell was excused.)

Statement By H. L. Mitchell, Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, Memphis, Tenn.

During the past 10 years there has been a pronounced trend toward mechanization of cotton farming throughout the Southern States. In the Delta region along the Mississippi River, where the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union was first organized and has operated for the past 6 years this south-wide trend has become the order of the day. This is reflected in the changing status of our members. In 1934, 90 percent of the members of this organization were either tenant farmers or sharecroppers, but by 1937, 60 percent of the members had become day laborers, and today over 75 percent are working for wages on the cotton plantations of eastern Arkansas, southeast Missouri, and in the Delta of Mississippi.

Tractors have displaced both men and mules. For every tractor put in use on a cotton plantation, 2 to 4 sharecropper families are displaced. Only a small portion of these dispossessed farmers have the means of transportation, the inclination, or the energy to take to the highways and head for the west coast. For 1 family that has migrated westward there are 10 who remain within a few miles of their former homes. They have moved into the crowded slums of the cities and towns, there to join the ranks of the unemployed seeking to get on Work Projects Administration. During the chopping and picking season some employment is found on the cotton plantations nearby. In centers such as the city of Memphis thousands of these workers are transported by truck to and from the fields daily during the rush season.

Some plantation owners, especially those in more remote areas where this abundant supply of labor is not available, have found it advisable to maintain a number of families on the land who work a small crop on the shares and are employed by the owner for wages when needed.

Another important factor making for displacement of farm labor is the restriction of cotton production under the Agricultural Adjustment Administration. Theoretically, the Agricultural Adjustment Administration was designed to operate in such a manner that the benefits of limiting the number of acres planted to cotton would be shared equally by sharecroppers and tenants as well as the owners of the land. However, it has had an opposite effect as far as farm labor is concerned. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration has encouraged the expansion of the holdings of land by corporations, absentee landlords, as well as individual operators. It has operated to throw out additional thousands of tenants and sharecroppers, and the Government subsidy payments have proved a means of enabling owners to purchase more tractors and other improved farm machinery.

Besides the migration of these displaced sharecroppers and tenants from the rural areas to the towns and cities of the South, there has been another decided trend away from the rich fertile lands to the poorer mountainous sections. In a special study made in early 1939 by Mr. Bruce Melvin of the Research Division of the Work Projects Administration, it was shown that an almost exact ratio of the decline in farm population in the coastal plains counties was accounted for in the increase in population in the mountain counties of western North Carolina. This is also true of the hill sections of Arkansas. People who formerly came down from the Ozarks to the eastern Arkansas Delta are finding it impossible to secure land upon which to make crops. They are going back to their former homes, there to make subsistence crops on worn-out lands supplementing their living with an occasional odd job or a shift on Work Projects Administration.

There are many other special areas in the Southeastern States where the displacement of farm labor has become particularly acute. In the black belt of Alabama landowners are going in for livestock raising, turning their former cotton fields into pasturage, all of which may be desirable as a means of conserving the natural resources but is working a terrific hardship on the man at the bottom of the agricultural ladder. On August 2, I received a letter from a man in a town in the Tennessee River Valley who wrote me as follows: "The tenant farmers here in Lauderdale County, Ala., want to organize a tenant-farmers' union. We are being tractored off the farm by the wholesale, and we can't do anything about it unless we are organized." Here again the operation of a Government program of great benefit to the Nation as a whole is working a hardship on the tenant farmers and sharecroppers. The Tennessee Valley Authority bought up thousands of acres of the richest farm land in the Tennessee Valley. The owners were well paid for their land but the people who worked it on the shares lost out. Recently I was talking to a young farm boy from this same area who told me he had been working on Work Projects Administration. He said he didn't like Work Projects Administration—that when he asked for a private job, even when one was available, he could not get it because employers didn't want men who had been working for Work Projects Administration if they could get others. He said he would like to farm even though he might make less money than on Work Projects Administration, but it was imposible to get land because some 20 men in his county owned all the land that the Tennessee Valley Authority didn't own and that they were farming it with tractors.

This boy had never had a regular job other than Work Projects Administration. He wanted to get a place where he could settle down and raise a family, but there was no place for him and there are thousands of others like him in the South who are rapidly becoming disillusioned with a democracy that offers no hope for the future. The most tragic figure in the South today is the displaced Negro sharecropper who often finds even relief jobs denied to him. In common with the poor white, he faces the same economic forces over which neither have any control and has the added disadvantage of belonging to a minority race subject to all of the disadvantages that have been his lot since he was given freedom without land upon which to earn a living.

The rural social structure is breaking up, a new system of agriculture is emerging, and there is no place on the land for hundreds of thousands of farmers. There are many dangers for all America here. Potentially this is a fertile breeding ground for a real fifth column. There have been attempts by followers of European dictators to gain a foothold in the rural South and to take advantage of a desperate economic situation to spread their ideas, and I would not discount this menace. There have been many indications in the past that our people will follow a native demagogue who promises a measure of security. The promise of making every man a king found a ready response a few years ago, for the real source of the power of Huey Long in Louisiana and throughout the South was among the insecure farm people.

In this time of world crisis the best defense that America can offer is a democracy that works. Here in the South, both whites and Negroes are disfranchised by the poll-tax laws, there are no means of political expression open to the vast majority. Elections are decided by a small minority of the citizens and, contrary to the commonly accepted belief, these poll-tax laws were not enacted just to prevent Negro domination. These laws were adopted long after the days of reconstruction, and were placed in the State constitutions as a means of stemming a tide of revolt at the ballot box by the poor white farmers who were finding expression of their hopes and desires in the Populist movement in the nineties.

In the present crisis another great danger lies in the suppression of civil liberties by local and State vigilante organizations or groups who may seize this moment to suppress any attempt to correct social injustices and thus aid the enemy by destroying the essentials of American democracy. The revival of the Ku Klux Klan as a weapon to fight labor organizations in certain sections is an indication of what may happen all over the South if intelligent people do not maintain a spirit of tolerance that will permit individual freedom of thought and action.

The greatest need in the South today is education of its citizens. The measure providing Federal aid for education is a step in the right direction and should be extended. The Southern Tenant Farmers' Union considers its organization primarily an educational force, and a new understanding of problems its members face in a changing world have been inculcated during its years of organization.

The program of the Farm Security Administration of rehabilitation of farm families is a ray of hope for the dispossessed. The model written contract, such as has been developed by this agency for the protection of its clients as well as the owners of land upon which they live, needs to be put in use by private individuals working and operating farm land throughout the South. Likewise, the right of self-organization among farm laborers ought to be protected just as this right is guaranteed industrial workers. We are witnessing the development of the factory farm in the South and ultimately the establishment of collective bargaining between farm operators and wage workers, with contractual relations entered into between representatives of the workers and employers, must come if we are to continue a free democracy.

Likewise, Congress should enact a measure providing for the payment of minimum wages as prerequisite for sharing in Government benefit payments under the crop-control measures. Such a minimum wage for agricultural labor should be based on a wage scale to be set in the various crops and regions after public hearings with representatives of owners and workers representing their views. Obviously, no flat rate of pay applicable to the entire country would be practical.

In reestablishing people on the land we have to recognize the economic factors and trends and realize that there is no permanent place in agriculture for hundreds of thousands of farm families who have been or who will be displaced by mechanization and restriction of crop production. The process of social readjustment cannot be overcome by a panacea, and the problem must be attacked on many fronts. There is great need in the South today for both urban and rural slum clearance. As a part of our national defense, a program for the construction of needed labor homes ought to be undertaken. Thousands of the displaced farm laborers could be put to work building their own homes in locations adjacent to agricultural, as well as industrial, centers where they might secure seasonal employment. Also, if small tracts of land were available to each family, subsistence crops could be raised to supplement income earned in factories or fields.

Hand in hand with such a construction program of labor homes, provision should be made for the development of small industries in rural towns and communities that would provide jobs for farm people and thus prevent the break-up of community life. There are many small industries for whose products there is a market that local, public-spirited citizens and cooperative associations could develop if capital was made available. In advocating the development of local industries I have no intention of supporting the subsidy of fly-by-night industry, such as has been undertaken in the State of Mississippi under that program of balancing agriculture with industry.

As a part of national defense, there should be more coordination of both Government and private agencies who are seeking in their various fields to aid in the solution of the pressing problems. The ultimate objective of all is the development of a sound social economy that will demonstrate effectiveness of American democracy over any form of dictatorship, native or foreign.

STATEMENT BY JOHN RUST, CO-INVENTOR OF THE COTTON PICKER

In the last few years there has been considerable comment in the press concerning the possibility of the cotton picker disrupting the southern economy. My brother and I feel that this danger has been overemphasized. Nevertheless, our position is that we are willing to do whatever we can within reason to help bridge the transition from the sharecropper system to mechanized cotton growing; and in fact we have set up a foundation for this purpose.

In view of the tremendous saving of machine harvesting over hand picking, especially in heavy-yield territory, it appears that the cotton grower will be compelled by economic pressure to go in for completely mechanized farming at the earliest opportunity if he is to withstand the competition from foreign growers and substitute fibers.

Even so, it seems that the addition of the cotton-picking machine to the present equipment for power farming will not have a sudden effect on the situation unless economic conditions should demand quick mechanization of cotton production as a part of the defense program. In that event the problem of unemployment would not be involved.

Aside from the possibility of such demands by our national-defense program, it probably would take a period of 10 to 15 years to more or less complete the transition to mechanized cotton growing. Tractors are already being sold in larger and larger quantities to cotton growers throughout the south, and we have found that our best prospects for cotton pickers are planters who have already tractorized their farms and abandoned the sharecropper system in favor of the wages system of farming. Therefore, it appears that the cotton picker, instead of upsetting the economy of the South, will simply fill in the gap of mechanized production which is already taking place on a wide scale.

It is generally known that power machinery, when applied to the farm, tends to eliminate the necessity for migratory labor as witnessed by the tractor and combine equipment in the wheat belt. Before the advent of the combine, the wheat harvest was one of the principle jobs looked forward to by the migratory workers. Now that is practically a thing of the past.

John Steinbeck, in his Grapes of Wrath, has given us a graphic picture of the tractor turning sharecroppers into migratory workers. After the sharecropper is tractored off the land, cotton picking will remain largely a job for migratory workers until the cotton harvester fills this mechanical gap as the combine did in the wheat fields. Wherever cotton is already being grown with day labor, the cotton picking machine will simply eliminate the necessity for additional (migratory) labor during the picking season.

Inventions are not designed primarily to create jobs, but to save labor. However, inventions as a whole have created more jobs than they destroyed. In the case of the cotton-picking machine, labor will be needed to manufacture, sell, service, and operate this new equipment. But it is not claimed that all the sharecroppers and day laborers who will eventually be replaced by the machine in the cotton fields will be absorbed in the manufacture and distribution of these machines.

There is the possibility of unemployed sharecroppers getting together in cooperatives and acquiring machinery to grow cotton on a cooperative basis as is already being done under supervision of the Farm Security Administration. However, if the tremendous national-defense program just now beginning absorbs as many men as anticipated, we will probably have a shortage of labor and the cotton picker will be needed more than ever before. We may soon be crying for these machines to harvest our cotton lest it waste in the fields. In view of this, we expect now that the cotton picker will be received by the entire Nation with enthusiasm rather than with misgivings about a possible economic disruption. It seems to me that it is just a matter of time until practically all the cotton grown on land suitable for tractor use will be mechanized the same as wheat and other basic crops.

Our machine will reduce the costs and make possible the production of cotton in greater abundance. The distribution of this abundance is something else. It is a part of the general condition of widespread poverty in the midst of plenty.

TESTIMONY OF BEN SNELL, MONTGOMERY, ALA.

Mr. Parsons. Will you state your name for the record?

Mr. Snell. Ben Snell.

Mr. Parsons. What is your address?

Mr. Snell. 107 Kansas Street, Montgomery, Ala.

Mr. Parsons. Where were you born?

Mr. Snell. Prattville, Ala.

Mr. Parsons. When?

Mr. Snell. 1894.

Mr. Parsons. How large a town is Prattville, Ala., and what is the nature of the industries there?

Mr. Snell. A town of around 2,500, cotton mill and textile work and Continental Gin Co.

Mr. Parsons. They bring the cotton in and it is ginned there and milled there, and do they then spin it there?

Mr. Snell. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Did you go to school in Prattville?

Mr. Snell. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Did you graduate from the eighth grade?

Mr. Snell. No, sir.

Mr. Parsons. When did you start to work?

Mr. Snell. When I was around 13 years old.

Mr. Parsons. About what grade were you in then?

Mr. Snell. I reached what you might call the fifth grade, I guess.

Mr. Parsons. Why did you go to work at that time?

Mr. Snell. We had a large family and my people had to have me work to help them along.

Mr. Parsons. And you have several brothers and sisters, do you?

Mr. Snell. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Are you married?

Mr. Snell. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Have you any children?

Mr. Snell. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. How many?

Mr. **Snell**. Six.

Mr. **Parsons**. Are they all living?

Mr. **Snell**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. How long did you work in the cotton mill?

Mr. **Snell**. Do you mean all told?

Mr. **Parsons**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Snell**. Around 28 to 30 years, I imagine.

Mr. **Parsons**. And you started when you were 13 years old?

Mr. **Snell**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. How much did you make when you first started working in the mill?

Mr. **Snell**. The first work I did in the mill I made 35 cents a day.

Mr. **Parsons**. When did you quit working in the mill?

Mr. **Snell**. Around 1935, I think.

Mr. **Parsons**. What were you making then per day?

Mr. **Snell**. Around $2.50.

Mr. **Parsons**. How many days' work in the year would you get at $2.50 per day?

Mr. **Snell**. Well, sometimes it varied; sometimes you would get about two-thirds time and sometimes you might not get that much.

Mr. **Parsons**. Was that two-thirds of a year?

Mr. **Snell**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. That was 8 months?

Mr. **Snell**. Something like that.

Mr. **Parsons**. And you had fairly good earnings if you worked that many months out of the year?

Mr. **Snell**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. Why did you quit the mill?

Mr. **Snell**. I got disabled.

Mr. **Parsons**. What kind of disability?

Mr. **Snell**. I had heart trouble and high blood pressure, and I believe that was in 1935.

Mr. **Parsons**. What did you do when you quit the mill?

Mr. **Snell**. When I quit the mill, I went on the R. F. C. when it first came in.

Mr. **Parsons**. On the what?

Mr. **Snell**. The mill had practically shut down, and I was doing just most any kind of work that I could get to do, and after I quit the mill and went to work on the R. F. C. when it came in, I went to work on it in Autauga County when it came in.

Mr. **Parsons**. Do you mean the R. F. C.?

Mr. **Snell**. Yes, sir; it was the R. F. C.; I think that is what they called it when it came in.

Mr. **Parsons**. Do you mean relief?

Mr. **Snell**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. What did they pay you?

Mr. **Snell**. Seventy-five cents a day.

Mr. **Parsons**. What were you required to do for that 75 cents a day?

Mr. Snell. We worked on the public roads, loaded dirt, and would dig ditches and do things such as that.

Mr. Parsons. Were those projects made up by the local, municipal, city, county, and State governments?

Mr. Snell. Yes, sir; I think they were, and I think that they would put up so much money and then the Federal Government would put up so much aid.

Mr. Parsons. You think that the local governments would put up a certain amount and the Federal Government would then put up so much aid?

Mr. Snell. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. How many days a week did you work?

Mr. Snell. Four.

Mr. Parsons. Four days per week?

Mr. Snell. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. How many hours per day did you work?

Mr. Snell. Eight hours, I think.

Mr. Parsons. 32 hours per week?

Mr. Snell. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. How long were you on relief?

Mr. Snell. I worked at that until the C. W. A. came in, about 1936, I imagine it was, and then I went to work on it then.

Mr. Parsons. At what wage?

Mr. Snell. At $9 a week.

Mr. Parsons. At $9 per week?

Mr. Snell. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. You were working out what relief checks or funds or groceries were given you?

Mr. Snell. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. You got this in cash or in kind?

Mr. Snell. We got it in cash to start with, and later on we would get grocery orders, and later, when the C. W. A. came in, that was cash.

Mr. Parsons. Which do you think is better for the relief clients over a long-range program, to pay him in cash or groceries or the things that he needs?

Mr. Snell. Well, it is according to the way that they spend it. If they would spend it rightly, the cash is better, but some people would not spend it rightly.

Mr. Parsons. You have a wife and several children. How are they getting along?

Mr. Snell. I am on relief now.

Mr. Parsons. You are on relief now?

Mr. Snell. Yes.

Mr. Parsons. Are any of the other members of your family working anywhere?

Mr. Snell. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. You said that you had several brothers and sisters, did you not?

Mr. Snell. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. What has been their record for work in the mills or upon relief, or in private employment; will you explain to the committee about that?

Mr. SNELL. I have one brother that is at present working in the cotton mill at Prattville, and he has worked there practically all the time when the mill runs; and I have another brother at Prattville who is at present working on the W. P. A., and I have two brothers living here that work on the W. P. A. as truck drivers.

Mr. PARSONS. So for other members of your family, including yourself, of the original family, four are on relief or on **W. P. A.**, and one on millwork?

Mr. SNELL. Yes.

Mr. PARSONS. Are they qualified to do any other work besides millwork or W. P. A. work?

Mr. SNELL. They can do carpenter work.

Mr. PARSONS. Carpenter work?

Mr. SNELL. Some of them can; and truck driving.

Mr. PARSONS. Has there been any building in the vicinity where you have lived or elsewhere?

Mr. SNELL. Not so much until recently.

Mr. PARSONS. I understand your wife has some brothers and sisters also. What are they doing at the present time?

Mr. SNELL. She has one brother that is working in the cotton mill at Wetumpka, Ala., and one brother working at the Selma Manufacturing Co. here—that is a cotton mill—and she has one brother on the W. P. A. here, and one brother in Ohio, and I don't know what he is doing up there in Ohio.

Mr. PARSONS. They have had very much the same experience that you have had?

Mr. SNELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. You are receiving direct relief?

Mr. SNELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. You are not working on the W. P. A.?

Mr. SNELL. No, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Are any of the direct members of your family working on the W. P. A., sons or daughters?

Mr. SNELL. Not of my immediate family; no, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. With the experience that you have had with the mill and your family, do you feel that other work besides millwork must be provided for your section of the country here if the population is to be retained or stabilized?

Mr. SNELL. Now, if the cotton mills could arrange to run full time, they could live all right, but the way they are running; no. Sometimes they pick up and run pretty well, and then they go on short time again, or shut down entirely, and you have to then go somewhere else or do something else. The mills would have to run regular for us to make a go of it.

Mr. PARSONS. You would have to have a considerable increase in the cotton consumption here in the United States to provide full-time work for the mill?

Mr. SNELL. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. That's all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. That's all. Thank you very much.

(Thereupon Mr. Snell was excused.)

Mr. Parsons. That is a typical family, in this territory, it seems to me, and I think it was valuable to get a rather complete picture of it.

TESTIMONY OF DR. F. D. PATTERSON, PRESIDENT, TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALABAMA

Mr. Osmers. Give your name to the reporter.

Professor Patterson. F. D. Patterson.

Mr. Osmers. You are head of the Tuskegee Institute?

Professor Patterson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. You have furnished us with copies of your statement, and would you mind reading that statement to the committee—it is short.

SOCIO-ECONOMIC ASPECTS OF NEGRO MIGRATION

Professor Patterson (reading). Assuming there is available to the committee all of the necessary data to indicate the numerical significance of Negro migration, I shall confine this brief statement to opinions bearing on some of the socio-economic aspects involved. These opinions are based in part on personal observation and in part on discussions of the subject appearing in the literature and the public press.

It may be said at the outset that Negro migration from rural to urban centers is in part related to those general causes which have seen this Nation change from a predominantly rural to predominantly urban one since 1880. In the South this movement on the part of the Negro people is closely tied up with those conditions which have made farming increasingly unpopular for the tenant and small operator. Some of those factors have been increased mechanization, loss of soil fertility, and loss of world markets for the South's main crop, cotton.

Those causes which have been specifically identifiable with Negro migration have been periodic invitations from the West and North to Negro laborers during times of shortage, and more recently, seasonal demands for migratory workers.

It seems safe to say that although this migration has gone in waves it has never completely stopped since the major movement which occurred in the decade between 1920–30.

Once Negroes were introduced into other sections in numbers, many have found advantages even on relief and W. P. A. to what they have experienced in the remote rural areas. Some of these advantages have appeared in a wider occupational spread, higher wages, superior educational facilities for their children, greater freedom to enjoy recreational facilities such as parks, playgrounds, and theaters; greater security through freedom from mob violence and justice in the courts. All of these factors have, in my opinion, figured in the constant movement from the South to other sections. Young men especially have been encouraged to migrate in search of employment and higher wages.

Obviously many have been disappointed during the last few years. This has caused a return of Negroes to the South in small numbers.

Any action which is taken to improve any or all of the above conditions will, in my opinion, decrease the desire to migrate out of the South. Many Negroes prefer to remain in the South if conditions under which they live will offer them increasingly the opportunity to live normal lives. Many no doubt do remain because of uncertainty as to what they may expect elsewhere. The tendency to strive constantly to better their lot should be met by attempts to provide the Negro people with these aspects of living which democracy has taught all to expect and which are guaranteed by the Constitution. The Negro, as Odum, of the University of North Carolina, puts it, desires to be treated as "normal, integral, and continuing" parts of the South. When so treated they shall become assets of great value.

Too many are now permitted to remain or become liabilities because of their ignorance, high death rates, and low productive capacity. These are the inevitable outcomes of few and inadequate educational facilities, poor housing, and insanitary environment. [Reading ends.]

Mr. Osmers. Thank you very much. This committee, as you possibly know, has been appointed by Congress to investigate the interstate migration of destitute citizens. Now, we have found that in the South, particularly, and to some extent in the North, the Negro migrant is a very important part of the problem, if not the most important part, in the eastern part of the United States. That brings us up to the quetsion of what to do with them, where they start, and whether they should go and where they should go, and I wonder if you had any remarks that you would care to make along those lines—where the Federal pressure should be put—should it be put at where they are originally or should we encourage migration?

Professor Patterson. I don't feel that it should be encouraged. I doubt very seriously if there can be an effective immediate remedy to stop it. I think that it may be slowed up by improving some of the things which I have tried to indicate that probably play an important positive role.

Mr. Osmers. Would you say that the basic reason for the Negro migration from the South to the North was economic?

Professor Patterson. Yes, sir; I would say it was economic.

Mr. Osmers. It has been noted in New York City, for example—this committee has just come from hearings there—that a considerable number of destitute Negroes in New York City are migrants.

Professor Patterson. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. Who have been looking for the gold-lined streets of the big city; and, of course, they didn't find them. In what way, in your opinion, could we best help, practically, these people to stay on the land where they are—through public assistance or instructions or through tenant-purchase programs, or what?

Professor Patterson. I think it is going to require a combination of efforts and certainly education is basic, and anything which makes the ladder an easy one to climb from tenancy to ownership and will safeguard these farmers, particularly while they are trying to become owners, will be very helpful.

SEVERITY OF HEALTH PROBLEM AMONG NEGROES

Mr. Osmers. Now, the health problem has been under discussion here today at some length. Do you have any views on the health problem particularly as it affects the Negro?

Professor Patterson. The health problem among Negroes is one of the most serious problems confronting them, involving the high death rate, particularly in tuberculosis. That, I think, can be explained in a number of ways. The general inadequacy of health programs as regards prevention, conditions of housing, state of nutrition, all of which are predisposing factors to disease, and inadequate incomes to afford medical services even when they are available.

Our own institution has the only hospital in a radius of some fifty-odd miles which is available to Negroes, and most of those who come to us are absolutely unable financially to afford the treatment which they are seriously in need of, and you can see that many of them do not come, many of them die in the rural areas without the benefit of physicians. Fully 90 percent of the Negro mothers are delivered in the rural areas by ignorant or untrained midwives so there is a very serious health aspect to the problem.

Mr. Osmers. Would you care to tell the committee anything about the work of the Tuskegee Institute, your institute, toward developing the kind of leadership that will help us?

TUSKEGEE'S WORK TO IMPROVE LIVING CONDITIONS

Professor Patterson. Of course, the philosophy of Tuskegee Institute through the years has been that of improving conditions particularly in the remote rural areas and among the little skilled classes, looking toward mass adjustments and for that reason our program has concentrated on the training of agricultural workers and home demonstration people in the economic field and in rural education, and in nurse training, with a large number of trades to integrate the graduate into the community.

Mr. Osmers. You say a large number of trades—do you mean mechanical?

Professor Patterson. Yes, sir; mechanical, manipulation trades largely, about 23 of them.

Mr. Osmers. I am interested in these mechanical and manipulations or manipulative trades—have they found employment and been productive?

Professor Patterson. We have had a rather varied experience. In the smaller areas and in the small towns they have been particularly successful, because frequently they have constituted the only skilled labor, like plumbers, and mechanics, and brick masons, in those communities. In the larger cities, while they have been successful in the main, they have had labor union competition or exclusion from certain unions that has made it difficult.

Mr. **Osmers.** But, in the metropolitan New York area, where I live, it is a rarity to find a Negro carrying a union card regardless of his attainments, and it is a situation that might need some attention from the Federal Government in their laws.

Professor **Patterson.** Yes, sir; it is very important.

Mr. **Osmers.** The entire Negro farm population of the South up to within very recent memory has depended upon King Cotton. Cotton has been the mainstay. Has your institution, or have you in your own travels, have you noticed any areas where diversification has been tried successfully? I believe that a great deal of time has been spent by your institution in developing some new uses for farm products?

Professor **Patterson.** Yes, sir. There have been no great results in that direction in the immediate area which we serve. I think it is very definitely true that a system like that advocated by the Farm Security Administration has grown rapidly in the last few years as a supplement to the cotton production, but cotton has still remained the main cash crop. Livestock raising is increasing in consideration, and there are some possibilities in that direction. How great they are, we don't know. It inevitably throws this section in competition with the other livestock-producing sections of the country.

Mr. **Osmers.** The cash income is still largely derived from cotton, but they are getting better subsistence through the use of other crops; is that right?

Professor **Patterson.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Osmers.** And through the introduction of livestock and other such things?

Professor **Patterson.** Yes, sir; I think so.

Mr. **Osmers.** If the Federal Government should cease a program of subsidizing the cotton growing in the United States, what would the effect of that be upon the economy of the South, in your opinion?

Professor **Patterson.** Well, I think it would possibly be disastrous if it were suddenly discontinued without the opportunity to develop a substitute which would require a period of years.

Mr. **Osmers.** I mention that because with unsettled world conditions as we have them today, the future of American cotton is very uncertain, and I think that we might all see a day when cotton will not be the mainstay in the South.

Professor **Patterson.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Osmers.** In which direction would you say that southern agriculture should go if cotton fails as the mainstay?

Professor **Patterson.** That is very difficult. I think that it could hardly expect to move in the direction of a one-crop substitute such as we have had in the case of cotton, but I think there is some hope with a number of such crops, along with some small, decentralized industries. I am thinking particularly of small slash-pine industries where you could have agriculture and industry working in rather close cooperation, and possibly starch mills, from the sweet potato, would be another type of thing, and then with some chemurgic development, by which I mean with the Farm Chermurgic Foundation's encouragement in the South.

Mr. OSMERS. You would say that the first effort should be directed to the keeping of the possible migrant near his original home or his original place of birth or where he has spent his life?

Professor PATTERSON. I think that is basic.

Mr. OSMERS. Before we go back we hope to have an opportunity to see your institution at Tuskegee and we are trying to arrange our schedule in that way.

Professor PATTERSON. Well, you are cordially invited.

Mr. CURTIS. In connection with your discussion of cotton, I am very much interested. It has been estimated that if we double the price of raw cotton that is used in this country that we would increase the cost of a shirt about 5 cents. If something could be worked out on the basis of domestic consumption of cotton that would double your price, would it be a good thing for the South?

Professor PATTERSON. Double the price to whom?

Mr. CURTIS. Double the price to the grower.

Professor PATTERSON. By that, you mean that it would cost him twice as much to put it on the market?

Mr. CURTIS. No; that we would pay him twice as much for it as he gets today.

Professor PATTERSON. I should think that it would be worth while.

Mr. CURTIS. But that price would be confined only to that portion of the cotton used in this country.

Professor PATTERSON. I think that is important because I don't believe we have anything like reached the peak of cotton consumption in this country. For instance, the cotton program announced or the program by which one cotton mattress is allowed for one rural family with 9 or 10 people, where as a matter of fact they need 10 such mattresses to properly equip their home, would indicate a large use to be in existence for cotton and I hope that some plan may be worked out to that end.

Mr. CURTIS. I think that I made the statement at this hearing that the average family in my district needs $500 of cotton goods and can't buy it.

Professor PATTERSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. What is your enrollment in the Tuskegee Institute?

Professor PATTERSON. Fourteen hundred is the college enrollment with 2,200 on the grounds.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you conduct any extension schools elsewhere in the South?

Mr. PATTERSON. We do not.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you bring these boys in from the various States and give them work there on your farm and so forth?

Professor PATTERSON. Yes, sir; as far as it will go.

Mr. PARSONS. And you have some who will pay tuition?

Professor PATTERSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you get any aid from the State of Alabama?

Professor PATTERSON. Yes, sir; we get a small appropriation from the State.

Mr. PARSONS. In your agricultural or economic work, do you get anything from the Federal Extension Service?

Professor **Patterson**. Yes, sir; we get a small appropriation from those sources.

Mr. **Parsons**. Do you have any endowments from any individuals or from foundations?

Professor **Patterson**. Our income comes chiefly from endowments and gifts.

Mr. **Parsons**. Are those gifts and endowments principally from colored people?

Professor **Patterson**. No, sir; they are not.

Mr. **Parsons**. What is your annual budget per year?

Professor **Patterson**. About a half million cash budget and about $900,000 gross.

Mr. **Parsons**. And the remainder of it is in the work budget?

Professor **Patterson**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Parsons**. I have never had the pleasure of going to your institution, but I hope someday I can go over there.

Professor **Patterson**. It is just 38 miles from here.

Mr. **Parsons**. That is all.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Where were you reared?

Professor **Patterson**. In Texas.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Where were you educated?

Professor **Patterson**. In Texas and Iowa and New York State.

Mr. **Sparkman**. You were not a student at Tuskegee?

Professor **Patterson**. No, sir.

Mr. **Sparkman**. I was interested in your discussion of the work at Tuskegee Institute. The country as a whole recognizes the fine program that it has carried on. I believe that it was the teaching of Booker T. Washington, wasn't it, that the Negro should seek to adjust himself to the best advantage, wherever he found himself?

Professor **Patterson**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Sparkman**. He used to say, "Let down your bucket where you are"?

Professor **Patterson**. Yes, sir. He was talking to the white people then.

Mr. **Sparkman**. That is what he told the Negroes, too.

Professor **Patterson**. He was speaking in terms of the supply of the Negro labor available in the South in his Atlanta Exposition address.

Mr. **Sparkman**. That's all I care to ask him. I think that he made a fine statement.

The **Chairman**. Thank you for your contribution. It is very fine indeed.

(Thereupon, Professor Patterson was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF MISS LOULA DUNN, COMMISSIONER OF PUBLIC WELFARE OF THE STATE OF ALABAMA

The **Chairman**. Commissioner of Public Welfare of the State of Alabama—is that your proper designation?

Miss **Dunn**. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have a written statement, and do you desire to read it or what are your wishes in the presentation of your testimony here today?

Miss DUNN. I should like to make certain comments on my written testimony and also comment on the previous testimony and then to read a few extracts from my statement and interrupt myself to comment, if I may, and I hope to be interrupted by the committee as I go along.

The CHAIRMAN. Suppose we say that you present your testimony here as you see fit.

Miss DUNN. I am going to direct what I have to say to the relief and the welfare aspects of this problem of migration because you have had witnesses and will have others who are far better prepared to discuss the economics of the situation than I.

Mr. PARSONS. Were you connected with the F. E. R. A. when it was first introduced into the State of Alabama when first brought here by the Federal Government?

Miss DUNN. Yes, sir. I particularly want to make the observation that it seems to me that there has been a case made for continued migration, the desirability and the advisability of it, but not necessarily for the migration of the destitute. If we are to have a balanced economy, it is well for us to think of our people moving on to other frontiers economically, but not necessarily that the migrant should be destitute when he moves. I remember that Dr. Vance particularly commented on the fact that migration is necessary for the South and if we are to migrate successfully, shall I say, so far as our participation in a national economy, greater efforts should be put into the training of those people who do migrate to other sections. [Reading:]

In considering the problem that is in this region, which I might say is in many ways different from the New York region from where you came from your last hearing, I should like to point out two factors which should be considered which contribute to the seriousness of the migratory problem in this region. First, the States included in this hearing had few public welfare agencies State-wide in scope before the Federal Emergency Relief Administration extended its activities into this area. Most of the public-welfare departments are new, and in a sense, a byproduct of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration.

The second factor to be considered, and an important one, is that these States fall into the low-income group. Four States—Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, and South Carolina—have the lowest per capita income in the United States (under $250), and the per capita income of the remaining five States included in this hearing along with other Southern States have the next lowest (between $250 [1] and $500).

When the program of the Works Progress Administration was initiated in 1935 to provide work for the able-bodied unemployed the responsibility for direct relief formerly granted through the Federal Emergency Relief Administration was returned to the States. This same year the Federal Social Security Act was passed providing grants-in-aid to States for particular categories, namely, Old-Age Assistance, Aid to the Blind, and Aid to Dependent Children. State departments of public welfare, created through the impetus of the Social Security Act, usually included legislation broad enough to permit the payment of relief to needy people who did not fall within these special federally matched categories. It is not surprising, however, that State and local expenditures have been confined largely to assistance matched by the Federal Government. It was only natural that these States first should direct their expenditures to those relief activities for which the Federal Government had agreed to pay a part of the cost. And that, I think, is very basic to any consideration of our migratory problem in this section.

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[1] Reprint from Survey of Current Business, April 1940, Income Payments Per Capita, 1938.

Together with the recent development of public-welfare services the low per capita income in this section of the country must be considered in measuring the progress that has been made in meeting the needs of our resident as well as nonresident population. A decade ago, it would be safe to say, none of the Southern States was putting as much as a million dollars of State and local funds into public outdoor relief. Today, State and local expenditures for public outdoor relief in most of the Southern States exceed the million dollar mark. For example, during the fiscal year 1938–39, Alabama spent for public-welfare purposes $4,087,356.50, of which $1,358,516.04 was Federal; $1,595,080.93, State; and $1,123,759.53, local. And there I should like to call attention to the difference in the story that Commissioner Adie told this committee and the one I must tell. His brief cited the fact that New York State spent $3,000,000 alone for the care of nonresidents. I say we spent practically that much for all types of relief. That does not mean that we are negligent of our poor as it might sound, but if I direct you again to the difference in the per capita wealth of the State of New York and the State of Alabama, I think that the deduction is evident there. New York per capita wealth runs over three and nearly four times that of Alabama but I do think in considering how far our low income State has gone and can go in meeting the problem of relief to nonsettled persons it is important to watch the difference in expenditures by the States in the various areas.

In spite of increased expenditures there is wide variance in the ability of States and localities to meet relief needs. This is further indicated in the inability of our Southern States to take advantage of the full amounts available to them from the Social Security Board for public assistance. I cite the following figures relative to the average payments for April 1940[2]: Alabama, total average monthly payment, $10.43; social-security groups, $10.47; general relief, $9.93; for the nine Southern States represented at this hearing, total monthly average grant of relief of $10.88; social-security groups, $11.26; general relief, $8.29; the United States as a whole, total monthly relief grant, $22.88; social-security groups, $21.84; and general relief, $24.45. You will note that for the nine States you are considering in this hearing the average grant of monthly relief is shown as approximately $10.88, whereas nationally the figure is $22.88, so you see it is just about double. Perhaps it is well for me to pause to cite the problem that low-income States would present in a consideration of this kind by recalling that when the Old Age Assistance Act was amended by Congress to make it possible for the Federal Government to match as much as $40 per month for those entitled to it, few States in the Union were able to take advantage of that increase from $30 to $40. So far as the South was concerned, the change was purely academic because we are now paying approximately $10 per aged person. More about that later.

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[2] Averages based on figures from Social Security Bulletin, June 1940.

It is not surprising that States have usually limited their assistance to legal residents since general relief has been considered a State and local responsibility.

Perhaps I should pause here to say that of this $4,000,000 that we spent last year in this State, less than 10 percent of it went to general relief other than our Federal assistance categories, and that 10 percent payable to both residents and nonresidents.

Mr. Osmers. Four hundred thousand dollars?

Miss Dunn. Yes, sir. Community sentiment limits expenditures of local funds for relief to nonresidents when its own residents are cared for inadequately. Consequently, most of our Southern States administer relief restricted primarily to people eligible for public assistance which is matched by the Federal Government. Even when general relief payments are made the nonresident is usually the last person aided. It should be pointed out that this spread of public-relief expenditures does not mean that welfare administrators do not recognize the need of the nonresident as well as the resident. Every tax dollar, however, can be spread only so far. Obviously, the spread of the first dollar is to the resident.

And again, I would like to reiterate that I do not think that you will find State welfare relief administrators resistant to nonresidents except as they are forced by the limitation of tax funds and the pressure of public sentiment to make the first expenditures to residents.

This limitation of expenditures means that a person who leaves his own place of residence often has no legal claim on the public for assistance if he becomes destitute. Naturally this presents a serious problem not only to the individual but also to the community where he finds himself.

We have had figures here at this hearing to show that the South has a large unsettled population and that it will possibly grow.

Facing the problem in a broad sense, we must recognize that in a free nation so long as there are differences in economic opportunity from one part of the country to another, people will continue to move in an effort to better themselves.

The courage and determined effort of the pioneer have always been considered the very essence of the American character. I would doubt that we are prepared now to say that since our physical frontiers are gone that these old virtues which made it impossible for an individual or a family to accept economic defeat passively, are no longer desirable. Rather, must we recognize that the traditional impulse to find economic opportunity, wherever it may exist, is still a force for progress in this country.

The tragedy of the situation is that persons who find their former sources of income gone, either because of the exhaustion of a natural resource, a shift in the market for a particular product, a change in the system of land tenure, a too rapid increase in the population, or whatever the reason may be, have either no place to turn or no intelligent direction in finding such opportunities as may exist. It is certainly to be hoped that out of the work of this committee there may come an understanding of the nature of the problem which will point the way to its solution. In the meantime, it seems to me that it is a step in the right direction that Congress has recognized, by the appointment of this committee the fact that there are many thousand families who have been forced by economic circumstances into the tragedy of aimless wandering on the road and many more whose present basis of livelihood is so precarious that they may at any time be forced to become wanderers. The existence of such a group of aimless wanderers is a menace not only to the future of the individuals, especially of the children living such a life, but to the health, labor standards, and social institutions of any stable community. The problem will only be remedied when there is a job for every able-bodied citizen and stable markets which will give the farmer a fair price for his products. When that time comes these problems will tend to solve themselves just as they did in a measure during that period when our undeveloped western lands absorbed those people whom the economy of the older areas could no longer support.

In the meantime, we are faced with an immediate problem of individual and community welfare. First, what measures can we take to reduce to a minimum the wandering of people without destination with all of its attendant evils of hunger, ill health, interrupted education, and social disorganization? Second, what measure can we take to relieve the need of those who have, despite such effort, been forced to leave their former homes? These are the two questions which people in the welfare field constantly ask themselves. Even though they recognize that the final answers rest with the economists, they believe, in this field as elsewhere. it is their responsibility to see that the burden of economic readjustment does not fall too heavily on innocent individuals who only ask a chance to make a living.

And there I would like to pause and emphasize a point. I do not believe that the average social worker thinks that he or she has the answer to the economic aspects of the problem, but I do believe that we should be and are committed to the necessity of seeing that the individual who is caught between the wheels of this changing economy does not suffer too seriously. I think that all through the testimony we have had * * * testimony to the inadequacy of opportunities, particularly from the witnesses who, through their own stories of moving from State to State, have made a better case than I could possibly make.

On the first point of discouraging the aimless migration of needy people, enormous strides have been made in the past several years. In 1931 and 1932 in many States a person who lost his job or his farm or his savings had nowhere to turn to keep his family from starvation except to beg charity from his neighbors. Rather than admit defeat many a proud American preferred to take to the road in the hope that somewhere a job might be found. In these recent years the States and the Federal Government have initiated programs of public employment, insurance against the hazards of unemployment and old-age dependency, loans, and other forms of aid to farmers, assistance to widows with young children and others who should not work, and some general public relief.

Young people coming of age in a time characterized by widespread unemployment have also found an outlet for their desire to make a place for themselves in the community through the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration programs, where formerly they were driven to the road by the boredom and frustration of dependence carried beyond the normal period of childhood. This further has served to reduce one of the largest groups of wanderers—the unattached young man.

Even though we can take pride in certain achievements there are still needy people in many States for whom no assistance is available and many others who, while they are receiving sufficient aid to prevent starvation, are far from the objective described in the terms of "decency and health." All forms of public assistance for the able-bodied should be temporary in nature, tiding over the individual until the opportunity for self-support is again available. If the job, the opportunity to farm, or other means of support is too long delayed, the individual either falls into a state of passive acceptance of an unsatisfactory world or sets out on the road in a last desperate effort to find that opportunity somewhere else.

Perhaps Alabama's experience with the transient bureau financed by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration in the early 1930's will serve as illustrative of some of the existing problems. In 1933 large numbers of migratory workers were concentrated around Muscle Shoals and the Wilson Dam area because of Government activities in that section of the State. Following an intensive survey the Alabama Transient Bureau was organized as a division of the Alabama Relief Administration.

In the order named the following divisions of the Alabama Transient Bureau were set up: Muscle Shoals, Birmingham, Mobile, Montgomery, and Fort Morgan. The average relief given to families cared for in these centers was $20 per month and $14 to lone persons.

Total transient cases registered August 1933 to November 1934	106, 069
Total individuals registered August 1933 to November 1934	121, 753

Analysis of registration

	Total cases	Total individuals
Federal transients:		
Lone individuals	81, 320	81, 320
Families	4, 531	14, 497
State transients:		
Lone individuals	18, 123	18, 123
Families	2, 095	7, 813
Total	106, 069	[1] 121, 753

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[1] Two Years of Federal Relief in Alabama, Alabama Relief Administration pp. 74–77 (Wetumpka: Wetumpka Printing Co.).

In September 1935 when the Federal Emergency Relief Administration discontinued its aid to transients, no public agency in the State was financially able to grant relief to nonresidents. In spite of the efforts of the newly created State and local departments of public welfare distressing situations arose in those sections where transient bureaus had been located. Since March 1938 the county departments of public welfare have been authorized by the State department to assist sick and disabled transients in need of assistance. Despite this authorization relatively little assistance has been given to those persons passing through the State during the last few years because there are many unmet needs of residents. In Alabama, general relief, financed by funds equally shared by State and local governments, is given to persons who do not fall within the Social Security categories under the classification of "Temporary aid and aid to handicapped." This relief is limited, however, and does not permit the granting of adequate aid either to residents or nonresidents.

Now, I should like to comment briefly on the fact that the chief migratory factors noted by the Department of Public Welfare of this State are economic with search for employment the prevailing cause of migration. Seasonal employment, particularly in farming and packing industries, contributes to migration between States and within States. There are numbers of agricultural workers attracted to southern counties in Alabama during the potato-packing season. As soon as employment is no longer available, these wanderers move on to other parts. Corresponding to this group, a number of Alabamians from the southeastern counties migrate into other States to work in the sugarcane fields or on truck and fruit farms.

The so-called extra hands who follow textile work represent a fairly large group of migrant workers. As a rule, these people travel in family groups from mill village to mill village seeking employment. I think we had an excellent illustration of that type of migrant problem yesterday. They typify the unskilled, poorly paid workers, and usually have low standards of living. Some of these families find employment, while others return to their place of residence or, all too often, to their place of former residence, after having made the rounds without finding work. Some of these families operate or work on small farms and migrate to the factory centers during the winter months, returning to the farm in the spring.

The "through transients," that is, those people passing through the State or county, are a significant factor in migration, in that they are kept on the move like a ball tossed from one to another ad infinitum, often without seeking or being given an opportunity to tell their story, much less to take root.

In a sense, transiency is a symptom of an economic problem far deeper and more fundamental than that of the migrant population. During this period of economic readjustment we are faced with the immediate problem of individual and community welfare.

I should like to pause to make this observation. I think one of our migrant problems in this State is those persons who do not migrate but who live in the economically stranded community, such as the mining or mill community where the source of employment is lost.

These families, until they are relocated or retrained, become subjects for continuous public relief or public work. I am convinced, in connection with the problem of destitute migrants, that it is important for this committee to consider those people who live in these isolated communities. I think of several in this State—one a mining community where practically the whole community is on public relief because the mine has been closed and the people know no other type of work. Sometimes I think the people who do not migrate are just as important to consider * * * as the migrants in channeling our economy so that it becomes more nearly balanced.

The lack of action by the Federal Government in providing a national framework of legal and financial assistance to unsettled persons is increasing the health and welfare problems as well as increasing the unsettled population.

A welfare program, which is going to act as a deterrent to transiency, must provide assistance for all who are actually in need and without other possible sources of support; must provide adequately for such persons so that they may live in the community on a basis of self-respect; and, above all, must be geared to programs of public employment, placement in private industry, and agricultural aid, so that these factors will lead surely and with a minimum of delay to economic self-support.

We are still far from achieving this objective and people are still leaving home in the belief that their opportunity lies elsewhere. Even in the ideal economy with a job for everyone, it may be assumed that there would be many persons who would find themselves in need of temporary assistance away from their places of legal residence. Persons going to a new job might need help in meeting transportation costs or living expenses until their first pay day, or they might fall ill, or a mother with small children might lose her husband and need help before she acquired legal residence, or a family of newcomers might find their breadwinner unemployed for unexpected reasons. In a highly mobile nation like ours we will always have at least a small transient relief problem. At the present time, during a period of economic readjustment, we have a serious one. We have undertaken steps to assist those who remain at home; it seems to me only fair that we should find some way to assist those who have had the misfortune to become destitute in a place where they have no claim on existing public-welfare programs.

The problem of transiency is national in scope and the responsibility for taking the initiative in establishing a pattern of relief grants to States should, in my judgment, be assumed by the Federal Government.

I do not believe the need of resident, as well as nonresident groups, can be met until the Federal Government first recognizes the need for general relief on a grants-in-aid basis to States. It would seem, therefore, that the Federal Government, through the Social Security Board, should grant funds to States for general relief in which nonresidents would be included. Those grants to the States should in no sense be thought of as a substitute for the Federal works programs but should serve to underpin them in order that they may be better utilized in meeting the needs of the truly "employable unemployed." I want very much to emphasize the fact that I am not proposing a general relief grants-in-aid program as a substitute for the works program. I feel very strongly about that.

These grants should further be on a variable matching basis to allow for differences in the ability of States to finance such programs with their participation based on standards of performance defined by the Federal Government. The importance of State and local administration in a transient program should be emphasized as past experience has indicated that a federally administered transient program tends to aggravate the segregation of these families and individuals and is not conducive to sound administration.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Miss Dunn, I am very much interested in that statement you made, that these grants should further be on a variable matching basis to allow for differences in the ability of the respective States to finance such programs with their participation based on standards of performance defined by the Federal Government. That is in keeping with the recommendation of the Social Security Board on two different occasions, isn't it?

Miss DUNN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And you have related the facts and circumstances that show that in the State of Alabama the $3,000,000 that you spend is probably a heavier burden upon the revenue of the State than a much larger amount would be on some of the States, have you not?

Miss DUNN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And even with that, you can't much more than touch the problem in this State.

Miss DUNN. Yes; I think that is very true.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe that you showed that you were paying out $10 and something per month.

Miss DUNN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And that a great many are entitled to it that you can't get anything to pay them with, isn't that right?

Miss DUNN. That is very true; yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I remember last year, or a year or so ago, that I made a survey in my own home county and I learned at that time that only about one out of three was getting anything, and those that were getting it at that time were getting $9.88.

Miss DUNN. That figure has remained pretty constant, that $10.

LOW PER CAPITA WEALTH

Mr. CURTIS. I have heard a number of witnesses refer to the per capita wealth of Alabama. Where does it rank in the order of the 48 States?

Miss DUNN. I think it is second lowest; it is right down with the four very lowest anyhow.

Mr. CURTIS. What are the four lowest?

Miss DUNN. Mississippi, Arkansas, South Carolina, and Alabama, I think.

Mr. CURTIS. Could you give us what the lowest 10 are?

Miss Dunn. I think the lowest 10 are these 9 that you are considering here plus one other, but I am not so sure which one that is. I have the map and will furnish it to you for the record if you like.

Mr. Sparkman. Do you think that it might be Nebraska?

Miss Dunn. I wouldn't say.

The Chairman. What is the average income in the first four States that you mentioned, the lowest four States—do you have that?

Miss Dunn. Yes; I do. It is under $250, I think—around $220. I can get it for you.

The Chairman. Per capita?

Miss Dunn. That is the per capita income.

Mr. Sparkman. $220; isn't it?

Miss Dunn. Yes, sir; it is under $250, but I don't seem to have the exact figures before me right now. I have it here somewhere in my figures. Shall I go on to residence now?

The Chairman. Yes, ma'am.

Miss Dunn. Which is equally as important.

The Chairman. Yes, ma'am.

RESIDENCE AND SETTLEMENT LAWS

Miss Dunn. There is need for national planning for more nearly uniform settlement laws and interstate agreements in the handling of nonresident cases. In my opinion, the Federal Government should also recognize that it has a logical responsibility for those persons who do not have a claim on the State or community where they are applying for assistance.

There is strong argument for the idea that States should have uniform requirements for acquiring or losing legal settlement so that no person could, as is not now the case, be without legal settlement in any State. Moreover, the period of time required for acquiring legal settlement might logically be limited in all States to a reasonable period, so that families who actually settled in a new community would be entitled to the benefits and obligations of citizenship.

Steps taken by the Federal Government to meet the immediate relief needs of unsettled workers should be accompanied by long-range planning. Special consideration should be given to areas in which whole communities are stranded.

In closing, I should like to stress again the importance of intelligent direction of available labor to places where opportunities exist. It seems to me that this becomes particularly important in this period when the defense program is resulting in new construction and the expansion of existing industrial plants to meet defense needs. Unless this is carefully controlled and directed, it may cause the worst type of transiency, the rush of hundreds of thousands of families to a new community or to a small established community which is wholly unprepared to meet the problem of a huge, surplus, destitute population. On the other hand, I would hope that the industrial development resulting from the defense program might absorb workers from those areas where there is unemployment and need. I believe it is more important than ever before that the Federal Government recognize its responsibility to the nonresident and that it take steps with the States to meet this responsibility as another line of defense against the hazards of unemployment which are destructive to our finest civilization.

I would like to illustrate with some information that has been coming to my desk. Alabama, as Congressman Sparkman knows, has some large defense projects getting under way. I have one report from Mobile where a big naval air base is being constructed, that literally hundreds of families are pouring in there primarily from States nearby but also from almost every State in the Union, because of the word that has gone out about the possible opportunity for employment. I understand the Army officers at the base and our employment service and our welfare office are very much concerned with the quick change that may result from unemployed people coming to these focal points that are so highly publicized as defense projects.

We have a similar one, but not so large, here at Montgomery where we have construction going on at Maxwell Field.

I have word from the W. P. A. administrator that during the last few weeks his requests have more than doubled from one State for W. P. A. workers coming into Alabama hoping that they may get work on these defense projects.

Mr. CURTIS. Is it your conclusion that Alabama is getting more than its part of the defense works?

Miss DUNN. No; I think not. I think Congressman Sparkman would never agree to that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. This is the logical place to put it.

Mr. CURTIS. It is rather lean up in our part of the country.

Miss DUNN. I draw my best illustration of the dangers which I have cited in my statement to you in the increase in transiency which I think is very fully inherent unless we can set up some adequate control. Perhaps one of the ways is that we may have larger opportunity for the improvement of our employment service. I think much of our transiency is created by lack of opportunity for direction to where the employment is which results in aimless wanderings.

The CHAIRMAN. That is a very fine contribution to the committee and is a very, very fine statement.

Mr. OSMERS. I was interested in the statement cited by Miss Dunn right here in Alabama where a mine closed down in a certain town and nearly everyone of that town went on relief, quite naturally. You did cite that instance?

Miss DUNN. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. It would appear to me that there was a place where there was a necessity for some directed migration. What is the future of the people in that ex-mining community?

Miss DUNN. I think unless they become directed migrants they become a liability to the taxpayer.

Mr. **Osmers**. I presume if nothing happens that they will stay there if you will continue to give them relief, and that they will stay there forever, and their descendants, too.

Miss **Dunn**. I wouldn't think that they could subsist comfortably on the $10 a month that we give them.

Mr. **Osmers**. They could subsist better on the $10 there than they can on nothing at some other place—except California and Florida, of course.

Miss **Dunn**. I think that we have two problems there; maybe they are all tied up together. I don't think that we need to expect too much initiative on the part of people who have lived to their middle years working at the one skill that they knew, and if that suddenly disappears, and maybe it has given them a very low means of livelihood at that—I don't believe that we will have much initiative on the part of the heads of those families to move out.

Mr. **Osmers**. We had a witness at the New York hearing; he was a miner and in about the same position as the miners in your Alabama community are, and he said that he didn't know anything but mining and that he wasn't going to raise any vegetables or anything else, but wait for mining to open up again. Is that the attitude of your people here?

Miss **Dunn**. I don't think that it is a conscious attitude, but I think it might be related to the story that one of the witnesses told yesterday where she had been a textile worker and said all she knew was textile work, and that she moved from place to place hunting that type of work. I don't think that they can honestly conceive of what else they can do for themselves, and I think that our Government, at some point, from the standpoint of a changed economy, should move into those communities and take the initiative with the people.

Mr. **Osmers**. What comes to your mind in connection with this mining community, since we have discussed it in some detail?

Miss **Dunn**. One thing might be a family study to see if a member of the family could be found who could be trained and placed in some other type of industry. I think that it is a very long and slow process and that the hope lies in the youth of the family.

Mr. **Osmers**. The roots are deep, no doubt.

Miss **Dunn**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Osmers**. In making a comparison of a grant-in-aid program and a work program, and I believe you expressed the opinion in your statement that you would very much oppose the substitution of a grant-in-aid program for a work program—is that correct?

Miss **Dunn**. Yes, sir. Maybe I should amplify that. I believe that the Federal Government must get into the business of matching general relief to both the resident and the nonresident who is not now cared for in any matching category undertaken by the Social Security Board. In other words, we have in this State something less than 10 percent of the people who are provided for with that $4,000,000 who fall into the group of people who need assistance as much as the 65-year-old person or the blind person, but they get less because the Federal Government is not sharing in the cost. And I believe further that if the Federal Government is to make a contribution to the nonresident migrant problem, it must first recognize that needs of residents have not been met. In doing that, I don't think the work program should be eliminated. I think that the Federal Government should go on with a Federal work program but in addition to everything else it is doing to aid people who are in need of Federal assistance, it should take one step more and set up a grants-in-aid plan to assist the States with those people who do not fall within the three categories now matched by the Social Security Board.

Mr. OSMERS. Not entirely. I thought that you made a general statement in respect to the local relief partly financed by Federal aid and a Federal works program.

Miss DUNN. No, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. I thought that you were expressing favor for one over the other.

The WITNESS. As you go from hearing to hearing, I expect that you will find a number of public-welfare people discussing this very point. It is something of a point under discussion in administering public relief—whether, if the Federal Government went into a matching arrangement for general relief, which would include relief for the nonresident, that matching would tend to destroy the work program.

Mr. OSMERS. And in many cases the Federal works programs are for the relief of the unemployed.

Miss DUNN. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Has it caused a great deal of competition between State and local relief and Federal relief? The Federal Government has offered the reliefer a better proposition in New Jersey than the State and the local government has been able to offer and the favored ones are on the Federal program and the unfortunate ones are on the State-administered and local program.

Miss DUNN. That situation is far from being true here. The State gives 10 percent to the general relief cases and only a few of those are employable. The only relief to the employable needy person in the South anywhere is through the work program whereas in New Jersey and New York and some of your States where you have had longer established public-relief agencies, you give relief to the employable needy person just as you do to the unemployable.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Miss DUNN. And that makes the difference. Here, there is no overlapping; there is a place in which a whole group of people here fall that get neither.

Mr. OSMERS. In the State of Alabama, you appropriate $4,000,000 a year for all of your relief and you participate in the payments of the Federal program?

Miss DUNN. In the public-assistance program.

Mr. OSMERS. And $400,000 of that goes to assist the communities with their general relief problem?

Miss DUNN. In this State the counties or the local government put up the first dollar to match public relief, whether old age or to aid the blind or to aid dependent children or other relief, and the State then puts up the second dollar to match the Federal Government. On general relief, the localities or communities and the State share equally.

Mr. OSMERS. What is the total amount of general relief in Alabama per year?

Miss DUNN. It is about $400,000.

Mr. OSMERS. That is the total local and State?

Miss DUNN. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. I know that my State spends something like $20,000,000 a year for general relief.

Miss DUNN. Yes; I know it does.

Mr. OSMERS. That is why they migrate.

Mr. PARSONS. I am interested in this discussion on that score. You were in charge during the old days of relief when the Federal Government was giving aid to the State of Alabama for direct relief needs?

Miss DUNN. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Now, how much were you spending at the peak of the load in Alabama for direct relief at that time?

Miss DUNN. I am sorry that I can't give you that figure, but it was a vast figure, larger than what we are spending today.

Mr. PARSONS. That includes the relief before the W. P. A. came along?

Miss DUNN. That is right.

Mr. PARSONS. I would like to have you comment, if you will, upon the reduction or the difference of the relief in Alabama under the F. E. R. A. and under the program as it is now constituted.

Miss DUNN. I am not sure that I get your point.

Mr. PARSONS. It is getting back to the original question that I asked you. You are spending $400,000 now for direct relief, county and State?

Miss DUNN. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. How does the amount per capita or per family compare now with what it was under the F. E. R. A. when the Federal Government was contributing maybe one-third or one-half of it?

Miss DUNN. I expect it would be one-third. I am reasonably sure it wouldn't be more than one-third. I think the only time that we have ever had a measure of our relief problem was when we did have F. E. R. A. spending money in the State here to meet as nearly as possible the total relief needs. And in 1935, we separated the programs, the W. P. A. taking the employables off, and the State being required to create a department of public welfare and to appropriate money to match Old Age, Blind, and Aid to Dependent Children, and then we began to find the old people and the blind and the dependent mothers, but since there has been so little general relief available to your residents and nonresidents, I do not believe that any figures that we have would give a true picture of those people who actually need the service.

Mr. PARSONS. In the State of Illinois, for the State, the Federal Government granted aid to the State for direct relief until July 1, 1936, and during that period the Federal Government contributed

$72,000,000 which was given away without 1 penny's return. The State of Illinois added to it enough to make $112,000,000 from April of 1933 to July 1, 1936. Up until July 1, 1940, the State has spent on its direct relief, $144,000,000, which makes a total of $256,000,000 that the State of Illinois has given away to its citizens in the form of direct relief without 1 penny return whatsoever. That is all that 12,000 miles of 18-foot highway has cost the State of Illinois.

Miss DUNN. Does that mean—that does not include your old age and blind and aid to dependent children?

Mr. PARSONS. Nor W. P. A.

Miss DUNN. It is purely general relief other than your public assistance categories?

Mr. PARSONS. Yes, sir. We have a sales tax in the State of Illinois, 3 percent, 1 cent of which goes to direct relief, which returns between 36 and 39 million dollars annually. Now, I think—of course, we have a population of approximately—I suspect in 1940 of 8,000,000, divided about half in the metropolitan area in Chicago in Cook County and the other half in the remaining portion of the State. I think that is entirely too much money to be given directly away. It should be put upon some kind of work program.

Miss DUNN. I don't know anything about the proportion of the people that are employable, but I think so far as this region is concerned, I would like to reiterate I do not believe that we can get anything like an adequate service to the migrant population until there is action by the Federal Government in dealing with the inadequacy of relief to residents. The figures I have cited illustrate similar situations in the other States in this region, as well as others that have low per capita income rates. Equally important with the financial side is the inequality of the residence laws. I think that one of the witnesses here yesterday made that very vivid. Some States have a requirement of several years' residence, some have 1 year and some have 2 years required to obtain residence. The difficulty generally is that one loses his residence in one place before he gains it in another. That all tends to force public-relief agencies, as well as people with adequate funds to finance them, to "shop around."

Mr. PARSONS. Would you repeal all settlement laws, or do you advocate a uniform law?

Miss DUNN. I would hope that we might work first toward uniformity.

Mr. PARSONS. What would be your suggestion as to the length of time for residence for citizenship from one State to another?

Miss DUNN. People that are smarter than I suggest a year as perhaps the best working basis for all of the States. I don't believe that I could argue against that.

Mr. PARSONS. One year is what it is in the State of Illinois.

Mr. CURTIS. I think that if there are smarter people that the committee should have their names so that we might call them as witnesses.

Miss DUNN. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Dunn, the more you study this migrant problem the more one comes to the conclusion that it is a very involved one. There is no single answer, is there?

Miss DUNN. I don't think so.

The CHAIRMAN. For instance, you mentioned about the settlement laws. You say a 1-year residence. Actually, what are you going to do if he is a migrant citizen before the expiration of 1 year?

Miss DUNN. I would put it on a gaining and losing basis. I think one of the horrors for our migrants today is that they may lose in one place before they gain their residence elsewhere, and as one of the witnesses pointed out yesterday, there is not any sign indicating the State line; they may not know when they are crossing a State line.

The CHAIRMAN. You are speaking now to the representatives of the Federal Government, as you well know, and as you are well informed. Could you tell us how the Congress could pass a law to tell the State of Alabama how long a time that certain persons should live within the State before they were settled? You don't think that we would have jurisdiction to do that, do you?

Miss DUNN. I don't think that it would be that simple, possibly, but I have seen some very satisfactory goings on between the Federal Government and the State.

Mr. OSMERS. That would be placed under the heading of the well-known "bait."

Miss DUNN. I figure that it would have to be the dollar.

Mr. OSMERS. I think that is demonstrated.

Miss DUNN. I don't think that the total answer would be uniform settlement. I think that it would have to be coupled with the dollar. I don't think the question will be settled until the National Government gets with the States on this migrant problem.

The CHAIRMAN. The proposition that you advance certainly could be covered like the Social Security Act.

Miss DUNN. I think so.

The CHAIRMAN. You can't stop migration here, but listening to your testimony here and others—always back of this migrant problem is the problem of unemployment, isn't that true?

Miss DUNN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't know of many Americans that want to pull up and leave their farms if they have jobs at home, do you?

Miss DUNN. No; I don't.

The CHAIRMAN. It is on the increase in this country and while we have 48 States belonging to 1 union, in a way, they are 48 nations and they have barriers, and those barriers exist today.

Mr. CURTIS. Miss Dunn, I have been impressed by the number of welfare workers and so-called social workers that appeared before our committee here and in New York, and I have been impressed by their social-mindedness and their spirit of uplift and that sort of thing, and I think that they are doing a fine piece of work, but do you feel that the social-worker profession has the answer to the basic problem of unemployment, economic conditions, and agriculture and so on that makes this migration necessary, or must they confine their activities to caring for the victims?

Miss DUNN. No; I think, Mr. Congressman, that they do not have the total answer. I tried to bring out in my brief that I think the answer generally rests with the economists, but I do think that the social workers, in dealing with the byproducts, shall we say, of an economically unadjusted nation, have the responsibility of bringing to the attention of the economists and committees like this, what the human equation is, in a situation like this.

Mr. CURTIS. Is there ever a time in a period of adjustment in our human experience that is not a period of human transition?

Miss DUNN. I wouldn't think so, but I listened to some of these agriculturists and economists yesterday and I was easy to persuade that this was an unusual period in which we are trying to adjust economically.

Mr. CURTIS. But hasn't it always been thus?

Miss DUNN. Yes; I think so, to a certain extent, but we are a growing nation; we don't have those western frontiers any longer; it is easier to find the physical frontiers.

Mr. CURTIS. You are not advocating the taking of Canada and Mexico, are you?

Miss DUNN. No; I am not.

Mr. OSMERS. I ask this question that I was about to put to you in the best of spirit. Tell me what the State of Alabama did with their public-assistance program before the P. W. A. and F. E. R. A. and the A. A. A. and the C. C. C. and the F. S. A. and the Social Security and the N. Y. A. and so on—how did they handle the problem before the alphabet was explored?

Miss DUNN. Well, Mr. Congressman, I don't suspect they handled it. The history of relief in this State, and I think a great many other States, will indicate too frequently we had almshouses, better known as our old poor farms, crowded with the most deplorable evidence of too long neglect in communities and families. I think we found our institutions more crowded with evidence of generations of failure to provide some of the types of care that you are speaking of. I think many of the people made a poor shift for themselves which we are gradually being willing to say is not conducive to producing the kind of people we need if we are to have the kind of Nation we should have.

Mr. OSMERS. You have referred to almhouses, the so-called poor farms we all know about, and we still operate them so far as I know all over the United States. Do they still operate in Alabama?

Miss DUNN. One of the best results, I think, of the Social Security Act in this State, and in a good many other States, has been the opportunity to close most of the almshouses. We have closed all but 11 in this State which has 67 counties; and the Social Security Act, affording the Federal money, has provided for these old people outside of these institutions. I believe that the American Public Welfare Association can furnish you some excellent figures to show that there is a very constructive movement going on over the country in closing the almshouses as a result of the Social Security Act.

Mr. OSMERS. We have not been able to close ours in New Jersey because the taxes are too high to keep some of these others going, but we are thinking of expanding them. But we have transferred some of the people to private dwellings rather than enlarge the almshouses.

Reference has been made so often, and I want to question some witness about it, and you have mentioned it—so I presume that I may just ask you the question—that there are no more new frontiers in America, and I would like to challenge that statement for the record and for the benefit of those who have been making the statement. I think that in the 40 years since the turn of the century, when the frontier has closed, we have developed the automobile industry, the motion-picture industry, the communications industry, and the airplane industry, one after the other; and so, for the sake of the record, I would like to say that that constitutes a new frontier in America, to my mind.

Miss DUNN. I should like to state that I think that you are right. I intended to make reference to the fact that there are no new physical frontiers.

Mr. PARSONS. Just right, in part only. It doesn't constitute a new frontier by any means.

Miss DUNN. I think that it gets involved in what is the definition of the word "frontier."

Mr. PARSONS. It opens up a great number of jobs in a certain line of industry, and that line of industry takes out other jobs, and a lot of other things that used to consume the surpluses that we raised upon the farm; so, after all, when it is all summed up, it does not constitute a very large portion of a frontier.

Mr. OSMERS. That is only true in a replacement industry, but in the instances of an entirely new industry, like the phonograph or the automobile or the radio, that is not so.

The CHAIRMAN. We thank you very much.

(Thereupon Miss Dunn was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a 5-minute recess.

(Short recess.)

TESTIMONY OF JOHN E. BRYAN, STATE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bryan, will you take the stand, please?

Mr. CURTIS. Please state your full name and your position for the record.

Mr. BRYAN. My name is John E. Bryan; I am State administrator of the National Youth Administration, Birmingham, Ala.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Bryan, are you a relative of the illustrious William Jennings Bryan, late of Nebraska?

Mr. BRYAN. No; not that I know of.

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. Bryan, I have carefully gone over your contribution to this committee, your discussion and your recommendations, in connection with the National Youth Administration program. It will be incorporated into our hearings, and in our Washington hearing we will also hear further testimony from the national office of the N. Y. A. in regard to this matter.

Now, as I understand your paper, you have pictured the migration in the South as it relates to you primarily and your recommendation deals with a continuation and expansion of the N. Y. A. as well as explaining some of the things it has accomplished.

Very briefly, will you summarize and give to the committee your conclusion and not to cover the entire paper?

Mr. BRYAN. Mr. Chairman, I have not only tried to approach this from the standpoint of the National Youth Administration but from the standpoint of rendering remedial work and remedial legislation for the youth in general, and I have attempted here to give as a summary, to first provide employment opportunities by the expansion and increase in the National Youth program and to create useful public-work jobs for the youth and provide adequate educational opportunities and so forth.

I believe in accordance with your suggestion that I will just give a summary and our recommendations for remedial legislation, and I ask that my whole paper be made a part of the record here, even though I do not take the time to read it.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be done.

(The statement and summary are as follows:)

OUTLINE OF INTERSTATE MIGRATION AS IT RELATES TO THE YOUTH OF THE SOUTHEASTERN REGION

I. EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF MIGRATION

A. Introduction:
  1. Geographical extent of Southeast.
  2. Population.
  3. Fundamental economy.
B. Exodus from Southeast:
  1. Ages of migrants.
  2. Related intrastate migration.
  3. Residual population.
C. Congestion in rural areas.
D. Probable trends:
  1. Mechanized farming.
  2. Increase in rate of migration.

II. CAUSES OF YOUTH MIGRATION IN SOUTHEAST

A. Increase in youth population in area.
B. Number of youth in Southeast certified and awaiting assignment on National Youth Administration out-of-school work program.
C. Reasons for lack of economic opportunities of rural youth:
  1. Eroded lands.
  2. Smallest per capita wealth and money wage.
  3. Highest birth rate.
  4. Most difficult tenancy situation.
D. Educational status of region:
  1. Lack of tax resources for education.
  2. Inadequate school facilities:
    (*a*) Lowest per capita expenditure.
    (*b*) Shortest school terms.
    (*c*) Inadequate vocational training.
    (*d*) Lack of library facilities.
E. Environment factors:
  (*a*) Poor housing.
  (*b*) Insufficient food and clothing.
  (*c*) Inadequate health facilities.
  (*d*) Lack of wholesome recreation.

III. NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION PROGRAM AS AN ALLEVIATION OF MIGRANT PROBLEM

A. Number of youth aided by Government work programs:
  1. Civilian Conservation Corps.
  2. National Youth Administration.
  3. Work Projects Administration.
B. Main objectives of National Youth Administration.
C. Major programs of National Youth Administration.
  1. Out-of-school work program:
    (*a*) Types of projects.
    (*b*) Related training.
    (*c*) Distribution of funds to Southeastern States.
  2. Student work program:
    (*a*) Earnings of students.
    (*b*) Administration of program.
    (*c*) Types of work projects.
    (*d*) Allocations to Southeastern States.
D. National Youth Administration reesident centers and rural youth.
E. Need for larger Government appropriations.

IV. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

A. Recapitulation of facts causing youth migration.
B. Proposals for remedial legislation.
  1. Deal with problem at source:
    (*a*) Provide employment opportunities.
      1. Expand and increase National Youth Administration programs.
      2. Create useful public-works jobs.
    (*b*) Provide adequate educational facilities:
      1. Extend Federal aid to schools.
      2. Extend Federal aid to libraries.
      3. Extend Federal aid for vocational training.
      4. Expand National Youth Administration student work program.
    (*c*) Provide adequate health facilities:
      1. Extend Federal aid to health programs.
      2. Expand Federal housing program to rural areas.
  2. Provide remedial legislation for unemployed migrants.

I. EXTENT AND CHARACTER OF MIGRATION

The southeastern region consists of the 11 States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia, comprising approximately a half million square miles, or 17.2 percent of the Nation's area. In this region at the time of the 1930 census lived 25,000,000 people, or 20.9 percent of the population of the United States. The population density of the Southeast is thus slightly greater than that of the country as a whole. Only the Northeast and the Middle States exceed the southeastern region while this region is from 2½ to 5 times as densely populated as the Southwest, the Far West, or the northwestern regions.

The Southeast is a rural region, the "most rural" region in the Nation. Nearly three-fourths of the people of this section live either on the farms or in towns and villages.[1] In 8 out of the 11 States under consideration more than 40 percent of the people live on the farms and in 5 of these more than 50 percent. Approximately one-half of the Nation's farm population is in the Southeast quarter of the United States.[2]

There are 170,508,000 acres in farms in this region, or 17.3 percent of the total farm acreage of the United States. Thus it can be seen that the population density on the farm land is nearly five times as great in this area as average for the other farming regions of the country.

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[1] 29.8 percent of the population of the southeastern region lived in urban or metropolitan areas in 1930. See Odum, H. W., Southern Regions, p. 68.

[2] Vance, R. P., The South's Place in the Nation, p. 5.

There are two distinct systems of agriculture in this section—the plantation and the small farm, with small-scale farming dominant and on the increase.

"Contrary to a widespread belief, the Southeast is, and has been a region of small farms," says Howard W. Odum.[3] "In 1930, 79.9 percent of all farms in the 11 Southeastern States were under 100 acres and in addition 12.9 percent were from 100 to 175 acres. * * * Only 0.9 percent were over 500 acres. No other region has such a large percentage of its farms in the smaller size groups. Furthermore, the number of farms under 100 acres has shown a constant increase since 1900, a condition found in no other section of the country except the far West."

Yet the importance of the plantation system must not be underestimated. Census figures giving the size of farms are likely to be misleading unless it is understood that contiguous tracts operated by a given number of tenants (i. e., plantations) are reported as that number of farms and not as one farm. Large farms, as reported in the census figures, and as discussed by Odum in the passage quoted above, are likely to be wage-labor-operated farms rather than tenant farms. The large farms mentioned by Odum do not include the tenant-operated plantations.

During the first 30 years of the century nearly 4,000,000 persons have migrated from the Southeast to other regions of the United States, while during the same period about 400,000 have come into the Southeast. The exodus has been so large and so constant as seriously to dislocate the economy of the region.

In addition to the exodus from the southeastern States as a whole there has been a large and related movement of population from the farms to the cities within the region. This rural-to-urban migration is part and parcel of the problem of interstate migration since the rural population provides the ultimate source of the interstate migrants. The southern cities absorb but a fraction of those who leave the farms. The greater number pass on to other sections of the country. To consider the matter of interstate migration in any fundamental way it is, therefore, necessary to examine the total migration from the southeastern rural areas, and the causes of this movement.

According to Dr. Odum,[4] "The Southeast, especially parts of its rural districts, has perhaps the heaviest rates of natural increase of any section of the country. * * * This great excess (of population) has been produced in an agricultural economy which barely supported its present numbers, with the result that as the young people reach maturity they go to the cities and to other sections of the country. The facts are that of the native-born population of the United States in 1930, 28,700,000 were born in the Southeast, of whom 24,100,000 were born in rural districts and 4,600,000 in cities. Since only about 17,500,000 of these southeastern rural-born live in the area of their birth, it is evident that over 6,500,000 have moved elsewhere. Of these, 3,800,000 have left the section entirely, while 2,900,000 have moved to southern cities. On the other hand, 400,000 have come into the region from elsewhere, still leaving a loss of 3,400,000. Thus the rural districts of the Southeast have exported about a fourth of their natural population, have continued their own growth and added much to the growth of southern cities, and have sent about 3,500,000 to other regions."

The extent of the migration may perhaps best be visualized by an examination of the age distribution of the residual population. According to Dr. Carl C. Taylor:[5] "The South has more than its share of young persons, slightly less than its share of old persons, and considerably less than its share of persons in middle-age groups. In the Nation as a whole, slightly less than 3 out of each 10 persons are under 20 and in the South more than 4 out of each 10 are in this age group."

Taylor gives "Migration of young adults" as the first factor in producing this relative shortage of adults of productive age.

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[3] Op. cit., p. 381.

[4] Op. cit., p. 461.

[5] See Population Changes in Southern States in the Agricultural Situation, U. S. Department of Agriculture, April 1, 1937, p. 17.

According to the 1930 census for the United States as a whole, 29.4 percent of the people were between the ages of 25 and 45, but in the Southeast only 25.7 percent were within these age limits, that is in their most productive years. On the other hand, 55.5 percent of the 25,345,000 people of this region were below the age of 25; the corresponding figure for the rest of the country is 47.7 percent.

Among the 25,000,000 population of the southeastern region there are nearly 2,000,000 more youth than there would be among the same number of persons taken at random from the country as a whole, and there are nearly 2,000,000 fewer adults.

A comparison of the proportionate population by age groups (see chart below), for the region and the Nation reveals that the ages during which the principal migration takes place corresponds roughly to the ages served by the National Youth Administration.

Population by age groups, 1930 census

Ages	Percent		
	United States	Southeast	Difference
0 to 5	9.3	11.2	+1.9
5 to 9	10.3	12.3	+2.0
10 to 14	9.8	11.6	+1.8
15 to 19	9.4	10.9	+1.5
20 to 24	8.9	9.3	+.6
25 to 29	8.0	7.6	−.4
30 to 34	7.4	6.4	−1.0
35 to 44	14.0	11.7	−2.3
45 to 54	10.0	9.2	−.8
55 to 64	6.8	5.5	−1.3
65 to 74	3.8	2.8	−1.0
75 and up	1.6	1.3	−.3

The long-term aspects of interstate migration, characteristic of the Southeast, may thus be described as a continuous major exodus of youth and young adults from the farms.

The foregoing data are based on the 1930 and previous census figures. Various sources of information show that these long-term trends were temporarily upset during the first 3 or 4 years of the world economic crisis. From a recent authoritative source[6] we learn that—

"In recent years unemployment in cities has led to smaller migrations from country districts and this has caused congestion in rural areas. If this continues, our rural families will probably face a still more marked decline in standard of living. In the first years of the depression the normal movement from farms to cities was reversed; since 1933, however, there has been movement from farms to cities, but in only half the volume of the twenties. This decreased migration has meant an increase of farm population of nearly 2,000,000 since 1930. A large part of the increase consists of young people just entering the labor market who formerly went to cities."

But for the Southeast even during 1932 when there occurred a net migration from the cities to the farms for the country as a whole, it is doubtful if outward migration from the Southeast wholly ceased. At any rate, according to Dr. Taylor,[7] most areas of the Southeastern States showed net outward migrations for the 5-year period 1930–35.

This persistent outward migration is likely to continue, and there are factors which will probably result in an intensification of the conditions producing migration. Noteworthy among these is the impending commercial introduction of the cotton-picking machine.

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[6] Preliminary Statement on Economic Resources of Families and Communities, prepared for the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, January 1940.

[7] Taylor, Carl C., Wheeler, Helen W. ,and Kirkpatrick, E. L., Disadvantaged Classes in American Agriculture, fig. 23, p. 81.

Mechanical cotton picking is the key to mechanized cotton culture. The picking operation is the "bottleneck" of the process of raising and marketing cotton. Without the mechanical picker, cotton farming resisted the introduction of all machinery because the whole amount of labor necessary to pick the cotton by hand is more than enough to perform every other operation without machinery. Once the process of picking is mechanized on a commercial scale, there is likely to occur a widespread introduction of power farming. Such an eventuality will tremendously increase unemployment and intensify the pressure-producing migration. This effect is likely to be even more pronounced in those cotton areas not adaptable to the introduction of the improved means of production. The effect of mechanized production will be to reduce the value and the price of a bale of cotton, and it will transform productive land into marginal land, and marginal land into nonproductive land so far as cotton farming is concerned even if the cotton-picking machine is nowhere in the vicinity. In such areas there will be an absolute loss of employment opportunities, not in any way compensated for by employment on mechanized farms.

There appear to be no factors tending to reduce migration. With all of the old factors still operative and with new, large-scale factors in the offing, migration of youth from the southeastern region, especially from the agricultural areas, is likely to continue at an increasing rate except insofar as this committee and the Congress meet the issue.

II. CAUSES OF YOUTH MIGRATION IN THE SOUTHEAST

In order to understand the reasons necessitating the large-scale migration of youth and young adults from the southeastern region, it is essential that we examine the total environment in which these youth live and see economic and social stability. The National Youth Administration has been conscious of the inadequacy of these young people's surroundings and with the limited funds at its disposal has sought to improve the conditions of those rural boys and girls on N. Y. A. projects by helping them become more self-sufficient, and better equipped to meet the realities of work, learning, and leisure time.[1]

There are more than 3,000,000 young people in the rural areas of the Southeast, and their number is rising. The youth population in 1935 was roughly 13 percent more than in 1930. A continued growth in the number is expected until in the period from 1942 to 1944 there will be more youth than at any other time in our history.[8] This increase results in added pressure on the land on which rural youth must depend for a living.

In the Southern States in 1930, Negro youth formed a considerable part of both farm and nonfarm rural youth population. In Arkansas, Mississippi, and South Carolina Negroes formed more than 50 percent of all farm youth; in Georgia and Louisiana, more than 40 percent.[9]

While the crisis in the large industrial centers in the period from 1930–35 reversed the trend of migration toward the farms in the geographical areas surrounding the urban centers, this reversal in trend was not in evidence in the South. Although the stream of migration diminished in these years, it continued in the same direction, that is, to the towns. Important to note here is that of the net migration of 200,000 farm youth to the urban centers from 1930–34, the South furnished roughly half this number. The main tendency in the South, however, in these years, was a "piling-up" of youth in areas remote from industrial centers and in those rural sections where the land is poorest.

If these youths could make satisfactory adjustments in their home communities, rural life stands to gain by their failure to migrate. In most of our rural territory, however, economic opportunity for youth is decidedly limited and in many cases is almost entirely lacking. This fact was recognized by the President's Committee on Farm Tenancy in its report submitted to the President in February 1937. The Committee reported in part:

"The accumulation on farms of farmers' sons lacking other opportunities does not take place everywhere in equal volume. It tends to be most rapid in the poor farming areas. These boys generally lack the capital necessary to acquire good farms as owners, and are in a poor position to become tenants in good areas in competition with young men from these areas who have more experience and better connections in the community. Sons of farmers in poor areas, in general, have less opportunity to obtain educational preparation for skilled trades and professions than those in the more productive areas. Hence their range of opportunities in nonagricultural pursuits tends to be more limited. These factors all tend to cause the accumulation of farmers and farm labor on poor land, especially when opportunities for youth in nonfarm occupations are scarce."

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[1] Melvin, Bruce L. and Smith, E. N., Rural Youth: Their Situation and Prospects, W. P. A. Research Monograph XV, p. 3.

[8] Ibid., p. 12.

[9] Ibid., p. 17.

In 1936, Walter S. Newman, State Youth Administrator in Virginia, wrote a letter in which he said:

"A small percentage of the boys and girls graduating or leaving school during the depression were able to go to college. Most of them have stayed at home on the farms and in the villages. Many tried diligently to secure employment, but of course only a few were successful.

"While conditions in rural Virginia look a little brighter now, quite a number of farm youth have been dammed up on the farms with nothing to do. The chances of a young man starting out on his own on a farm during the past few years have been very limited." [10]

The following estimated figures on the number of youth already certified as eligible and now awaiting assignment on the N. Y. A. out-of-school work program, although including urban as well as rural areas, gives some idea of the present proportions of this problem:

State	Number of youth working June 1940	Estimated number of youth awaiting assignment August 1940
Arkansas	4, 548	11, 370
Alabama	6, 028	9, 946
Florida	5, 328	13, 320
Georgia	8, 962	22, 405
Kentucky	5, 447	13, 617
Louisiana	5, 787	14, 467
Mississippi	6, 122	15, 305
North Carolina	8, 721	21, 802
South Carolina	4, 173	10, 432
Tennessee	7, 888	19, 720
Virginia	6, 271	15, 677
Total	69, 275	168, 061

One of the reasons for the lack of economic opportunities for rural youth lies in the fact that:

"Southern regions have 61 percent of the country's eroded lands—lands which lose annually an estimated 20,000,000 tons of potash, nitrogen, and phosphoric acid. The drain of submarginal lands upon the region's economy is shown by the fact that it uses annually some 15,500,000 tons of commercial fertilizer at a cost of $161,000,000. The rest of the Nation uses only about 2,500,000 tons.[11]
In addition, the present per capita wealth of this region is the smallest, its money wage the lowest, its birth rate the highest, and its tenancy situation the most difficult in the United States. Before the depression over half of the farms were operated by tenants, one-fifth of whom owned neither animals nor implements, and fertilizer bills took 41 cents out of every dollar spent on southern farms.[12] The whole situation grew worse during the depression. Security on the land—the ultimate hope for the rural farm youth—is thus slowly disappearing.

In 1934, two-thirds of the whites and 58 percent of the Negroes were displaced from their farms in this region. Tenancy likewise increased in this area. Co-incident with this development, the year 1935 showed a drop in the number of hired workers and an increase in the number of unpaid family workers. Since the largest single group in both these categories comes within the 15- to 24-year age limits, it is apparent that rural youth's opportunity for renumerative employment is diminishing and that dependence upon the family income is increasing. Mention must be made also of the growth in corporation farming and the increased use of mechanization on farms, both of which result in technological unemployment among the rural youth.

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[10] Quoted by Melvin, Bruce L., and Olin, Grace E., in Migration of Rural High School Graduates, School Review, vol. 46, pp. 270–287.

[11] Vance, R. P., op. cit., p. 9.

[12] See Milton, George F., The South Do Move, Yale Review, vol. XI, p. 139.

According to the National Emergency Council's report on economic conditions in the South, of 3,000,000 youth in the Southeast, one-half million take an older male's place on the farm, one-half million are in school, one-quarter million are cared for by the increase in subsistence farms. The other mililon and three-quarters are "surplus" youth who can find no jobs either on the farms or elsewhere.

This condition must be correlated with the low educational status of the area, the lowest in total current expenses per pupil and in the average number of days in the school session. As a result, in the South Atlantic States over 8 percent of the rural farm youth between 15 and 24 are illiterate.[13] A special study in 11 Southern States in 1930 showed an average of $44.31 was spent for each white pupil enrolled in elementary and secondary schools and $12.57 for each Negro pupil. The average annual expenditure per pupil in all schools of the United States in 1930 was $86.70.[14]

Because of the poverty of its people, the many local political subdivisions of the South cannot provide the schools and other public services necessary in a civilized community. The South must educate one-third of the Nation's children with one-sixth of the Nation's school revenues. In addition, she suffers the loss of a large part of the investment in these youth since this region has had to bear the entire cost of rearing and educating youth who then migrated to other sections at the time when their productive life was just commencing. The newscomers to the Southeast in no way balanced this loss. The Southern States almost without exception spend a greater proportion of their tax resources on education than the richer States, so that it is not indifference but lack of income that is responsible for the deficiencies of our school system. For example, in order for Mississippi to attain the national average in expenditures for education, her school children would require 99.3 percent of the present tax moneys of the State.[15]

The schooling available for southern rural young people is often unsatisfactory in quality as well as in quantity. Some rural schools offer vocational courses, but usually only in agriculture and homemaking—though half the students must get jobs in industry if they are to work at all.

The fact that the South is the source of a considerable part of the rest of the Nation's population makes the South's difficulty in providing school facilities a national problem since, as Carl Taylor points out—

"The physical and mental vitality or lack of vitality as the case may be, of southern culture goes steadily into every rural and almost every urban center of the Nation. The standard of living of the southern working population, whether factory, mill, or farm, competes with the standard of living of working people everywhere in the Nation." [16]

The problem of the migration of youth thus becomes a national problem as well as a State one, for—

"In a society characterized by a high degree of mobility of population, no community which is properly concerned with its own well-being and safety can be indifferent to the education of youth in every other community." [17]

Through the United States has the highest proportion of doctors of any country in the world, about 1 out of every 865 people, youth in millions of families never have adequate medical care. In the Southern States, including Mississippi, South Carolina, Alabama, and Arkansas, there is only one doctor for every 1,300 persons.[18] Many rural areas of the Southeast are most inadequately provided with doctor, dentist, and nurse; some are practically without access to their services.

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[13] Melvin, Bruce R., and Smith, E. N., op. cit., p. 48.
[14] Youth Arsenal of Facts, Labor Research Association, p. 39.
[15] Vance, R. P., op. cit.
[16] Op. cit., p. 19.
[17] Punke, H. H., The School Review, March 1, 1936, p. 526.
[18] Youth Arsenal of Facts, pp. 56–57.

Deficiencies in individual medical care in these rural sections and small communities are paralleled by lack of hospitals and clinics since the population in these poverty-stricken areas cannot support these social services. As a result many youth in these disadvantaged sections suffer from pellagra, tuberculosis, hookworm, malaria, and venereal diseases, all of which flourish among white and Negro inhabitants of areas where there is widespread poverty and ignorance of health and hygiene.

All these disorders not only impair young people's ability to earn a living and to make a success of marriage and family life, but lead often to serious and permanent maladjustments. Traveling clinics would help young people to escape many of the physical and mental dangers that surround them and would reduce some of the existing inequalities in medical services that are characteristic of that low-income region.

While the National Youth Administration has no national-health program, in every State health education is carried on to some degree according to the community resources that N. Y. A can muster, since its own limited funds prevent expansion in this important field. On all resident projects, however, N. Y. A. youth are provided with medical services and emergency hospitalization.

There are, of course, direct relationships between insufficient food and clothing and bad health, between poor housing and poor health, and between poor housing and crime. The Southeastern region contains a large part of that third of the Nation which President Roosevelt so aptly characterized as "ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed."

The opportunity to participate in wholesome recreational activities, team games, or other sports is denied not only to countless thousands of youth in the rural and sparsely settled sections of the Southeast, to those in low-income families, and to Negro youth, but also to young people living in congested urban areas of the region. Young people living on farms have less opportunity than any other group for organized recreation. Jobless boys and girls are particularly in need of the benefits offered by playgrounds and youth recreation centers, the lack of which often leads to delinquency and crime.

In addition, our rural population is seriously handicapped by lack of library facilities, which are an invaluable part of youth's educational opportunities. According to figures collected by the American Library Association in 1938, more than 26,000,000 persons under 20, most of them living in rural areas, are without local library service. The shortage of these facilities is especially acute in the Southeast, where there is little hope of obtaining them through local funds.

Unemployment, poverty, malnutrition, overcrowded houses, inadequate schooling and health facilities, lack of wholesome recreation—these are the vicious forces which confront rural youth of the Southeast as they reach their maturity. This is the environment from which they migrate looking for greener pastures.

In a recent address to the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, President Roosevelt said: "Democracy must inculcate in its children capacities for living and assure opportunities for fulfillment of these capacities. The success of democratic institutions is measured not by extent of territory, financial power, machines, or armaments, but by the desires, the hopes, and the deep-lying satisfactions of the individual men, women, and children who make up its citizenship." To the extent that the promises implied in this view of youth in a democracy are fulfilled will the problem of the migration of disadvantaged youth be checked at its source.

NATIONAL YOUTH ADMINISTRATION PROGRAM AS AN ALLEVIATION OF MIGRANT PROBLEM

The urgency of these problems has resulted during the past few years in the development of special Government work programs designed to meet some of the employment needs of youth. In the last 6 years, according to Mr. Aubrey Williams, National Youth Administrator, over 6½ million youth have been put to work by the Federal Government.

"The Civilian Conservation Corps," he said, "has given employment to over 2,300,000; the National Youth Administration has given employment to 2,300,000; Work Projects Administration has given employment to 800,000 young people under 25 years of age, and various other agencies have furnished employment to another million youth. On the whole, this has been work that led young people somewhere. It has been in accordance with what they wanted to do, and it has fitted them for jobs in private industry.[19]

These agencies have provided supervised employment for a limited number of needy unemployed youth and have afforded many young persons practical work experience and opportunity to develop good work habits. They have made outstanding contributions by programs combining work and education. What has been done by these emergency programs in extending work opportunities for youth represents a significant attack on the problems of youth employment, even though numerically they have reached a comparatively small number of those whom they seek to benefit, since only about one-fourth of the young persons out of school and out of work are being aided through these agencies.[20]

The major purposes of the National Youth Administration are as follows:

(1) To provide part-time work and training on useful public projects to needy unemployed youth between the ages of 18 and 25 who are no longer in regular attendance in school.

(2) To provide part-time work in order to assist needy youth between the ages of 16 and 25 to continue their education at schools, colleges, and universities;

(3) To encourage the establishment of guidance and placement services for youth; and

(4) To encourage the development and extension of constructive leisure-time activities.

These objectives have been advanced by the National Youth Administration in the form of two major programs: The out-of-school work program and the student-work program.

The work of this Government agency has been accomplished largely through State administrators, the National office and National Advisory Committee acting primarily as coordinating and advisory units. In each State the program operates with the advice of State and local advisory committees.

The out-of-school work program was established in 1936 to provide part-time work for a limited number of out-of-school needy youth who found it impossible to obtain work experience as a qualification for admission to private employment. According to the unemployment census of 1937, this group constitutes about one-third of the unemployed workers.

For the current fiscal year new regulations are in effect basing eligibility for employment on the out-of-school work program merely on the "need for employment, work experience, and training" among young people between 18 and 25 years old. Heretofore, certification required a consideration of the needs of the entire family on a budget basis with the result that most of the National Youth Administration youth have come from relief families. The new rules will widen National Youth Administration job eligibility and will make it possible to reach marginal groups and to select youths for National Youth Administration projects on the basis of their need of employment and their suitability for the type of work provided by the project.

National Youth Administration work projects are initiated in cooperation with officials of various tax-supported agencies, known as co-sponsors, who are familiar with local needs. Any of the multitude of needful services which public agencies find outside of their regular budgeted programs and which are adaptable to the activities of the youth workers may be laid before the local National Youth Administration officials. If practical and if the supply of workers is available, they may be put in operation. Co-sponsors contribute most of the materials, supplies, and equipment as well as a considerable portion of the superivision required on National Youth Administration projects, while the labor cost is borne by the National Youth Administration. As needs differ from community to community and from State to State, so does the National Youth Administration program.

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[19] From an address delivered May 4, 1940, before the Institute of Government, Women's Division of the National Democratic Committee.

[20] Youth and Their Needs in report on White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, p. 30.

The out-of-school work program involves various types of projects, covering both construction and nonconstruction work. Construction projects include highway, road, and street work, remodeling of public building and construction of new ones, development of recreational facilities, conservation and flood-control work. The construction division also has charge of all workshops and of all building repairs and renovations. Nonconstruction projects include a variety of activities such as sewing, recreational leadership, school lunches, child care, clerical and stenographic work, library service and book repair, statistical and research work, and youth-center activities.

Youth employed on National Youth Administration projects are given work experience in as many fields as possible, so that they can select more intelligently the occupations which best suit their interests and aptitudes. In order to widen the types of work-experience afforded, a program of informal class work and related training has been organized to supplement project work. Wherever possible, the facilities of local school systems are utilized to provide related information courses. The development of a well-rounded program of related training, directed both to supplementing the training values of the project work itself and to general cultural and citizenship development, is a basic part of the total National Youth Administration program. Such courses are given by National Youth Administration supervisors, teachers from the adult education division of Work Projects Administration and the State department of education, county agents, home economics and vocational agricultural teachers, public-health nurses, and other qualified persons.

A vital phase of the out-of-school work program and one which should be of particular interest to this investigating committee is the resident project units designed chiefly to assist needy youth from small communities and rural areas. The youth live at the project site, and their earnings are established to cover subsistance and leave a small cash wage to take care of their personal needs. By bringing rural youth together in resident propects units it has been possible to promote better supervision and instruction as well as to perform more useful and efficent project work than by setting up small projects near the youth's place of residence. Resident project work varies from the construction and repair of public buildings and other facilities to home making and canning food for distribution to relief clients. A varied training program is promoted, including shop work, agriculture, conservation, child care, domestic service, sanitation, health, and home making.

These centers have been particularly beneficial in the South, since a large portion of needy youth live in sparsely populated rural areas where it is difficult to obtain cosponsors and supervision. During the coming year this type of project will be expanded. Precautions are taken to insure the health of the young people at these centers. Most of these projects make arrangements with local physicians and hospitals to promote regular medical services and emergency hospitalization. Through this type of operation National Youth Administration has had noteworthy success in improving the general health of youth from underprivileged and low-income families in the South.

An important part of the out-of-school work program is the workshop projects which assist youth to find their talents and aptitudes. Here the boys are taught cabinetmaking and finishing, painting, electrical work, airplane and radio mechanics, blacksmithing, metal work, drafting, plumbing, steam fitting, welding, woodworking, and other mechanical trades. Although the National Youth Administration has been carrying on an extensive program of shop, metal, and construction work for several years, during 1940–41 it will place increasing emphasis on projects which provide work experience and basic training in mechanical pursuits. Experience of this kind will better prepare young men and women for jobs in those industries in which employment will expand as a result of increased production for national defense.

In line with these policies Birmingham, Detroit, and Philadelphia have been chosen as cities where model youth work centers for manual arts training will be set up.

This National Youth Administration training program will be carried on in two sections. One will be the formation of a group of resident work training centers in rural sections throughout the country where youth will live together and be taught how to work with their hands, learning to make articles such as hospital beds, tables, Red Cross equipment, radio transmission equipment, and the like. The other will be the establishment of nonresident projects in the various industrial areas. The centers in Birmingham, Detroit, and Philadelphia will serve as models for both the resident and nonresident operations.

All funds for the National Youth Administration out-of-school work program for 1940–41 were allocated among the States on a youth population basis. The allotment to each State bears the same ratio to the total amount of $67,884,000 available for all National Youth Administration work projects as the youth population of that State bears to the total youth population of the United States.

Aattached is a list showing the distribution of funds for the out-of-school work program, 1940–41, to the 11 Southeastern States.

National Youth Administration distribution of funds for the out-of-school work program to Southeastern States, 1940–41

	Allocation		*Allocation*
Alabama	$1,607,497	North Carolina	1,924,669
Arkansas	1,103,227	South Carolina	1,078,879
Florida	833,760	Tennessee	1,557,161
Georgia	1,822,624	Virginia	1,378,478
Kentucky	1,399,291		
Louisiana	1,271,038	Total	15,216,108
Mississippi	1,239,484		

In the Southeastern States only small percentages of the youth of high-school age are enrolled in school.[21] On numbers not in high school, Aubrey Williams, National Youth Administrator, declared:

"We know that in America today there are 3,500,000 young people of high-school age that are denied opportunity to go to high school. We know that, by and large, that is not because there are not high schools. * * * The real reason is because their fathers and mothers cannot afford to send them to high school. They are not able to earn enough money to buy clothes, and to buy food and shelter, whereby those children can enter high school.[22]

The student-work program of the National Youth Administration was established in 1935 to provide part-time employment to needy youth between the ages of 16 and 24, inclusive, in order to permit them to continue their education at schools, colleges, and universities which are tax exempt and nonprofit making, though they may be either publicly or privately controlled. The program is divided into two major parts:

(1) The school-work program for students enrolled in schools of less than college grade.

(2) The college and graduate-work program for students attending colleges and universities.

Students who qualify for employment on the school-work program receive a wage which is not more than $6 nor less than $3 a month. College students may earn from $10 to $20 a month, while graduate students may earn from $20 to $30 per month. Individual earnings vary according to the number of hours worked and the hourly rates of pay prevailing in the different localities.

Officials of the various schools and colleges are mainly responsible for the administration of the student-work program. They select the students on the basis of need and scholarship—no student being eligible who cannot perform or maintain satisfactory scholastic work in three-fourths of a normal curriculum. They plan the projects on which the students work, care being taken to find useful jobs of value to the students that do not displace regular employees of the institutions. They assign the youth, insofar as possible, to projects in line with their major interests and abilities, and they supervise the work performed.

National Youth Administration student work covers a wide range of activities.

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[21] About 28 percent in Alabama, 33.5 percent in Arkansas, 35.7 percent in Mississippi, 35.8 percent in South Carolina. See Youth Arsenal of Facts, Labor Research Association, p. 47.

[22] Ibid., p. 47.

These include clerical, construction, and repair work, library service, mimeography, ground and building maintenance, departmental service, research and surveys, community service, home economics, art, laboratory, and recreational work.

Plans are being formulated to establish State committees of school men to expand and revise student-work projects of the National Youth Administration in line with the desire of educators to make all school activities contribute to the need of national defense. The United States Office of Education is cooperating with the National Youth Administration in these endeavors.

For the 1940–41 fiscal year $12,509,161 has been allocated for the entire school-work program and $13,731,120 for the college and graduate-work program.

The basic criterion used in the establishment of allotments for the payment of school-work employees was youth population. College and graduate-work fund quotas were set by taking 9.47 percent of the total number of resident undergraduate and graduate students 16 to 24 years of age, inclusive, enrolled in the institutions as of November 1, 1939, and carrying at least three-fourths of a normal schedule. It is expected that more than 500,000 different students will be employed on the National Youth Administration student-work program in the course of the 1940–41 academic year. A chart showing student-work allocations to the 11 Southeastern States is attached:

Federal Security Agency, National Youth Administration, student work allocation 1940–41 to Southeastern States

State	School work program	College and graduate work program	Total
Total	$2, 794, 207	$2, 460, 915	$5, 255, 122
Alabama	295, 016	219, 375	514, 391
Arkansas	201, 064	116, 370	317, 434
Florida	156, 221	139, 725	295, 946
Georgia	332, 122	264, 600	596, 722
Kentucky	270, 528	186, 975	457, 503
Louisiana	227, 180	269, 055	496, 235
Mississippi	195, 935	164, 160	360, 095
North Carolina	338, 847	376, 650	715, 497
South Carolina	212, 105	189, 810	401, 915
Tennessee	298, 471	247, 455	545, 926
Virginia	266, 718	286, 740	553, 458

The National Youth Administration does not pretend to offer a basic solution for the social and economic problems which today affect youth as well as the rest of the population. But it has attempted to aid young men and women in the crisis of unemployment and poverty in the four spheres of life in which their needs are greatest—education, employment, vocational guidance, and the profitable use of leisure time.

From the beginning of the National Youth Administration out-of-school work program, rural youth have been a challenge. It is not easy to provide sound work projects for isolated boys and girls who have no way of getting to and from a construction job, a workshop, or a sewing room in a town miles away from their farm homes. Not only is it difficult to obtain work quarters for rural projects, to get sponsors in out-of-the-way villages, and to provide good health programs, but it is often impossible to offer related training courses to these young people.

To surmount such obstacles the National Youth Administration inaugurated resident units. The Southern States have led in the development of this type of project. In May 1940, 31,128 young men and women, or one-tenth of the workers on the out-of-school work program, were living and working on resident centers in 44 States. Of this number of youth employees, 66 percent were boys and girls from the 13 Southern States who were not accessible to regular daytime units and were brought together from rural areas for more intensive training.

Rural youth in many parts of the southeastern region have been denied even what is considered a minimum American education. If the soil is to provide them a living, they must know new, better, and more diversified farming methods. Surprisingly few southern tenant farmers know how to raise vegetables and fruit. Few farm wives know modern methods of canning and preserving.

The National Youth Administration resident centers can and are opening many new agricultural possibilities for southern young people, and those rural youth who are not interested in farming are being given a chance to acquire training in other fields, such as auto mechanics, conservation and shop work, homemaking, beauty culture, office work, and the like.

In order to take care of the increasing numbers of rural youth who are being "dammed up" on the farms with no employment opportunities and who will soon join the army of frustrated migrant workers if nothing is done for them, expansion of the National Youth Administration resident training centers offers one solution.

But it is not possible to meet the urgent needs of these unemployed boys and girls without the expenditures of larger sums of public money than have been appropriated for the solution of these problems. In any single month, not more than one out of every five unemployed young people is reached by the National Youth Administration, Civilian Conservation Corps, and Work Projects Administration together.[23]

The constructive efforts on the part of these Government agencies must be regarded, therefore, as pioneer experiments showing what is necessary to be done on a much larger scale, rather than as public services actually covering the present needs of youth.

IV. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR REMEDIAL LEGISLATION

As indicated in the foregoing sections, the problem of interstate migration is a problem largely of the migration of rural youth and young adults especially from the southeastern region. Lack of economic opportunities in the rural Southeast is the fundamental cause of the migration. The low level of educational facilities and the almost complete absence of organized recreational activities are major contributing factors.

As pointed out in the National Emergency Council's Report on Economic Conditions in the South:[24]

"The search for wider opportunities than are available in the overcrowded, economically undeveloped southern communities drains away people from every walk of life. About one child out of every eight born and educated in Alabama and Mississippi contributes his life's productivity to some other State."

It appears also that the probable long-term trend of migration is upward. This is almost certain to be the case unless adequate steps are taken to provide opportunities for productive effort to meet the needs of a growing population and to replace now-existing opportunities which are likely to be lost by the mechanization of agricultural production.

Common sense would seem to indicate that the most economical and effective solution of the problem of interstate migration of destitute citizens would be to deal with the problem at its source. This would necessitate placing the main emphasis on measures for the economic and social rehabilitation of the disadvantaged groups shown to be the source of the migrations. It would require a program which would so increase opportunities for youth in the southeastern region that future migration would not be necessary. To deal with the migrants only after they have been uprooted from home environment is to treat symptoms rather than causes.

While the following recommendations by no means exhaust the possibilities it is believed that they would contribute greatly toward the amelioration of present conditions and constitute an important step in the direction of removing the causes of migration.

Steps must be taken to provide additional employment opportunities for rural youth in the southeastern region. The National Youth Administration had elaborated a program of the kind needed to provide such employment. The participation of local sponsoring agencies tends to insure the selection of projects useful to the community. The age groups served correspond closely with the ages of the bulk of the migrants. However, considered from the viewpoint of alleviating the conditions of the youth of the region so as to remove the cause of the migration, the size and scope of the National Youth Administration program fall far short of the dimensions of the problem. Special appropriations should be given to the National Youth Administration for the purpose of providing employment opportunities and otherwise alleviating the conditions of the youth of the areas from which migrations originate.

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[23] Coyle, David C., Rural Youth, p. 26.
[24] P. 17.

Other steps should also be taken to provide additional employment opportunities to the youth of this area. Expansion of the Civilian Conservation Corps and Works Progress Administration program in these sections, especially the erosion-control features, would be desirable. This would serve the double purpose of providing immediate employment and increasing the possibilities of the region for self-support of the growing population. Expansion of job opportunities appears to be the greatest single necessity if migration is to be checked at its source. The extension of work opportunities for youth on publicly financed projects has been urged recently by the American Youth Commission, a non-Government agency, of which Mr. Owen D. Young is chairman. The Commission advocates that "every young person who does not desire to continue at school after 16, and cannot get a job in private enterprise, should be provided under public auspices with employment in some form." [25]

But the lack of economic opportunity is not the only cause for the migration. The drab lives of the youth, the lack of cultural and recreational facilities—these factors also play an important part as cause of migration.

Educational facilities, including libraries, available to southeastern farm youth must be enlarged. This improvement can be accomplished only by means of financial assistance from the Federal Government. Such assistance may be partly met by an expansion of the National Youth Administration student work program, but it should also be approached from the viewpoint of expanding the general educational budgets of the affected areas, through Federal grants, since the Federal Government is the only agency that has the power and ability to tax the wealth of the entire Nation for the benefit of the children of the entire Nation.

It has been pointed out that health conditions in the southeastern region are substandard. Federal aid to local authorities will be required if this situation is to be corrected. Existing Federal agencies could be employed to improve certain aspects of public sanitation, water supply, mosquito control, and the like, but, here again, the general health budgets of the local governmental units are in need of supplemental funds from the sources of Federal taxation. The same applies to recreational facilities. The program of the National Youth Administration is sufficiently flexible to be of service in the administration of any of these and other projects provided adequate funds are appropriated. The inadequacy of rural housing in this region beggars description. A major housing program, under Federal auspices would do much toward overcoming health deficiencies as well as those of unemployment.

These recommendations seek to solve the problem of migration at its source. Remedial legislation to assist those who have already migrated and who have not found permanent employment will, of course, receive the attention of this committee. Such measures are essential but must be thought of as paliative rather than as a solution of the problem.

As it appears from the viewpoint of youth of the Southeast, the migrant problem can be solved only by the application of adequate measures initiated by the Federal Government to improve in a fundamental way, the conditions of life physically, economically, educationally, and culturally of the youth population in the areas from which the migrants originate.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN E. BRYAN—Resumed

Mr. Bryan. As indicated in the foregoing sections, the problem of interstate migration is a problem largely of the migration of rural youth and young adults, especially from the southeastern region.

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[25] A Program of Action for American Youth, p. 6 (November 1939).

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It appears also that the probable long-term trend of migration is upward. This is almost certain to be the case unless adequate steps are taken to provide opportunities for productive effort to meet the needs of a growing population and to replace now-existing opportunities which are likely to be lost by the mechanization of agricultural production.

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Other steps should also be taken to provide additional employment opportunities to the youth of this area. Expansion of the C. C. C. and W. P. A. programs in these sections, especially the erosion control features would be desirable. This would serve the double purpose of providing immediate employment and increasing the possibilities of the region for self support of the growing population. Expansion of job opportunities appears to be the greatest single necessity, if migration is to be checked at its source. The extension of work opportunities for youth on publicly financed projects has been urged recently by the American Youth Commission, a non-Government agency of which Mr. Owen D. Young is chairman. The commission advocates that every young person who does not desire to continue at school after 16, and cannot get a job in private enterprise, should be provided under public auspices with employment in some form.

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As it appears from the viewpoint of youth of the Southeast, the migrant problem can be solved only by the application of adequate measures initiated by the Federal Government to improve in a fundamental way, the conditions of life of the youth population physically, economically, educationally, and culturally in the areas from which the migrants originate.

Mr. Curtis. Now, Mr. Bryan, as I told you in the outset, the investigation along the line of the National Youth Administration will be a continuing one and we expect to develop it fully as we go along, and we thank you very much for your appearance here and the excellent paper that you have presented.

The CHAIRMAN. Your entire paper has been made a part of the record in these proceedings. You are excused.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF JAMES EARL CAMBRON, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

Mr. PARSONS. Please state your name and address for the record.

Mr. CAMBRON. My name is James Earl Cambron; my address is 1413 Princeton Avenue, West End, Birmingham, Ala.

Mr. PARSONS. When and where were you born, James?

Mr. CAMBRON. In Brookside, Ala.

Mr. PARSONS. What kind of a town is Brookside, Ala.?

Mr. CAMBRON. That is a mining town that is abandoned.

Mr. PARSONS. What kind of mining?

Mr. CAMBRON. Coal mining.

Mr. PARSONS. How old are you?

Mr. CAMBRON. 34.

Mr. PARSONS. Are you married?

Mr. CAMBRON. No, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you live with your parents?

Mr. CAMBRON. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Are your father and mother living?

Mr. CAMBRON. My mother is living and my father is dead.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you have any brothers and sisters?

Mr. CAMBRON. I have five brothers and three sisters.

Mr. PARSONS. When did you move to Birmingham?

Mr. CAMBRON. In 1934, I believe it was.

Mr. PARSONS. Why did you leave Brookside?

Mr. CAMBRON. I was out of work and I moved in to try to get work in Birmingham.

Mr. PARSONS. After the mines shut down?

Mr. CAMBRON. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. How much did you make when you worked in the coal mines?

Mr. CAMBRON. I never worked in the coal mines.

Mr. PARSONS. What did you do around Brookside?

Mr. CAMBRON. I was in the garage; I worked in a garage.

Mr. PARSONS. You are a mechanic, are you?

Mr. CAMBRON. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. What got the matter with the work at Brookside so that you left there to go to Birmingham?

Mr. CAMBRON. Well, it was during the depression and work got so slack that I had no work to do to keep me there.

Mr. PARSONS. After moving to Birmingham, did you find work there as a mechanic?

Mr. CAMBRON. No, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. What have you been doing this last 6 years?

Mr. CAMBRON. I have been a migratory worker.

Mr. PARSONS. Where?

Mr. Cambron. In Florida, Louisiana, Tennessee, Illinois, and Michigan.

Mr. Parsons. Doing mechanical work or in the fruit work?

Mr. Cambron. In the fruit work.

Mr. Parsons. What have you been making on an average per day or per year during your travels as a migrant in following the work that you have?

Mr. Cambron. That ranges, from different prices, according to what kind of crop you have. Some days you will make $1.50, and some days you will make $10. And I would say that the average single man that works hard may make $300 in a season.

Mr. Parsons. That is in a season of how long, 2 months?

Mr. Cambron. Well, that is according. We don't count the Florida wintertime as the season; in the summer is the season. We barely exist in Florida.

Mr. Parsons. In Florida?

Mr. Cambron. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. That is a little contrary to some of the evidence that has been given here today, that the situation in Florida was better than in some of the other States. Maybe you have not gone to the place that these other people were talking about—what is the name of that lake?

Mr. Cambron. I have been to Belle Glade, Fla.

Mr. Parsons. You have been to Belle Glade?

Mr. Cambron. Yes, sir; I worked in that town, and in Palm Beach County.

Mr. Parsons. Have you lived at any migrant camps?

Mr. Cambron. No, sir; I have asked for no relief anywhere.

Mr. Parsons. You have always gotten along some way or some how, without relief?

Mr. Cambron. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. You have found out that you can repeat in making this route to these different areas producing fruit and vegetables now?

Mr. Cambron. Yes, sir; I do get by.

Mr. Parsons. Do you carry your mother with you?

Mr. Cambron. No, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Do you contribute to her relief or upkeep?

Mr. Cambron. Yes, sir; I send her money whenever I can.

Mr. Parsons. When you can't send her money, how does she provide for herself?

Mr. Cambron. I have a younger brother working at home.

Mr. Parsons. Is your mother old enough for old-age pension?

Mr. Cambron. I think so.

Mr. Parsons. Is she drawing old-age assistance?

Mr. Cambron. No, sir.

Mr. Parsons. She lives in Alabama and is a resident of this State?

Mr. Cambron. Yes, sir.

Mr. Parsons. Do you claim residence here?

Mr. CAMBRON. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you vote?

Mr. CAMBRON. No, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Why not?

Mr. CAMBRON. Because I am never stationary long enough to vote.

Mr. PARSONS. You are not here at election time?

Mr. CAMBRON. No, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. How many people of your kind have you noticed in your travels around and about?

Mr. CAMBRON. Do you mean single men?

Mr. PARSONS. Yes; single men like yourself, since you have been traveling.

Mr. CAMBRON. Well, since I have been traveling—oh, I would say approximately one-half of them.

Mr. PARSONS. One-half of them are in your status?

Mr. CAMBRON. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. Do you like this traveling game, or would you prefer to settle down if you had some hope of being able to provide for yourself and your mother on the farm or back in the garage business in some little town or city?

Mr. CAMBRON. I would rather be stationary.

Mr. PARSONS. You have had all the traveling that you really desire except as a necessary means of livelihood?

Mr. CAMBRON. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. But you have steered clear of relief all this time?

Mr. CAMBRON. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. And you have gotten by some way?

Mr. CAMBRON. Yes, sir.

Mr. PARSONS. You present a somewhat different type than the ordinary mine run that we have had in this group. You are to be very highly complimented for your resourcefulness for yourself and those depending upon you without requiring aid or relief from the public agencies. I think that is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. I thank you very much.

(Whereupon, the witness was excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand adjourned until 9 o'clock tomorrow morning. We hope to finish by noon tomorrow, if possible. Any witnesses who want to appear, please note the change of the hour and I call attention of the members of the committee to the fact that we will meet at 9 o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 5 p. m. on August 15, 1940, a recess was taken until 9 a. m., Friday, August 16, 1940.)

INTERSTATE MIGRATION

FRIDAY, AUGUST 16, 1940

Select Committee to Investigate the
Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens,
Montgomery, Ala.

The committee met at 9 a. m., in the courtroom of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Federal Building, Montgomery, Ala., Representative John J. Sparkman (acting chairman) presiding.

Present: Representatives John J. Sparkman, acting chairman, Carl T. Curtis, and Frank C. Osmers, Jr.

Also present: Robert K. Lamb, chief investigator; George Wolf, chief field investigator; Harold D. Cullen, field investigator; Creekmore Fath, field investigator; and Irene Hageman, field secretary.

Mr. Sparkman. Let the committee be in order. Mr. Myron Falk.

TESTIMONY OF MYRON FALK, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, LOUISIANA COUNCIL ON MIGRATORY LABOR AND TRANSIENTS, AND TECHNICAL ASSISTANT, BUREAU OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE AND CHILD WELFARE, LOUISIANA STATE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE, BATON ROUGE, LA.

Mr. Curtis. Mr. Falk, will you give your full name, your title, and your position to the reporter, please?

Mr. Falk. My name is Myron Falk, technical assistant, bureau of public assistance and child welfare, Louisiana State Department of Public Welfare, and I am also the executive secretary of the Louisiana Council on Migratory Labor and Transients.

Mr. Curtis. I believe you have a prepared statement, or some written testimony that you desire to present to the committee?

Mr. Falk. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. How long is your written statement?

Mr. Falk. It is about 12 pages, and then a short summary. I think that the committee has copies of it.

Mr. Curtis. If you have not already done so, we want you to deliver a copy of your written testimony to the reporter.

(The statement appears below.)

Statement by Myron Falk, Executive Secretary, Louisiana Council on Migratory Labor and Transients; Technical Assistant, Bureau of Public Assistance and Child Welfare, Louisiana State Department of Public Welfare

MIGRATION ESSENTIAL IN OUR INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM

American migrants are American citizens at large. They are men with a country yet without a county; men needed temporarily by all States yet wanted permanently by no State; men who are constant figures in our economic life yet shifting figures in our community life; men in the community but never of it.

America has always been fluid and mobile. Migration has contributed an important part to the development of this country. Many years ago the Government encouraged people to move by offering land grants and homesteads to those who were in search of reestablishing themselves.

In this modern age, when vast geographic areas no longer need to be settled by the traditional pioneer, our population is still on the move. One out of every 2 persons migrates at least once in his lifetime. This is indicated by estimates based on 1930 census figures. Studies of the group on the road show that over 90 percent are native-born and most of them are white. The studies further reveal that the majority are between 20 and 35, employable, and highly productive.

Most of them are on the road not because they like to drift from place to place but because the kind of work they do makes it necessary for them to cross State lines in seeking employment. The jobs need these workers and they need the jobs.

In general, these migrants, like residents, are seeking an honest livelihood and economic security. The tasks they perform are necessary to our economic life; without them, our industrial and agricultural systems would suffer. If all migrant workers could be anchored in one spot today, industry would be forced to create a new group of mobile workers tomorrow. The crops must be picked, and picked on time.

MECHANIZATION IMPORTANT CAUSE OF MIGRATION

Today causes of migration have increased. One of the most important is the mechanization of the farms. This particularly affects the South, where the farms are entering the industrial age. In a study of migratory labor by the United States Department of Labor which was authorized by the Seventy-fourth Congress, this fact stood out: "The greatest source of future migration in the United States is to be found among the tenant farmers of the Cotton Belt. The thousands now seeking casual jobs in Florida may be the forerunners of much greater numbers of both white and Negro migrants."

It is estimated that there are 1,000,000 farm laborers working in the South. The amount of work performed by machines is extensive in the North and in the West, but negligible in the South. The South still produces most of its work by hand and a greater number of persons are needed to do the work than are required in other sections. The mechanization of southern farms will release a considerable number of these laborers. Because of their low income and lack of skill, it is difficult to foresee where they will be absorbed and how they will earn their living. In all probability, they will be added to the hordes of migrant agricultural workers and will soon begin to move from place to place seeking employment. It is estimated that three-fifths of the present farm laborers will remain on the farms, but the other two-fifths will be added to the migrant group. This means that approximately 400,000 farm laborers will soon be moving across the country to become our citizens at large. With only a limited number of workers needed, undoubtedly many of this new group will become applicants for public assistance. It is not to be expected that public assistance available in their own communities will keep these workers at home. The low level of relief grants in the South does not, for the most part, provide sufficient security. Many will seek employment in other places throughout the Nation. In some instances, the active workers in a family group will seek employment elsewhere, leaving dependents to be cared for through public assistance.

PRESENT BREAK-DOWN OF PLANTATION SYSTEM CONTRIBUTING TO MIGRATION

The break-down of the old plantation system which is now taking place in the Mississippi Delta area will contribute its part in adding workers to the army of migrants. In the past vast plantations were operated by resident owners, usually members of families who had owned the land from generation to generation. The tenants likewise remained on the land and passed their assigned duties from one generation to another. When the tenant could work no longer because of age or illness, he was permitted to remain in his tenant house or with his children, who in all probability, at least in part, had taken over the duties of the parent. This personal relationship between the worker and the owner led to a sympathetic understanding from both.

Today most of the plantations in the Delta are owned by absentee owners. The plantations are operated as industrial plants. The superintendent is usually sent in to make the plantation produce a profit. Personal relationship exists no longer. Either the tenant must perform his functions or make way for someone else who can. In addition, plantation superintendents are finding it desirable and profitable to discontinue tenant labor and to substitute day labor. These laborers are paid only for the days they work, and as a result, their income has been ever more limited. Many of the former tenants are not willing to remain as day laborers and are taking to the road. Only the difficulty of saving enough money for a jallopy delays or restrains them from joining the army of migrants. Opportunities in the towns near the plantations are limited and these laborers should not be expected to remain in a place that offers neither work nor security.

Most of the Southern States are having difficulty in financing their public assistance programs because of lack of income from tax sources. It is indicative of the lack of funds in Southern States that the amount which Mississippi can afford for all departments and governmental services is less than Massachusetts spends on education alone. Unless a system of variable grants is instituted, there is little likelihood that many States in the South will be able to substantially increase assistance levels, and they will therefore, be unable to meet this increased demand.

RURAL TO URBAN MIGRATION

There has always been a migration from rural to urban areas. Without this constant feeding of the urban population by the rural areas, there would be no large cities a hundred years from now. The country youth usually does not move to the city until he is ready for work. This means that he is educated in a rural area, but spends his productive years in the urban industrial centers. Thus, the East and North, where most industrial centers are located, absorb the young productive workers who have been educated in the rural South. In normal economic times, these workers return to the South when they reach the less productive years of old age, and when industry could use them no longer. During depression years, however, those who had no means of support preferred to remain in the cities, where relief grants were more adequate than in rural areas. Now, with the system of social insurances, the migration will probably be the same as in normal economic times, since the old-age annuity will be the same amount no matter where the beneficiary lives.

MIGRATION OF "WHITE-COLLAR" WORKERS

Migration is not limited to agricultural and industrial workers; white collar and professional people, as well, must move. Many of the professions and trades are becoming highly specialized and the specialist performs but a small part of the total job. Large companies are transferring their employees from place to place, so that they can perform these special services. This causes a feeling of instability among the workers. They are unwilling to purchase homes or participate in city planning because they do not feel they will be around to see the plans materialize. An instance of this is told by a minister in New Orleans who solicited contributions to build an addition to his church. He approached the grown children of persons who had contributed in the past to building the church. They were not as willing as their fathers had been to assist in building the church because they did not know how long they were to remain in that particular city and would, therefore, they pointed out, not enjoy the increased church facilities. Their fathers gave with the knowledge that they were going to remain in the city and it would be their church. Bridge builders, air conditioning men, bank-timing device installers, oil workers, road construction men are just some of those who move from job to job and who never remain in one town over a long period of time. Often these workers become stranded and in need of some form of public assistance.

INCREASING MIGRATION OF THE AGED

Little is known regarding the migration of the aged. There are indications that within the next decade, migration of aged people will become a serious problem for this country to face. There is a belief that the social insurance system will increase migration and mobility of the aged. This means that the number of potential migrants will grow because the percentage of aged persons in our total population is increasing. In 1920, persons over 65 represented 4.7 percent of the total population; in 1930, this percentage increased to 5.4. No figures are available for the 1940 census, but it is estimated that the percentage will be 6.3. In 1950 the estimated percentage will be 7.7 and in 1970 it will be 10.1.

Recently there appeared in two newspapers in different sections of the country, reference to this new migration problem. A quotation from the New York Times in March, 1940, reads, "A back to the country movement is under way in the United States according to a New York City realtor who specializes in farms. An important group interested in farms is composed of persons with fixed incomes derived from pensions, annuities, and investments. This group is expected to grow during the next few years because of the payments under the old-age insurance program. Similar observations have been made by the president of a New York County real estate board who reports that many inquiries regarding farms come from persons on pensions, or who expect to be on pensions soon." An editorial in the March 31, 1940, issue of the Argus Fall, of Sioux Falls, S. Dak., said, "A sizable colony of persons who have retired on modest pensions has developed in the Jacksonville, Fla., area. There are other colonies in California. These residents are welcomed by communities concerned and in some instances special efforts are being made to induce them to establish their homes. These persons have been retired by industrial institutions or have become eligible for Federal old-age annuities. The latter group is growing, and when the program is in full effect, a substantial portion of the population will be involved. What does this mean to South Dakota and other States where the winters are relatively long and occasionally severe? Will retired residents be lost? There is a possibility if not a probability that they will transfer their residences to Florida and to California after Federal payments are made."

Administrators of public assistance agencies are concerned with these migrations. Other communities, as well as those mentioned by the South Dakota paper, may offer special inducements to the beneficiary of old-age annuities. In some instances these annuities will be more than the recipient actually needs, and therefore he may be able to build up resources for his unexpected emergent needs. However, many of the beneficiaries will spend their entire incomes monthly for their current needs. Who is then to supply emergency care, such as hospitalization, medical care, or special diet? In these cases public assistance must be given to supplement annuities. In order for some States to give this assistance, larger grants-in-aid from the Federal Government will be needed.

In Louisiana, the State department of public welfare recently made a study of approximately 800 aged persons who changed their parish residence at sometime 12 months preceding their acceptance for public assistance. This group comprised 4 percent of the total number of applicants for old-age assistance during the period studied. It is significant that 73.2 percent of the total who moved had received public assistance in the parish from which they moved. A study of the average assistance grants of the parishes of first and second residence dispelled the thought that migration was caused by the desire to obtain higher grants. In fact, the aged migrants had no assurance when they moved that they would receive assistance in the parish of second residence.

The study further indicated migration among the aged white is considerably greater than among the aged Negroes, and that more males migrated than females. The migrant group as a whole was older than the total old-age assistance group. Migration occurred more among age groups between 70 to 84 while the greater part of aged recipients are between 65 and 74. The physical condition of the aged migrants was not as good as that of the total old-age recipients, and therefore, they were in need of more medical care.

The study disclosed that the greatest migration took place in the parishes in the Mississippi Delta area. While no definite evidence is available, it may be concluded that the aged persons were living with children who were tenant farmers and who were migrating from that area. There is also evidence in the study that the aged migrated to live with relatives after the death of the spouse. During the same period covered in the above study 81 aged recipients moved out of the State. No facts are known as to reasons for migration, or as to where they moved, except that for the most part, they migrated from parishes bordering State lines. The move deprived them of further public assistance, since Louisiana does not have reciprocal agreements with any States at this time. The fact that they would not be eligible in the State of second residence did not seem to act as a deterrent.

There is also reason to believe that when the social-insurance system is better understood by the people of the United States, there will be a migration from the uncovered industries to the covered. This will accelerate migration to the urban centers, and from the agricultural to the industrial centers. In all probability the same agricultural leaders who are now opposing the inclusion of workers in the Social Security Act will be forced to press for the inclusion of these workers in order to stop migration and thus prevent a disastrous shortage of farm labor.

UNEQUAL SETTLEMENT LAWS

One of the barriers which must be removed before assistance can be available is our settlement laws. We are governing in many instances twentieth century America with seventeenth century laws and attitudes. Settlement laws date back to 1349 when the black death plagued England. The English settlement law was instituted to immobilize labor. The settlement law idea was brought over and planted by the colonists in the New World. Many of the original settlement laws of the colonies were copies of the old English settlement laws. Unfortunately, some of these laws still exist. Take for example, the settlement law of 1662 in England, which stated that "settlement was acquired by birth and the new settlement could be secured either by marriage, the women taking the husbands; by paying taxes; by serving for a whole year in any public county office; by being bound as a servant or apprentice for a year and by living more than 40 days in a county and occupying a house with an annual rental of more than £10." Compare this to the settlement law of the State of Delaware. This law states "that the birthplace of a person shall be the place of legal settlement and that the legal settlement of the head of the family shall be the place of settlement of his minor children and of his wife or widow. A person shall gain a settlement in a county in Delaware as follows:

"1. By executing any public office for a year.

"2. By paying poor taxes therein for 2 consecutive years.

"3. By occupying and paying rent for premises therein of the higher value of $50 for 1 year.

"4. By serving 1 year therein as a lawful apprentice or servant."

Our present unequal and crazyquilt settlement laws allow thousands of persons to be without a State to which they can look when in need of assistance. It requires 3 years of residence to establish residence in California. Residence is lost in Minnesota by an absence of 6 months. Thus, if a resident of Minnesota moves to California, he is without settlement for 2½ years.

Residence laws should be standardized so that a uniform period is required by all States, with the provision that no residence is lost until another is gained. Periods during which public assistance is received should be counted toward establishment of residence. Considerably more thought should be given to the clients' interests before he is returned to his place of legal settlement. These changes will require considerable time before all 48 States modify their residence laws. Pending establishment of a uniform settlement law, reciprocal agreements between the States for the care of migrants should be established.

Perhaps the real solution would come in the complete elimination of residence in order to qualify for public assitance. Residence, after all, merely means that some State is accepting its responsibility to a person who has lived in that particular State for a specified period of time. Is this the real point on which a State should accept responsibility? The economic contribution a person has made to a State rather than his mere presence in it, should determine the State's acceptance of responsibility. Many of the migratory workers make substantial economic contributions to certain States through their work. Should not these States be called upon to accept responsibility for the person who has made such a contribution? It does not appear consistent that the State in which the migrant is living when disaster strikes, should bear the entire burden of his care, when his most productive years and his economic contributions have been in another State. This gives added weight to the demand being made to set up a general assistance category to the Social Security Act with no residence requirements. This arrangement will be more preferable to setting up a separate category as is being suggested by some to provide assistance to migrants. It is more desirable to see that they are not excluded from the categories than to include them as a separate one.

An effective public assistance program is dependent upon and interrelated with public health, public education, and public housing. Public assistance workers should join any movement which seeks to increase the health and sanitation provisions for migrant workers. The vast growing trailer cities present problems of sanitation, as do the agricultural tenant houses, jungles, camp cities, and other migrant dwelling places. Adequate temporary housing is needed for the family which can have no permanent home. The residence requirements now enforced by many public health services should be eliminated, so that medical care will be available to the migrant. Public assistance workers are also interested in seeing that compulsory school attendance is enforced so that children in migrant families make every possible use of the opportunity to learn a trade or profession of their own choosing. These children should not be allowed to harvest our crops, when they should be reaping the benefits of the schoolroom.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS BY MYRON FALK

In general, migrants, like residents, seek the same economic security and honest livelihood. They should be allowed all the privileges which are extended to residents, in their efforts to find security. The low income of the agricultural migrants accounts for some of their difficulties. They should be included under the wage-and-hour bill and in the Social Security Act, so that they can enjoy the benefits of unemployment compensation and old-age benefit payments. Studies indicate considerable time is lost by the migrants by their lack of knowledge as to where jobs are to be found. State employment offices should expand their services to provide a clearing house to furnish job information by State, by district, and by county, and to register migrants on the basis of work experience.

Studies indicate the South is potentially the section which will have the greatest problems of migration. Financially, the South is having a difficult time meeting the present assistance needs, and is unable to assume any new responsibilities. A system of variable grants should be established under the Social Security Act to give States with low per capita income larger Federal grants, to meet their present public assistance responsibilities, and for the expected problem.

A fourth category—general assistance—should be added to the Social Security Act. All residence requirements in order to qualify for assistance in this category should be eliminated.

This would be more desirable than to create a separate category to provide assistance to migrants. Inclusion in general assistance would not draw attention to them as a group set apart different from residents in need. They should receive assistance under the same administrative policies and provisions as applied to residents.

Residence requirements should be eliminated so that migrants would be able to avail themselves of public health services and to allow their children to attend schools.

If it is not possible to set up this fourth category at this time, efforts should be made to standardize residence laws throughout the country and to encourage States to enter into reciprocal agreements for the care of the migrant.

Efforts should also be directed toward the prevention of migration, wherever it is possible. Funds should be made available for the farm tenancy program, which would prevent many potential migrants from taking to the road.

TESTIMONY OF MYRON FALK—Resumed

Mr. CURTIS. Now, if you will, you may summarize what is shown by your statement, which appears in the record.

Mr. Falk. I will not touch on the need for migration in the South and in the country as a whole, because I think that has been handled already, very adequately.

THREE PHASES OF MIGRATION IN SOUTH

I will say that I believe that the South is facing the migration problem from three different angles.

Mr. Curtis. May I interrupt you at this point for just a moment, with regard to the need for migration. I think that we will agree that migration is not an evil per se, but we are interested in the case of the individuals who are migrating over the country in a destitute condition, seeking agricultural work, and who seem to have no way to ground themselves. Now, will you please proceed?

Mr. Falk. I think of it in three phases; the first problem that we are called upon to face today is the problem of the employment of these migrants. I won't touch upon the problem of the present so much, but I think the immediate future troubles come from mechanization of the farm, more than any other one thing. The South has always had most of its work done by farm hands rather than by machines, and with the machine coming onto the farm, a number of persons will be displaced, and perhaps go on the road, because there is nothing else for them to do. I frankly believe the only thing keeping them from being migrants at the present time is that they don't have enough money saved up to buy an old jalopy. When they do save enough they will be added to the migrants on the road.

Another thing causing migration is the break-down of the old plantation system. In Louisiana, we still have a plantation system in the Mississippi delta area along the river, which is almost like the plantation system before the Civil War. The owners hold huge tracts of land, and they farm it out to tenant farmers and so on. Today those plantations are owned by absentee owners for the most part, and are being operated as industrial plants. As a matter of fact, a number of owners live outside the State of Louisiana. The sentiment of plantation owners toward the old Negroes has disappeared. They have to produce a profit or the foreman has to leave the plantation, and, as I say, all of the sentiment between the old Negroes and the plantation owner is gone. As a result of these new conditions, a number of the superintendents on these plantations are finding it better to operate their farms on a day-labor basis rather than by tenants, because they are called upon to make a profit or be replaced by the owners of the plantation. They can better make a profit by day labor than with farm tenants on the land.

GOVERNMENT PAYMENTS HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO BREAK-DOWN OF PLANTATION SYSTEM

Mr. Curtis. Have the Government payments, as administered, contributed to that tendency to employ day labor?

Mr. Falk. I wouldn't say "Yes." I would say that the farm owners——

Mr. CURTIS. The desire upon the part of the landowner to secure a full payment and not have to divide it with sharecroppers has caused that?

Mr. FALK. Yes; I think that has really contributed, and has brought about the complete break-down. It was coming anyway, but I think it was the last straw that broke the camel's back.

MIGRATION OF AGED POTENTIAL PROBLEM TO SOUTH

I would like to also mention the fact right here that I have heard little said about the migration of the aged.

We have reason to believe that the migration of the aged will become a very serious problem for the South to face. For one thing, our population is growing older. In 1920, the persons over 65 years of age represented 4.7 percent of the total population, and in 1950, it is estimated that it will be 7.7 percent, and in 1970, it is estimated that it will be 10.1 percent. Now, I think this is a potential problem, because most of the people, according to the migration experts, migrate from the rural areas to the urban centers. A number of persons have brought out the fact that they move to the industrial areas because of lack of opportunities in the rural districts. Now, when those persons are given a Federal annuity or old-age benefit payment, it will be given to them regardless of where they live.

I think that it will, therefore, be desirable for them to move from the high-cost areas to the low-cost areas. Twenty-four dollars is the estimated average payment. I think that $24 will buy a great deal more in Alabama than in New York. The saving on heat alone would be sufficient to make them migrate to the South. Most of those people did come from the South, so I think there will be a tendency to return home to die.

We have made a study of the migration of the aged in Louisiana, and I would like to introduce that study as a part of the record.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We will be glad to have it.

Mr. FALK. It is on pages 3 to 9 of the pamphlet that I am handing to the reporter.

(The pamphlet referred to above was received in evidence and the pages referred to read as follows:)

MIGRATION OF THE AGED[1]

Along broad United States highways sweeping from coast to coast, the constant stream of interstate migrants has attracted the startled attention of the Nation.

But along winding Louisiana river roads, back country roads, reaching only from place to place within the State, the less spectacular but steady drift of intrastate migrants has received little notice. Reasons for their migration are not fully known. There are some who believe that this group of persons moving within the State boundaries are motivated by the same causes which have made thousands of persons take to the road.

Migration is a natural phenomenon of American life. Our history accounts step by step the importance of migration. The settling of the West, the building of transcontinental railroads, and other important phases in the growth of our country were made possible by persons who migrated.

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[1] Prepared by the Bureau of Research and Statistics in collaboration with Myron Falk, technical assistant in the Bureau of Public Assistance and Child Welfare.

Today when vast geographic areas no longer need to be settled by the traditional pioneer, our population is still on the move. One out of every two persons migrates at least once in his lifetime. This is indicated by estimates based on the 1930 census figures. Studies of the group on the road show that 90 percent are native born and most of them are white. The studies further reveal that the majority of the people are between 20 and 35 years of age. Perhaps because the great percentage of the persons on the road are relatively young, little attention has been directed toward the aged person who migrates. Figures obtainable from the Federal transient program, which was in operation from 1933 to 1935, indicated that only approximately 5 percent of the persons on the road were 65 or over. Figures obtained from a census of transients in Louisiana in January, February, and March, 1938, presented substantially the same facts. An agency handling transients in Louisiana for the year 1939, reported that only 2.3 percent of the persons applying for assistance were 65 years or over.

When the Social Security Act was passed in 1935, there was some conjecture as to what effect it would have on the mobility of people. Since a great percentage of persons who benefit from the act are aged, there immediately arose questions as to whether this factor would serve as an impetus for increased migration of the aged. On one hand, there were some who believed that persons receiving a set and fixed annuity from the Federal old age benefit plan will want to migrate from high-cost areas to low-cost areas. On the other hand, some believed that the stringent residence requirements for old-age assistance would act as a deterrent to migration.

In 1936 when the Louisiana Legislature established the State department of public welfare, old-age assistance was made available to those who could satisfy the eligibility requirements. At that time it was the policy for the parish of first residence to continue sending the grant to a client who had moved to another parish until he had lived in the parish of second residence for 1 year. At the end of the year the parish of second residence assumed financial responsibility. In many cases, due to a shortage of funds in several parishes, and for other reasons some of the recipients lost their grants. Even with this barrier to migration, however, there are instances of a number of persons who moved without assurance of receiving continued assistance in the parish of second residence.

In 1938 this difficulty was clarified. If a grant recipient moved from one parish to another, it became the obligation of the parish of second residence to assume financial responsibility for the recipient as soon as eligibility could be established.

The clarification of the policy disclosed that a number of persons moved from one parish to another. In order to determine the composition of the group and the areas involved, further study on migration of the aged was undertaken.

Data concerning the migration of recipients of old-age assistance in Louisiana are available from the statistical information recorded on each person approved for an old-age assistance grant. As a part of the certification record, the following questions are answered for every person accepted for assistance:

(1) Has the applicant moved to this parish from another parish in the State within the last 12 months? If so, specify the parish from which he moved.

(2) Did the applicant receive public assistance in that parish? If so, specify the type of aid received.

Obviously, the information on migration is limited to movements within the State and does not reflect interstate migration. The data are further restricted to showing migration only if the change of residence occurred within the 12-month period immediately preceding the time of acceptance for old-age assistance. This latter item, however, does not exclude recipients of old-age assistance who moved to another parish and were accepted for assistance by the parish of second residence; in these cases the social data, including information on migration, were recorded by the second parish as of the time the case was accepted by that parish.

During the 2½ years from July 1937 through December 1939, a total of 799 persons approved for old-age assistance reported that they had changed their parish of residence at sometime within the 12 months preceding their acceptance. These migrants comprised 4-percent of the 20,128 individuals who were approved for old age assistance during the period. It should be emphasized, however, that this study does not attempt to measure what proportion of aged persons migrate from one parish to another. The primary purpose is to analyze the data available on the 799 persons who it is known did move.

Although the proportion of migrants to the total old-age assistance caseload is relatively small, the fact that as many as 799 recipients had changed their parish of residence within 12 months prior to the time of acceptance for old-age assistance does represent a definite administrative problem. Especially is this true when it is realized that of the 799 migrants, 585, or 73.2 percent, had received public assistance in the parish from which they moved. A majority, then, are recipients whose cases had to be transferred from the care of one parish welfare department to another.

TABLE 1.—*Migration of recipients of old age assistance by parish July 1937–December 1939*

Parish	Number of recipients who moved			Parish	Number of recipients who moved		
	To	From	Gain or loss		To	From	Gain or loss
Parishes of 37,500 or more	------	------	+65	Parishes of 12,500 to 25,000—Continued—			
Orleans	32	18	+14				
Caddo	20	12	+8	Pointe Coupee	7	11	−4
East Baton Rouge	27	20	+7	St. Tammany	10	11	−1
Rapides	35	25	+10	Union	4	13	−9
St. Landry	32	24	+8	Vernon	17	24	−7
Ouachita	41	20	+21	Jefferson Davis	12	13	−1
Tangipahoa	15	15	0	Ascension	16	12	+4
Calcasieu	20	18	+2	Livingston	16	16	0
Jefferson	13	11	+2	East Feliciana	6	5	+1
Acadia	14	17	−3	Red River	7	9	−2
Lafayette	6	5	+1	Assumption	16	15	+1
Natchitoches	10	15	−5	East Carroll	9	12	−3
Parishes of 25,000 to 37,500	------	------	−16	Grant	19	15	+4
Avoyelles	15	16	−1	St. James	9	8	+1
Vermilion	12	9	+3	Allen	10	10	0
Lafourche	7	14	−7	Tensas	8	8	0
Claiborne	8	10	−2	Madison	16	12	+4
De Soto	9	6	+3	Winn	17	14	+3
Franklin	18	29	−11	Beauregard	12	12	0
Washington	4	8	−4	St. John	7	11	−4
Terrebonne	8	7	+1	West Carroll	23	14	+9
Webster	4	5	−1	Jackson	20	22	−2
St. Mary	6	7	−1	Concordia	8	3	+5
Bossier	7	7	0	Parishes of less than 12,500	------	------	−22
Iberia	11	3	+8	Catahoula	13	17	−4
Richland	29	26	+3	St. Charles	4	7	−3
Evangeline	11	18	−7	LaSalle	10	12	−2
Parishes of 12,500 to 25,000	------	------	−27	West Feliciana	2	2	0
Iberville	5	5	0	Caldwell	10	14	−4
Sabine	13	21	−8	West Baton Rouge	4	7	−3
Bienville	15	17	−2	Plaquemines	0	0	0
Morehouse	11	15	−4	St. Helena	4	9	−5
Lincoln	19	27	−8	St. Bernard	1	0	+1
St. Martin	3	7	−4	Cameron	2	4	−2

A tabulation of parishes involved in the migration of old-age assistance recipients reveals a wide divergence among the parishes in the number of migrants (table 1). Ouachita had the largest total number of migrants moving to and from its boundaries, as well as the greatest net gain from migration. Forty-one persons accepted for old-age assistance in Ouachita reported that they had moved to this parish from another parish within the preceding 12 months; while 20 individuals approved for old-age assistance in other parishes reported that they had moved from Ouachita. At the opopsite extreme, Plaquemines was the only parish to or from which not a single person reported moving, and St. Bernard had only one recipient who stated that he had moved from another parish.

Besides Ouachita, the largest net gains as a result of migration were 14 in Orleans, 10 in Rapides, 9 in West Carroll, 8 each in St. Landry, Iberia, and Caddo, and 7 in East Baton Rouge. The parishes with the greatest net losses in migration of aged persons were Franklin with 11, Union with 9, Sabine and Lincoln with 8 each, and Lafourche, Evangeline, and Vernon with 7 each.

On table 1 the parishes are listed in descending order according to population. Of the 10 parishes with a population of 37,500 or more, only 3 showed a net loss in migration. As a group, these 10 parishes showed a net increase of 65 in the number of migrants, while every other grouping of parishes showed a net decrease in migrants. This fact indicates that the aged individuals have moved from thinly populated areas to the more populous parishes.

This evidence of migration of the aged from rural to urban areas would not be conclusive, however, without further substantiation. With the exception of Orleans, a large portion of each of these 10 parishes is rural, and the individual might have moved to a rural area rather than to an urban center within the parish. In order to obtain more specific information concerning the type of community from and to which the individuals moved, the location of the recipient's home before and after he moved was studied in as many cases as possible. This information was available in the parishes of first and second residence for 350 of the 799 recipients; the location of the recipient's dwelling place in the first parish was compared with the location in the parish to which he moved. Results of this comparison are shown in table 2.

In the parishes of first residence, 62.6 percent of these 350 aged recipients lived on farms. In the parishes of second residence, only 54 percent lived on farms. The proportion living in urban centers increased from 15.7 percent in the first parishes to 23.1 percent in the second parishes; the proportion living in rural nonfarm areas rose from 21.7 percent to 22.9 percent. In this group, then, which should be fairly representative of the total number of migrants, there was a marked movement from farm areas to urban centers.

TABLE 2.—*Change in place of residence of 350 recipients of old-age assistance*

Place of residence	Parish of first residence		Parish of second residence	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	350	100.0	350	100.0
Urban	55	15.7	81	23.1
Rural	295	84.3	269	76.9
Nonfarm	76	21.7	80	22.9
Farm	219	62.6	189	54.0

Since old-age assistance grants to recipients in urban areas generally average slightly more than grants to recipients in rural areas, it might be argued that the prospect of receiving higher grants influenced the migration to urban centers. It seems unlikely, however, to those engaged in public-welfare activities that this factor was important in the migration of aged recipients. In the first place, 17 of the 24 parishes which showed a net increase from migration had an average old-age assistance grant in July 1939 smaller than the State average, indicating that migration to these parishes was not for the purpose of obtaining a higher grant. Furthermore, persons eligible for old-age assistance probably would not recognize that differences in average grants exist among parishes; their contacts in another parish would be with a few individuals whose grants might be either higher or lower than their own. Then, too, the variations in the grants among the parishes are usually so small that an individual would not be justified in making a change in his living arrangements merely in the hope of securing a higher grant. Especially would there be little to gain in moving to urban centers where living costs such as rent and fuel are likely to be much higher than in the country. Together, these factors tend to eliminate the possibility of the influence of high and low grants on migration of the aged.

Although table 1 shows the number of recipients who moved in each parish, it does not show in each instance of migration the parish from and to which the individual moved. For example, table 1 shows that 41 persons moved to Ouachita, but it does not indicate from what parishes these individuals moved. Chart 1 supplements table 1 by showing the two parishes involved in the principal incidences of migration. Since it would be impossible to present graphically every instance of migration, chart 1 shows only the cases in which 3 or more persons migrated from one parish to another, thus reflecting the major trends of movement.

The greatest single instance of migration from one parish to another was the moving of 14 persons from Lincoln to Jackson. Offsetting this movement to some extent was the migration of 7 persons from Jackson to Lincoln. When there is reciprocal migration between 2 parishes, it is assumed that same individuals are seldom involved in both movements; when a recipient moves to another parish, he is not accepted by the parish of second residence until it is ascertained that he intends to remain in that parish.

The centers of the largest incidences of migration were the following: (1) Parishes in the northwest section of the State, particularly East and West Carroll, Richland, Madison, Ouachita, Franklin, Catahoula, and Lincoln; and (2) the central section of the State, involving chiefly the parishes of Vernon, Rapides, Avoyelles, Evangeline, St. Landry, and Acadia. In most of these parishes there are large numbers of tenant farmers. Mobility among tenants is considerably higher than among other segments of the population; it may be safely assumed that many of the aged recipients are members of tenant families who follow the family as it moves to seek a livelihood.

In a study of migration the analysis of the reasons for moving would be the most significant data concerning the migrants. Since this information is not available, however, a comparison of the social characteristics of the migrant group with the total old-age assistance recipients should furnish the best available insight into the type of individuals who move. This comparison was made. For the migrant group, social data were available for 614 of the total 799. Social data on the 29,941 recipients approved for old-age assistance during the period November 1936 through June 1939 has previously been tabulated, and this group was used as representative of the entire old-age assistance caseload.

RACE

Comparison of the race distribution of the total old-age assistance caseload with that of the migrant group reveals a significant difference as shown in table 3.

TABLE 3.—*Race distribution of total old-age assistance case load and of old-age assistance migrants*

Race	Total old-age assistance case load	Migrant group
Total number of recipients	29, 941	614
Total percent	100. 0	100. 0
White	58. 5	75. 2
Negro	41. 4	24. 6
Other	. 1	. 2

While only 58.5 percent of the total old-age-assistance recipients were white, 75.2 percent of the old-age-assistance migrants were white. Migration among the aged white, then, is considerably greater than among aged Negroes.

SEX

Males comprised 54.6 percent of the migrant group, while only 51.3 percent of the total recipients were male (table 4). Although the difference between these two percentages is small, it is indicative that the proportion of males who move is slightly higher than the proportion of females. Further analysis of the sex of the migrants shows that of the whites 57 percent were male and of the Negroes 49 percent were male. Thus the ascendency of males over females in the migrant group is caused by the white rather than by the Negro recipients.

AGE

The migrant group, as a whole, is older than the total old-age-assistance group (table 5). The proportion of the total old-age-assistance recipients who were in the age groups of 65–69 years and 70–74 years was higher than the proportion of migrants in these same groups. In all of the age groups above 75, however, the percentage of migrants was greater than the percentage of the total old-age-assistance case load.

TABLE 4.—*Sex distribution of total old-age assistance case load and of old-age assistance migrants*

Sex	Total old-age assistance case load	Migrant group
Total number of recipients	29, 941	614
Total percent	100. 0	100. 0
Male	51. 3	54. 6
Female	48. 7	45. 4

TABLE 5.—*Age distribution of total old-age assistanse case load and of old-age assistance migrants*

Age	Total old-age assistance case load	Migrant group
Total number of recipients	29, 941	614
Total percent	100. 0	100. 0
65 to 69	41. 0	30. 8
70 to 74	28. 0	27. 2
75 to 79	16. 5	20. 8
80 to 84	8. 9	11. 9
85 to 89	3. 7	5. 0
90 and over	1. 7	2. 3
65 and over, exact age unknown	. 2	2. 0

PHYSICAL CONDITION

According to data recorded at the time the individuals were accepted for old-age assistance, the physical condition of the migrants is not as good as that of the total old-age assistance recipients. Table 6 shows that while 76 percent of the total group were physically able to care for themselves, only 66.4 percent of the migrants were similarly classified. This fact parallels the findings in table 5 that the migrant group is generally older than the total recipients and therefore more liable to poor health.

TABLE 6.—*Physical condition of total old-age assistance case load and of old-age assistance migrants*

Physical condition	Total old-age assistance case load	Migrant group
Total number of recipients	29, 941	614
Total percent	100. 0	100. 0
Bedridden	3. 3	3. 6
Not bedridden, but requiring considerable care from others	20. 7	30. 0
Able to care for self	76. 0	66. 4

TESTIMONY OF MYRON FALK—Resumed

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR SOLUTION OF MIGRANT PROBLEM

Mr. FALK. All of the discussions that I have heard prepared and presented so far remind me of the story of a community which was facing a problem because near the city there was a mountain road making a very sharp turn. A number of persons drove off the road and over the cliff, fell to the bottom of the mountain and were seriously hurt or killed. The town agreed that something should be done about it. They agreed that they should buy an ambulance and put it at the bottom of the hill in order to care for the people who were hurt in that manner. There were a few among the minority on the city council who believed that they should put a fence around the sharp curve on the road in order to keep the people from falling off and becoming injured. Now, I think all of these plans that we have heard about here to give the migrants cheap housing and to give them relief of one sort and another, are more of the ambulance type, but I think that the real thing to relieve the situation is to provide a suitable income in the way of employment, rather than to provide better housing and extend relief of various forms to these migrants, as has been suggested here.

Mr. CURTIS. You take the position that the ambulance type of work is necessary, it is humane, and possibly, to a certain extent, necessary under the existing situations, but it is your contention that it does not solve the problem?

Mr. FALK. Yes, sir; that is correct, and certainly a more desirable way to solve it is by prevention. If we could have the migrant included in the minimum wage-hour bill or perhaps see that he got unemployment compensation and could share in the old-age benefit payments, then we would be doing more fence-building rather than providing ambulance service.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you think that the answer lies in that sort of thing?

Mr. FALK. I think that would be probably one way to remedy it.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you think we have reached a basic problem of unemployment and difficulties in agriculture where these people can no longer stay on the land?

Mr. FALK. I think so. I think there are many indications toward increasing the wage of the migrant farm laborer. I am sorry that I did not hear Dr. Vance's statement about increasing the production and the price, and so on, but I know it is a problem much beyond my efforts to solve.

ABOLITION OF SETTLEMENT LAWS

Mr. CURTIS. There is one other thing that you mention in your paper with reference to residence requirements for assistance. Let us have what you think about that.

Mr. FALK. I don't believe we have ever seen a law that has remained in use so long or continued to serve its purposes as long as have the settlement laws. One of the barriers which must be removed before assistance can be available is our settlement laws. They are governing, in many instances, twentieth century America with seventeenth century laws and attitudes. Settlement laws date back to 1349 when the black death plagued England. The English settlement law was instituted to immobilize labor, and it is still doing that. The settlement-law idea was brought over and planted by the colonists in the New World, and some of them are now like the old English laws in 1300. I would like to read one State settlement law, if I may.

Mr. CURTIS. All right.

Mr. FALK. Many of the original settlement laws of the colonies were copies of the old English settlement laws. Unfortunately, some of these laws still exist. Take for example, the settlement law of 1662 in England, which stated—

> That settlement was acquired by birth, and the new settlement could be secured either by marriage, the women taken the husbands; by paying taxes; by serving for a whole year in any public county office; by being bound as a servant or apprentice for a year and by living more than 40 days in a county and occupying a house with an annual rental of more than 10 pounds.

Now, in 1938, the settlement laws for Delaware read, that a settlement in Delaware could be established by—

> 1. By executing any public office for a year. 2. By paying poor taxes for 2 consecutive years. 3. By occupying and paying rent for premises therein, of the higher value of $50 for 1 year. 4. By serving 1 year therein as a lawful apprentice or servant.

So, in 1938, we still have practically the same settlement laws that existed in 1662.

Mr. CURTIS. Now, Mr. Falk, there have been two schools of thought among social workers, in regard to this subject—one is abolishment and the other is uniformity. Would you be for the abolishment or would you be for uniformity?

Mr. FALK. I would be for both. I do not think that abolition could come overnight, and pending it, I would prefer uniformity.

Mr. CURTIS. But ultimately, you say abolishment, then?

Mr. FALK. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. You are a social worker—have you ever enumerated what the individual loses and what society loses when a migrant gets into difficulties and he is away from his home community, individuals that he has known all his life, away from the ties of friendship, away from the bonds of his local church, and all that sort of thing—can you give him the help that he needs as well away from home, and is he going to feel less restrained in asking for it in his place of new settlement?

Mr. Falk. I think that would be rather difficult for me to answer, Mr. Congressman. I do believe that we should give some thought to the place where he ought to be and where he wants to be, and I believe reciprocal agreements would be a stop-gap in allowing him to return to the State where he ought to be, but where he may not have settlement.

The reason I think the abolition of settlement was desirable— I am thinking of my own community, Baton Rouge—the Standard Oil Co. and a number of industries there have brought into the community a number of persons. Some of them have been there for 10 or 15 years and they have really made a contribution to the community and have spent their money and lived there although they are not from there, but they have meant something to this community.

Mr. Curtis. Haven't they met the requirements of the Louisiana settlement laws?

Mr. Falk. Yes sir, but they may be transferred somewhere else, or they may desire to return some day to their old homes, if they should lose their jobs. Some may remain in New Jersey, we will say, and if they do remain in New Jersey for a year, then New Jersey would be asked to grant them relief if they become unemployed, but I think under those circumstances, that Baton Rouge should be called upon to bear a part of that burden, because their contribution was made to that community during their gainfully employed years, and they have contributed little to New Jersey. Where the person has made his economic adjustment or contribution to the community should be taken into consideration, rather than where he happens to be when he is in need of assistance.

Mr. Curtis. Is there anything else you wish to say?

Mr. Falk. Yes, sir. I believe that the South is not financially able to meet the problem, because it does not have the money. The State budget of the State of Mississippi, the entire State budget is smaller than the budget for education in the State of Massachusetts, and if the State of Mississippi spent as much on education as New York State, it would take 99 percent of its State budget. Something has to be done to help a State that is trying to supply its entire governmental functions with less money than another State is spending for educational purposes alone. A system of variable grants is the only answer, not only for general assistance, but for all of the categories.

Mr. Curtis. In reference to this State's budget, is a portion of that going to pay interest on bonded debt?

Mr. Falk. In Mississippi, I should say; yes sir.

Mr. Curtis. A very great portion?

Mr. Falk. No, I don't think that it is any greater portion, perhaps, than some of the other States. Everything is done on such a low figure, the whole income of the whole State of Mississippi is so very small. All of the Southern States are in a very difficult financial situation.

Mr. CURTIS. I want to thank you for your presentation here, and your full statement will be given further consideration by the committee in preparing its report.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF O. P. SMITH, COFFEE COUNTY, ALA.

Mr. OSMERS. State your name for the record.

Mr. SMITH. O. P. Smith.

Mr. OSMERS. Where were you born and when?

Mr. SMITH. December 7, 1891, Coffee County, Ala.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you want to tell the committee about your experiences and where you were raised, and your education and so on?

Mr. SMITH. Yes sir. My education was in the schools in Coffee County. I finished through the tenth grade at Enterprise, and then after living there, I went to Campbell Institute at Dothan, for my commercial course. After having finished over there, I got a position with Gen. Peter W. Meldrin, who was division attorney for the A. C. L. Railway, and he was also president of the American Bar Association while I was with him, during the period.

Mr. OSMERS. What did you do after that?

Mr. SMITH. Well, immediately after that, about 6 months or a year, I accepted a position with the Central & Southern Railway as freight claim clerk, and then I moved back to my farm, or to a farm over in Covington County, Ala.

Mr. OSMERS. In Alabama?

Mr. SMITH. Yes sir; back down to Covington County.

Mr. OSMERS. When you returned to the farm, was farming your only occupation?

Mr. SMITH. At that time, I farmed until, I think it was in June of 1921. I went over to Atlanta then and accepted a position with the Ocean Accident & Guarantee Corporation, as assistant claim adjuster. I knew the man in Savannah when I was with Mr. Meldrin.

Mr. OSMERS. Were you engaged in any other business while you were in Covington County?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; after I left Atlanta, I went back to Covington County and farmed, 1924, 1925, and 1926.

Mr. OSMERS. You mean during the years 1924, 1925, and 1926?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; and farming was all I had at the time. I did deal some in real estate, and developing farms, and building houses in the town of Andalusia.

Mr. OSMERS. What was your income in the years that you were in Covington County?

Mr. SMITH. That is sort of hard to say.

Mr. OSMERS. Just approximate it, by the year, for us.

Mr. SMITH. My own income, would you say?

Mr. OSMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Two or three hundred dollars per year after I paid all of my expenses.

Mr. Osmers. That is including your income from the real-estate business, too?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir; I guess it did—that is about right.

Mr. Osmers. That would include your whole total cash income?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. And then you went to Atlanta?

Mr. Smith. Well, I was in the oil business for 2 years, but I had sold all of my farms and I went in the oil business, and I still built houses in town and developed property.

Mr. Osmers. Why did you get out of that business?

Mr. Smith. Well, I thought I could do better. I had made some money, and I went to Birmingham, and the real-estate business in Birmingham really went to the bad, and then I went to Atlanta.

Mr. Osmers. Also in the real-estate business?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir; in the same business.

Mr. Osmers. How did you happen to return to farming?

Mr. Smith. The real-estate business really went to the bad in Atlanta, and so I left over there and since I was raised on the farm, I knew that I could make my wife and babies plenty to eat on the farm, because I had a good knowledge of farming.

Mr. Osmers. And how long were you on the farm when you came back from Atlanta?

Mr. Smith. Sir?

Mr. Osmers. How long were you on the farm when you came back from Atlanta?

Mr. Smith. That was 1930—I came back to the farm in 1930 and I made a crop in 1930, 1931, 1932, 1933, and 1934—1934 was the last year that I farmed in Coffee County, at that time, back at Enterprise.

Mr. Osmers. And what did you do after that?

Mr. Smith. I accepted a position, then, with a St. Louis wholesale house, as a traveling salesman.

Mr. Osmers. Where did your work take you?

Mr. Smith. Just in Alabama, say from Montgomery south.

Mr. Osmers. Did you travel with your family, or did you travel alone?

Mr. Smith. No; they stayed in Enterprise, or near Enterprise, they lived on a farm over there, and they lived there as long as I traveled for the St. Louis wholesale house.

Mr. Osmers. How did you make out as a traveling salesman?

Mr. Smith. Not so good.

Mr. Osmers. What was your income?

Mr. Smith. I broke about even after keeping my family up and so on, I just broke about even—it wasn't attractive.

Mr. Osmers. And what did you do after that?

Mr. Smith. For about 6 months, I operated what was called the South Alabama Rolling Store; we built a big van on a big truck, and sold groceries all over the country.

Mr. Osmers. How did that go?

Mr. Smith. Not so hot.

Mr. Osmers. What did you do with your family while you had your rolling store?

Mr. SMITH. I was living in Geneva in town, at that time.

Mr. OSMERS. What did you do next?

Mr. SMITH. I accepted a position with the Commercial Casualty Insurance Co., and traveled over a part of the State of Alabama and all of Mississippi.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you mean the Commercial Casualty Co. of Newark, N. J.?

Mr. SMITH. That is right.

Mr. OSMERS. How long did you work for them?

Mr. SMITH. It was something like a year or two—I don't remember just exactly, but as I remember it, it was considerably over a year.

Mr. OSMERS. How did you get along on that job in a financial way?

Mr. SMITH. Well, that was only fair, and I was away from my family all the time, and I didn't like that.

Mr. OSMERS. And did you go back to your farm again?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. How did you find conditions when you came back to the farm? When did you go back to the farm?

Mr. SMITH. It was in '26 or '27 when I made up my mind—I believe it was in the winter of '27.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you mean '27 or '37?

Mr. SMITH. '37; when I made up my mind to be with my family, and I knew how to plow and how to farm, and I decided to do that, and I had read in the papers something about the F. S. A. that was helping the people, and I tried to get on with Mr. Lewis in Geneva County, and I couldn't make it.

Mr. OSMERS. Who is Mr. Lewis?

Mr. SMITH. Well, he looks after the F. S. A. farm, sort of like Mr. Mack, only he is under Mr. Mack. He was the local representative of the F. S. A.

Mr. OSMERS. Did he take care of you?

COMPARISON OF FINANCING FARM THROUGH MERCHANT AND THROUGH FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

Mr. SMITH. No, sir; he didn't have room. So, after I failed there, I moved up in Coffee County near Enterprise, and got in with Mr. Warren, a trading and furnishing house, and I was with him during 1938, and I kept on worrying Mr. Mack until he took me over.

Mr. OSMERS. With respect to this Mr. Warren, did he finance you in your operations?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. What did that financing cost you, I mean the interest rate?

Mr. SMITH. Well, the way you do, you go in there in the springtime and you make up your note for so much money's worth of supplies, and he has a commissary, and you go in there and get your merchandise and supplies from the commissary.

Mr. OSMERS. And get your seed and so on?

Mr. Smith. Everything that you need. Oh, I imagine he figures about 35 to 50 percent interest on his money; that is about the way it pans out.

Mr. Osmers. Very moderate, to say the least.

Mr. Smith. He is a good friend of mine, and all that, but that is what happens.

Mr. Osmers. He seems to have a more prosperous business than has the man that borrows from him?

Mr. Smith. I think so.

Mr. Osmers. Then, you were finally successful in making arrangements with the Farm Security?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. What is your arrangement that you have with them?

Mr. Smith. We have a 12-month furnish—that is, in the springtime, they come around, or his representatives do, and we figure out a budget system.

Mr. Osmers. What is your farm—do they give you the farm or did you find a farm, or is it your farm?

Mr. Smith. No; in the meantime, my wife had inherited a small farm.

Mr. Osmers. Free and clear?

Mr. Smith. No; there is a small mortgage on it.

Mr. Osmers. Tell me about your Farm Security dealings.

Mr. Smith. We figured out a budget, so much money, I had bought a horse at that time, and we figured some money out for a cow, horse, hog, and we figured out what we would need during the year, every month, clothes and supplies of every nature to carry me through the entire 12-month period, and in the fall when we began to gather the crops, we didn't have to worry about it at all, we just carried in the statement and checks received, and deposited the money in a joint bank account with F. S. A., to be used in paying off my mortgage with F. S. A. and to operate the farm next year.

Mr. Osmers. Were you able to pay off your obligations to the Farm Security Administration?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir; luckily, I was.

Mr. Osmers. On time and in full?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir; luckily, I was.

Mr. Osmers. Did they give you this money to use in your 12-month budget, in the form of a loan at the beginning of the year, or did they give that to you as you went along?

Mr. Smith. They gave it to us as we went along, a specific amount every month.

Mr. Osmers. As you needed it, they gave it to you?

Mr. Smith. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. They didn't turn it over to you in a lump sum to use all during the year as you saw fit?

Mr. Smith. No, sir. We got it at different times during the year. We got a clothes check in June and one in September, we got a clothes check in September and it also was for school books and all of that kind of thing.

Mr. OSMERS. Wouldn't you care to give your opinion to the committee as to a comparison between the arrangements that you made with the merchant who advanced you supplies, and so forth, and the arrangement that you made with the Farm Security Administration—would you care to make a comparison as to which is better, so far as the farmer is concerned?

Mr. SMITH. As I see it, there is no comparison at all; the Farm Security Administration's plan is so much better, very, very much better. You see, the furnishing merchant, he doesn't help you very much, he just figures out what you have to have to starve it out.

Mr. OSMERS. How much do you pay the Farm Security for your financing?

Mr. SMITH. The rate of interest, do you mean?

Mr. OSMERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SMITH. Five percent.

Mr. OSMERS. And those are 1-year loans, that is the loan that you work under is to be for 1 year, or is it for a longer time than 1 year?

Mr. SMITH. No; the loan from the Farm Security Administration is spread over a period of 5 years. If I borrow $500, it is scattered over a period of 5 years, and I have to pay back $100 each year, with interest, to the Farm Security Administration.

Mr. OSMERS. But the money that you borrowed, the payment of which was spread over a 5-year period, was only used to make one crop, is that correct?

Mr. SMITH. For that one year, yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. OSMERS. And when you come back for the second year, do you have to borrow another $500 to go over?

Mr. SMITH. No, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. Or can you use the things that you bought in the first year to continue along?

Mr. SMITH. You use the things that you bought in the first year, in the way of farming implements and livestock.

Mr. OSMERS. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. And then it is supposed to be a self-sustaining proposition. If my payment was $100 to Mr. Mack, and if I make $400 from my farming operations that year, I deposit all my $400 in the pot, a subchecking account with them, and they take $100 to make my payment that is due, and then that other $300 is to our credit, to be used in the next year, and so on, never making another borrow unless something happens that you have to.

Mr. OSMERS. Do you plan to continue farming from now on?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; I do.

Mr. OSMERS. Are you happy at your work?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir; absolutely.

Mr. OSMERS. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. CURTIS. How far is your farm from here?

Mr. SMITH. It is around 100 miles.

Mr. CURTIS. Which direction?

Mr. SMITH. Pretty nearly south, I would say—it is in Coffee County.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have any difficulty there, raising vegetables?

Mr. SMITH. None at all, none at all.

Mr. CURTIS. Regardless of what cash crops are available, with your present set-up, you can keep your family from starving?

Mr. SMITH. Absolutely; yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. That is better than the European plan, isn't it?

Mr. SMITH. Beg your pardon?

Mr. CURTIS. I said that is better than the European plan, isn't it? At least better than the Europeans are doing?

Mr. SMITH. Yes, sir. I have nothing to worry about now. In that traveling job that I had, for instance, if you get out of work, you are just up against it, and this way I have nothing to worry about.

Mr. CURTIS. That's all.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We thank you very much, Mr. Smith.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Morgan, I believe you are the next witness.

TESTIMONY OF E. S. MORGAN, REGIONAL DIRECTOR, REGION V, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION, MONTGOMERY, ALA.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Morgan, will you give your name, title, and address to the reporter?

Mr. MORGAN. My name is E. S. Morgan, regional director, Farm Security Administration, region V, Montgomery, Ala.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will you please advise us what States are included in region V?

Mr. MORGAN. South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is four States?

Mr. MORGAN. Let's see, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, and Alabama—yes, sir; four States.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have prepared and filed with us a very comprehensive statement, and a statement that I want to say is full of substance. We appreciate it very much, and we are going to ask you to submit a copy of your statement to the reporter, and let it become a part of the record, and then let us question you about it.

Mr. MORGAN. That is fine.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF E. S. MORGAN, REGIONAL DIRECTOR, FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

The committee has heard several reports concerning the extent of migration of farm families here in the Southeastern States, and much information has been furnished about the deplorable situation of these displaced families who are forced to roam the highways in search of food and shelter. No effective consideration of the problems of these people could ignore a study of the causes of this mass migration. My remarks, therefore, will concern, primarily, the forces which have combined to push these thousands of farm families off the land, and the steps which are being taken by the Federal Government to arrest this trend of migration by bringing the families into a better relationship with the land.

PROBLEMS OF SOUTH LONG-STANDING

The problems of the cotton South are not the outgrowth of the depression of the thirties. Rather, they have been growing, largely unnoticed, even by the majority of the southern people, since the days of the Civil War, and before.

It took the tragedy of the depression, which forced thousands of our farmers on relief, to impress on us the extent of poverty among our rural people.

It had been the popular belief of most of the people here in the South that agriculture, and particularly the people who depended on it, could never be injured by world conditions, economic trends, or by the effects of a serious depression. There had been a feeling that farming here in the South offered security for all who had the willingness to work. The farmers of the South feel and like their independence. They are strong-willed and have learned through years of hardship to "take it on the chin." So, the fact that over 30,000 farm families in each of the States of Georgia and Alabama were on the relief rolls during 1935 indicated that something was wrong in agriculture in these States and in this region.

It required much courage—or, rather, the very opposite of it, utter defeat and hopelessness—for these "independent" farmers to apply for public assistance. Actually, the relief rolls did not tell of the extent of suffering and poverty among the farm families of this region, for thousands of them, though without adequate food and clothing to sustain themselves, could never quite overcome their pride and ask for the help they so badly needed. But the depression, and these thousands of farm families on relief awakened us to the realization of many deep-rooted maladjustments in our agricultural economy, which had heretofore been observed only by the more enlightened leaders of the South and by the sociologists and economists who had studied our region.

BACKGROUND OF MIGRATION FROM SOUTH

The symptoms of some of these fundamental problems have been apparent though for almost a century. Farmers have migrated from the cotton-growing State of the Southeast for generations. When the settlers first came to this country, they found virgin land and forests that supplied them bountifully with timber, game, and such crops as were planted. The settlers cleared land along the seaboard, cultivated it for a few years, getting all they could from it, without putting anything back and with little regard for its value to future generations, then looked to the virgin fields and forests beyond. As the cleared tracts lost their fertility and became unproductive, and as the population increased, the pioneers pushed on further west to take in new land, to mine it intensively until it was no longer productive, and then to push onward toward the West. That's how this country was settled—and people have always migrated from this region. Until some years ago it was possible for any family who was willing to move to a new homestead in the West. Today there is no free land in the West, and we are forced to seek new methods of dealing with the problem of poverty among farm people of this area.

In more recent years, or immediately following the World War, there was a migration from the rural South to the cities and industrial centers, but the depression and technological development in industry threw millions of people out of employment during the thirties, and there was no opportunity for migration from the South to the industrial areas. The trend of population movement from the farms to the cities was reversed during the depression, and agriculture, though it had struggled with a depression since 1921, was forced to absorb not only an increase of about a half a million employable workers each year, but also had to absorb many thousands of unemployed industrial workers who drifted back to the farms and to their families on the farms.

Between 1930 and 1935, the number of farm units in operation throughout the Nation rose from 6,288,000 to 6,812,000, an increase of more than half a million. There was a proportionate increase in the number of farms in operation in the South during this period.

LAND PRODUCTION LESS THAN IN 1860

There are less acres under cultivation in the South today than there were in 1860. Our land is far less productive now, but there are twice as many families trying to eke out an existence on those acres today as there were in 1860. In the southeastern cotton belt the average farm is only 30 acres for cultivated crops, as compared with an average of 74 acres for the rest of the country.

This pressure of population on the land forced hundreds of thousands of southern farmers to try to support their big families on farms too small to provide a decent living under even the best of conditions. It forced thousands of others to till land that is even too poor to yield a living. This pressure of population on the land is one of the South's biggest problems, and its growing intensity, plus the mechanization of farms, and the increased number of large commercial operators, is causing the displacement of thousands of tenants, sharecroppers and wage hands throughout this area. It also means that fully half of the southern farm population must live in extreme poverty because there is not enough land to give every farm family a productive and economic unit.

LOW FARM INCOME

The low income and low living standards of the botton third of our farm population has shut them out of our productive economy as effectively as if they were in another nation. Because they are without essentials of capital equipment in adequate land and tools, they are necessarily unproductive. They contribute few goods and services, and they are able to buy only the barest of necessities. The 1930 census disclosed that even in prosperous 1929, 1,682,000 farms of the Nation reported a gross income of less than $600, and that figure includes all farm operating expenses and all foodstuffs raised for home consumption. A more recent study by the National Resources Committee indicated that in 1936, more than 1,690,000 farm families had an average income of less than $500 a year, and nearly half of these families had incomes of less than $250 per year. In other words, about 4,000,000 farm people were trying to live on an average income of about $1 per week.

The farm income here in the South is the lowest for any section of the United States and most of the farm families of the Nation with gross incomes of less than $500 live in this section. Considering this fact, it is not alarming that such a large number of our farm families were forced on relief during the depths of the depression.

For generations the farmers in the South have followed a one-crop system of agriculture. We have depended almost entirely on cotton as a source of farm income. We have mined our soil, year in and year out, in an effort to get as much as we could from it, but the majority of the farmers have neglected to put anything back. There are now over 97,000,000 acres of badly eroded land in the Southern States alone. At least 22,000,000 acres, an acreage as large as the State of South Carolina, have been ruined beyond repair. This is wasted land. Poor land means poor people.

TENANCY

Then, there is the problem of tenancy. This is partly cause and partly result of the unsoundness of our agricultural economy. Tenancy is increasing in this country at the rate of about 40,000 families a year. Two out of every three farmers in Alabama are tenants or sharecroppers. In the Southeastern States the farms are usually smaller than those in other sections of the country, the fertility of the soil has been lowered by erosion and improper care, the farm buildings are usually in bad state of repair, or are in a state of decay, and we have a highly mobile farm population. Under the tenure system of the South since the Civil War, the land and the people have been going down together.

Approximately half of the tenant farmers in Alabama and Georgia move every year, and without advantage to themselves or to their landlords. In 1936, Georgia had more farmers who had been on the land only 1 year than any other State in the Union, but Alabama and other Southeastern States rank very close to Georgia in the mobility of their tenants. The erosion of our soil and the insecurity of tenure have had the effect of steadily cutting down our farm income, and, at the same time, of adding to the cost of production of crops. While the South has only about one-fifth of the Nation's income, it buys three-fifths of the fertilizer sold in this country. These conditions have been growing for many years. The depression simply focused our attention on the problems of our distressed farm people.

DECLINE IN FARM PRICES

Immediately after the World War farm prices plunged downward and returns per acre for basic crops were drastically reduced. Land values declined along with the per acre returns, but, at the same time, there was no drop in the mortgage burden which the farmers had to carry. The farmers could neither wipe out their debts by selling out, nor were they able to earn enough from their lands to operate their farms and carry the interest and principal payment on their indebtedness. The total farm mortgage debt for the Nation had risen from 3⅓ billion dollars in 1910 to 9¼ billion dollars by 1930. The total cash income of farmers dropped from a little less than 10½ billion dollars in 1929 to approximately 4⅓ billion dollars in 1932. This drying up of farmers' buying power had a tremendous effect on the Nation's economy, and resulted in the closing down of industrial plants and other business enterprises throughout the country.

The extent to which farm buying power had declined is indicated by the following table, which was published by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, showing the number of pounds of cotton needed to buy a two-horse wagon in the years 1921 to 1932:

Year	Wholesale price, two-horse wagon	Number of bales (500 pounds) cotton needed to buy	Year	Wholesale price, two-horse wagon	Number of bales (500 pounds) cotton needed to buy
1921	$118.27	2.07	1927	$103.07	1.15
1922	100.80	.97	1928	103.07	1.14
1923	111.05	.79	1929	94.24	1.08
1924	111.15	.93	1930	93.83	1.81
1925	96.90	.93	1931	86.60	2.83
1926	103.07	1.54	1932	79.19	2.61

SOIL DEPLETION RESULTING FROM ONE-CROP SYSTEM

The one-crop farming has been a terrific gamble for the farmers of the South. Only once during the last decade did the price of cotton fluctuate less than 10 percent between pickings. Three times in 5 years it jumped more than 40 percent—once up and twice down. A study over a 40-year period in Georgia showed that the average income to the farmer during this period for a bale of cotton was $59, yet the year-to-year fluctuation ranged from $38 to $178 per bale.

As the land became depleted by continued planting to cotton, risks and interest rates climbed with the years. In many sections of the South Farmers have paid as high as 25 to 35 percent interest for money or "furnish" they have required for producing a crop. In some places interest has been reported as high as 62 percent, including the customary mark-up for time payment. The credit system under which farmers have borrowed in February and repaid in the fall, if they could, has offered little opportunity and no incentive for long-range planning or for the carrying out of soil-improvement and soil-building practices, or for the maintenance or repair of buildings, fences, et cetera. Usually, at the end of the year, if the farmer has been unable to pay his advances from the landlord or furnish merchant, he moves to another farm to start all over again in this vicious cycle. One-crop farming for cash and commissary diets has been a tradition in southern agriculture.

Somehow, we often think of farm problems as being something separate and apart from farm people. The public is beginning to realize, however, that there is a relationship between soil erosion and human erosion. Every farm problem affects farm people. Every agricultural deficiency, or weakness, or waste, can be measured in the distress, the disease, and poverty and waste of farm people.

SUBSTANDARD LIVING CONDITIONS

The substandard living conditions, which a large share of our farm population here in the South must endure, inevitably means bad health, which imposes heavy costs on the national economy. Malaria, which is largely due to lack of window screens, takes a tremendous toll of labor efficiency throughout this section. In families so poor that they cannot afford an outdoor privy, the number of hookworm infections is extremely high. In surveys conducted by the Farm Security Administration in Georgia and Alabama, in cooperation with the State and county public health officials, we have found an alarming percentage of rural families with hookworm infection. In one county, 60 percent of the school children had hookworm disease.

A survey of 100 needy farm families in two Georgia counties was recently made under the direction of the State medical school and the Farm Security Administration. This survey disclosed more than 1,300 health handicaps among these 100 families. Five hundred and seventy-five people in these families had 132 cases of rickets, 31 cases of suspected tuberculosis, 14 cases of pellagra, 288 cases of diseased tonsils, and a large percentage of hookworm. In addition, 360 of these people had defective teeth, and 124 had defective eyesight.

Out of 109 women, 79 were suffering from tears resulting from neglect at childbirth, most of which could have been avoided by proper medical attention, and these 109 women also had 21 cases of suspected cancer. It is hardly surprising that those families had been failures and, in many cases, a burden on local relief rolls. A large number of the physical afflictions and diseases found among these people were the direct result of malnutrition. These families had never known what an adequate and a balanced diet was. Many of these families did not know that they were sick. The communities in which they lived had thought them to be shiftless. The amazing thing is that those families were able to keep going as long as they have, and not that many of them finally found their way to relief rolls.

ILLITERACY

Then there is the problem of education for rural people here in the South. We have the highest percent of illiteracy, and yet the poorest educational opportunities of any section of the country. Many rural counties throughout the South do not teach agriculture or home economics in their schools. Yet these are fundamental to the solution of our agricultural problems. Because of the mobility and the extreme poverty of thousands of farm families throughout this region, many children attend school only a few months out of the year, if at all. The moving season for farm tenants comes during the midst of the school term and the progress of the children of school age who attend school regularly is jeopardized. In fact, the whole school program of many rural schools is seriously disrupted because of this mobility of farm families.

ILLUSTRATIVE CASE OF GREENE COUNTY, GA.

I have, in the above statements, given a general summary of the fundamental problems affecting agriculture and farm people here in the South. It will be of interest to the committee to see how these problems have affected a particular county in this region. As an extreme, but not an unusual example, of what has taken place in the cotton-growing States of the South, the following information is submitted about Greene County, Ga.:

Greene County, Ga., with an area of 266,240 acres, is located about midway between Atlanta and Augusta, in the lower Piedmont region. The population of Greene County in 1930 was 12,616, almost equally divided between the whites and the Negroes. Between 1920 and 1930, the county suffered a population loss of 1,783 whites and 4,572 Negroes, or a little more than one-third of its total population, as shown by the 1920 census.

The immediate cause of the migration of such a large number of its people, most of them farmers, was the unusually heavy boll-weevil infestation in the early twenties. There were other deep-rooted causes which had sapped the economic and physical strength of these people so that they were unable to stand up under or come back after a year or so of crop failure. Dr. Arthur Raper, in his Preface to Pleasantry, states that from a peak of 20,030 bales of cotton produced in Greene County in 1919, the production dropped to 13,414 bales in 1920, to 1,487 bales in 1921, and to only 333 bales in 1922. During these years, the landowners had spent large sums of money for fertilizer, poison, and for provisions for their tenants, hoping each year that they would make enough cotton to pay operating expenses and have a surplus to cover a part of their previous years' losses.

But since the farmers had for generations relied solely on cotton as a cash crop, they suddenly found themselves facing bankruptcy and poverty. The plantation owners had no money and no credit, and many of them abandoned their farms entirely, while others greatly curtailed their operations or allowed their former tenants to remain on the land, free of rent, provided they could make their own arrangements for provisions, fertilizer, and other expenses. But most of the tenants, croppers, and wage hands were in worse condition than the landowners themselves, in that they were not only without credit, but were also without food and clothing. So the migration began.

For over a hundred years most of the red-land area of Greene County has been devoted to plantation farming. The boll weevil ruined the main cash crop, and in doing so forced the complete collapse of the cotton plantation economy of that county. Every bank, except the small one at Siloam, in the poorer, gray-land section, went broke during the twenties, along with the big land owners. The small operators in the gray-land areas had regularly produced more of their food and feed crops, and though their cotton production had always been small, they were in better position to withstand the onslaught of the weevil and a depression than were the large plantation owners.

Between 1920 and 1930 the value of land dropped from $8,189,205 to $1,263,633. In 1920 all farm property in the county, including land, buildings, livestock, equipment, etc., was valued at $12,311,391, as compared with only $2,914,462 in 1930. Though there was a general decrease throughout the State and Nation in all farm values during this period, the amount of decrease in Greene County was considerably above the average. The value of all crops in Greene County dropped from nearly $6,000,000 in 1920 to about $1,000,000 in 1930. Farm expenditures for labor, fertilizer, and feed also show staggering decreases between 1920 and 1930. For labor, the drop during this time was from $202,000 to $57,000; for fertilizer, the reduction was from $431,000 in 1920 to $90,000 in 1930; and for feed the drop was from $209,000 to $56,000. The total farm expenditures in Greene County amounted to $843,000 in 1920, but had been reduced to only $204,000 in 1930. The cotton acreage in the county was reduced from 56,000 acres in 1920 to 11,000 in 1935.

These figures show something of the completeness of the agricultural breakdown in Greene County since the World War. In 1920, there were 3,000 farms in the county, with only 512 operated by owners and 2,377 operated by tenants. In 1930, the number of farms in the county had dropped to 1,557, but by 1935 had increased to 1,761 farms, with only 416 being operated by owners, and 1,296 being operated by tenants.

By 1927, about 16,000 acres of land had been sold for taxes, and about 12,000 had been forfeited to mortgage companies. By 1934 the mortgage holdings totaled 17,000 acres. Most of the tracts owned by mortgage companies consist of 500 acres or more, and are located in the red land sections of the county, where plantation farming predominated.

In desperation, most of the plantation owners had sawmills moved on to their farms to cut all of the timber that was available. The income from the lumber enabled a few of them to retain title to their land, but by doing so they had further depreciated the value of their property. There are thousands of acres of cut-over timber land scattered throughout the county at the present time.

The tenants who remained searched for other sources of income in order to provide their families with food and clothing. The abandoned farms made ideal places for rabbits, and for several years more rabbits were shipped from Greene County than from any other county in the Nation. But this industry was short-lived, because the rabbits became diseased, and died by the thousands. Many of the tenants tried to grow cotton and corn without fertilizer, but found it almost impossible to make enough of these crops to meet their barest needs.

After generations of cotton farming, most of the soil in Greene County has lost its fertility, and erosion has taken a heavy toll. The tenants operating in the plantation areas are now forced to patch about over very large farms to find land suitable for cultivation, and yields generally are low.

Though Greene County, Ga., is an extreme illustration of the break-down of our agricultural economy here in the South, the same forces that caused this collapse are at work throughout this region. The things that have happened to agriculture, the land, and the people of Greene County are in varying degrees typical of trends and of the problems throughout the cotton-growing States of the South.

With the thousands of farm families in this region pushed off the land and with even a greater number barely able to exist as a result of the fundamental weaknesses in our agricultural economy, which have been discussed above, it became apparent that some immediate remedial action had to be taken. The first objective was to get these families off of relief and to give them a new start on the land, so that they could become self-supporting instead of a continual drain on the Public Treasury.

PROGRAM OF FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION IN SOUTH

The Farm Security Administration and its predecessors since 1934 have aided, through rural rehabilitation, loans, more than 85,000 low-income farm families in the States of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina. Many of these families were taken from the relief rolls. None of them had sufficient resources to carry on their farming operations. They were the victims of the basic weaknesses in our agricultural system—worn-out land, one-crop farming, poor tenure conditions, lack of credit or equipment, or ill health. Families that have been aided by these Government agencies through rural rehabilitation loans represent approximately half a million men, women, and children. No family that can secure adequate credit from any other source is considered eligible for this assistance.

We began with the idea that most of these families could be trusted with a loan, and that if the loan were amortized over a period of years and made at a reasonable rate of interest, the Government would be repaid. We felt that if they were given the credit and technical advice they needed for a few years to improve their farming practices, they would soon be able to support themselves without further assistance.

The majority of the farmers who have come to the Farm Security Administration for help have had no experience and little opportunity to plan a balanced farm program, so we assist them in working out a farm and home plan for the most efficient and economical use of their land and their labor. This plan shows what the families have, what they need and outlines definite objectives or goals for them to work toward.

On the basis of these plans, short-term loans are made for the purchase of livestock, equipment, and operating supplies, for food, medical care, and other essentials. All rehabilitation loans bear 5-percent interest and are secured by a chattel martgage covering all livestock and farm equipment owned by the borrowers.

Our main objective has been to assist these families in becoming self-sufficient and in raising their living standards. In developing a sound farm and home management plan, we have placed emphasis first on the production of sufficient food and feed to meet the family's requirements. These plans generally provide for a year's supply of home-grown vegetables, meat, poultry, milk, and eggs for the family's use, and for feed crops for the livestock kept on the farm. In addition to the food and feed crops, these plans provide for sufficient cash crops to repay the Farm Security Administration loans and to meet other operating expenses.

Credit, supervision, and planning are the three fundamentals of our rural rehabilitation program. Perhaps the greatest need of the low-income families throughout the South is education. This is provided through periodic visits to the farms and homes of our borrowers by technically trained farm and home supervisors of the Farm Security Administration. The farm supervisors assist the families with their crop and livestock program, and the home supervisors go into the homes to help the women and girls with their food preservation, sewing, gardening, cooking, and so forth. They teach them how to plan balanced diets, how to improve and protect the family's health, advise with them about interior decorations, the making and repairing of furniture, landscaping, and many other phases of home making that may be of value to the families.

After 5 years of operation of our rehabilitation program, we have learned a great deal about the people who make up the bottom third of our farm population. We have seen that there is little difference in these people and those in the higher social and economic brackets of our society, except for their ignorance, poor health and despair, or defeatism. There is less shiftlessness than sickness among these people.

We have found that these disadvantaged families respond readily to the sympathetic efforts of our Government to help them. How well they have succeeded in a material way, when given a chance and credit and intelligent guidance, may be seen from a study of the gains made by our rehabilitation clients in Alabama, from the time they were accepted on our program until the end of 1938, which is the latest report available. The progress that has been made in Alabama is typical of the progress in other States in this region.

In 1935 we accepted 13,000 families on our program in Alabama. The average cash income from the farm for each of these families was only $91. The cash farm income in 1937 for these families had increased to $248.48 per family. This represents a gain of $147.48 per family, or a total gain of almost $2,000,000 for this group. This increase in cash income was possible without any expansion whatsoever in the acreage planted to cotton by these farmers. It was due to the use of better seed, better fertilizing practices, better methods of cultivation, and to some extent the location of better and more productive land by many of these families after they came on our program.

The average net worth of these 13,000 families accepted for rehabilitation in Alabama in 1935 was only $3.03 per family, a figure which reflects the extreme poverty of these families. From this low level the net worth of this rehabilitation group was raised to $442.15 per family by the end of 1938. If all farmers in the Southern States could show such an increase in their net worth it would boost the wealth of this section almost 1½ billion dollars.

We are stressing a live-at-home program with these families. Although few of them had canned any fruits or vegetables when they were accepted for rehabilitation, it is notable that in 1938 they canned an average of 175 quarts per family, in addition to storing in millions of pounds of dried fruits, beans, peas, and so forth, for family use. In addition to having more food now than they had when they were accepted on our program, they have more kinds of foods, enabling them to have more balanced diets. In 1935 less than half of these families owned milk cows, and though they were farm families, only 60 percent of them owned a hog. In 1938, 85 percent owned milk cows, and 95 percent owned hogs. We have tried hard to boost these figures to 100 percent since 1938.

HANDICAP OF TENURE SYSTEM

The tenure system in the South is one of our greatest handicaps in working out a sound agricultural economy. As has already been mentioned, our soil is being dissipated through abuse, misuse, and erosion. Much of this waste is due to our present tenure system. As an approach to this problem we have required all rehabilitation borrowers to have a satisfactory written lease instead of the usual verbal agreement, and we have encouraged leases for a period of from 3 to 5 years instead of the customary 1-year lease. While fully half of the tenant farmers throughout the South move every year, it is significant that less than one out of every four of our rehabilitaion families in this region found it necessary to move last year.

It is impossible to plan a balanced and sound farm program for the family that moves every year. As we have studied this problem of farm families shifting about year after year, we have become convinced that there is no one thing more important or fundamental to the permanent improvement of agricultural conditions here in the South, and the conservation of our human and natural resources, than that of developing a sounder system of tenure. Before farmers can become self-sustaining on the land they must have a semblance of security on the particular tract of land they operate.

This will require the overhauling of laws in the States which deal with tenancy and tenant-landlord relationship and the enactment of such statutes as will give the tenants the same protection as most State laws give the landlords now. Actually the landowners will benefit as much as the tenants under a system where the tenant can have legal protection against loss for improvements made on land which he operates. With proper legal protection, the tenant would have some incentive to repair the buildings or to build fences, to improve pastures, and to carry out soil-building and soil-conserving practices on the farm he operates, for he would expect to get the benefit of these improvements himself, or to be reimbursed for them in the event he is forced to move.

The present system of tenure here in the South offers little encouragement to the tenants to protect the soil or the buildings on the farm he leases. He feels that if he improves the fertility of the land, his rent may be increased, or another tenant will come along and offer to pay more for the farm than he is paying. So the average tenant tries to get all he can out of the land he rents, and when it quits producing satisfactorily he moves on.

It is my opinion that the working out of a better system of tenure will in some measure offer a solution for the problem of migration with which your committee is concerned. Certainly, it will give the farmers who are able to rent an economic farm unit, a better hold on the land, and a better opportunity to be a self-sustaining citizen, and an asset to his community.

The experience of the Farm Security Administration borrowers who have operated under written leases extending over a period of more than 1 year would indicate the soundness of this conviction. The decay of our communities, and institutions, the ruthless destruction of our land and the poverty and hopelessness of our tenant farmers clearly indicate the necessity of our doing everything possible in this direction. Though the American ideal is for the majority of our farmers to be owners of the land they operate, actually forces are pushing in the opposite direction today. The farmers are not only losing title to the land, they are being pushed off entirely in alarming numbers.

TENANT PURCHASE PROGRAM

To arrest this trend, a program designed to increase home ownership among farm tenants was initiated on a small scale by the Federal Government 3 years ago, with the passage of the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act. Under this program the Farm Security Administration has made loans for the purchase of family-type farms, and for making necessary improvements on these farms, to about 3,200 tenant families in the States of Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina. These loans are amortized over a 40-year period and bear 3 percent interest. Usually the annual payments of principal and interest are less than the usual rent charged for these farms. No one can doubt the widom of expanding this program.

But in a region where two out of three farmers are tenants, it is obvious that there must be more than one approach to this problem. Since only a very small percentage of the tenants can be made owners under the tenant purchase program, it would seem that the seriousness of the situation of our rural people and of our agricultural resources in the South would make other remedial actions imperative. It is my conviction that the tenant purchase program should be expanded, and that steps must be taken immediately to improve tenure conditions in this region. This would seem to offer some solution for the problem of migration with which your committee is concerned.

RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM

There are many farm families throughout the Southern States trying to make a living on submarginal land. Statistics show that the heaviest relief contributions to farm families have been in these areas of poor, worn-out land.

In order to help many of these families toward security and to enable them to become self-sustaining, it has been necessary to resettle them from the submarginal areas onto more productive land. The Farm Security Administration in the States of this region has purchased several large tracts of good fertile land suitable for development and subdivision into a number of individual farm units, and has moved a number of stranded families from worn-out land onto these farms. These units will be sold to the selected families on a long-time repayment plan when the families have shown their interest and ability to sucessfully operate a farm. Many of the families on these resettlement projects of the Farm Security Administration were moved from submarginal land purchased by the Government for reforestation or some other useful purpose.

Because of the pressure of population on the land throughout the Southeastern States, and because of the extent of soil erosion and the general depletion of our farm land, it is not possible for us to take a large amount of land out of cultivation without throwing the people living on this land onto the highways. There simply isn't enough good productive land to go around and give every farmer an economic unit.

Consideration, then, may be given to the necessity, as well as to the possibility, of providing some other means of supporting the displaced or the distressed farm families of this area than through the growing of cash crops. Some type of supplemental income is sorely needed by thousands of farm families in the South. Those who have been pushed off the land entirely, must have some useful occupation or face starvation.

NEED OF WORKS PROGRAM

A works program designed to protect and restore our land, water, and forest resources might offer a means of utilizing the surplus farm labor in this region. There is no doubt as to the need for conserving our natural and our human resources. The security of our democracy and of our future generations would seem to demand this of us.

POPULATION INCREASE

Those who have studied population trends in this country indicate that there may be expected a continual population increase in the rural South for the next decade. There is no room for more workers in southern agriculture. Actually, the South is unable to support all who are dependent on its agriculture now. The tendency is for fewer and not more workers on the farms of this region. Already there are thousands of our farm families on the road. Something more must be done if we are to arrest the scourge of poverty which threatens the destruction of our rural South. And the action must be taken immediately if it is to be effective.

You have heard reports concerning the conditions under which migrant families live in Florida. You have heard of the program which has been initiated by the Farm Security Administration to give some assistance to these families living on the highways, along the drainage canals, and in other conditions intolerable under our American traditions. These families simply represent the possibilities which may be magnified a thousand times in the years immediately ahead, unless every effort is made to solve the problem of these people at its source. The Farm Security Administration is, under its rural rehabilitation, resettlement, and tenant purchase programs, making considerable progress. The Farm Security Administration has shown what can be done with these people if they are given an opportunity. All of those who need help cannot be taken care of by this treatment, but it offers one opportunity that may be expanded to help many more thousands in this area. Other opportunities must be found.

TESTIMONY OF E. S. MORGAN—Resumed

RELIEF LOAD PRIOR TO 1935

Mr. SPARKMAN. You say that there were 30,000 families in each of the States of Georgia and Alabama who were on the relief rolls in 1935. Have you any later information than that?

Mr. MORGAN. I think maybe your figures are wrong there. Let's see—that is 1935.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What is it, then; can you give it to us offhand?

Mr. MORGAN. I don't know the number on relief.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Here it is, here in your written testimony, where you say that over 30,000 farm families in each of the States of Georgia and Alabama were on the relief rolls during 1935.

Mr. MORGAN. That is right; that is prior to the rehabilitation program that was inaugurated in 1935.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have you any later figures than that?

Mr. MORGAN. No; I do not. There are in certain areas quite a few farmers on relief, and in others there are no relief projects in the rural areas. Some counties have practically none, while others have a considerable load. I have no figure available on that.

Mr. OSMERS. When you say that they are on relief, what do you mean? What form of relief was that—was it State relief or Federal relief, or what was it?

Mr. MORGAN. That was the regular relief program.

Mr. OSMERS. Under the E. R. A.?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That was prior to the initiation of the Farm Security program?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; that is right.

ABSORPTION OF RELIEF LOAD BY F. S. A. PROGRAM

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has the Farm Security Administration, through its program, absorbed a substantial part of them?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many families in region V are being rehabilitated through the Farm Security Administration?

Mr. MORGAN. Approximately 85,000; that is about 1 farmer out of 9.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In these four States?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. I asked Mr. Morgan privately this morning, whether that 1 in 9 was 1 in 9 of the total or 1 in 9 who was in need of relief and as I understand it, it means 1 in 9 to the total of the farmers in the area, and I wish that statement to be made for the sake of the record.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. According to your statement, and I recall that the same statement was made by Mr. Gray, of the Alabama Farm Bureau Federation, and I believe, by Mr. P. O. Davis, that there are twice as many families today trying to eke out an existence on a smaller number of acres than there were in 1860.

Mr. MORGAN. That is right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are these conditions any better than one might expect offhand, from the figures?

DECREASE IN LAND PRODUCTIVITY

Mr. MORGAN. No; they give a fairly good picture of the problem. While we have twice as many people on less acres in the Southeast today than in 1860, in 1860 it was virgin land, whereas with a great many acres of the land in cultivation today the fertility has been very much impaired, and it is not as productive now as the virgin lands of the 1860's were.

Mr. OSMERS. Is it possible to bring this land back with an intelligent method of fertilization?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; it is; certainly.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Some progress is being made in that direction now, and efforts are being put forth?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; but you must remember that there is a tremendous damage already done, and quite a drawback, when you consider that 97,000,000 acres are very badly damaged in the Southeast by erosion, and that 22,000,000 acres are completely washed away in the Southeast—as many acres washed away as there are in the State of South Carolina.

Mr. SPARKMAN. In your rehabilitation program, you do exercise some supervision over the farm practices, do you not?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you require soil building and so forth?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir. One great problem is the question of tenure. You immediately get into tenure when you start a conservation program.

If a tenant works on this farm this year, and moves in December, you can't do much about getting that man to protect the land on that particular farm unless he is going to get some of the benefits out of the practices that he carries on. And, therefore, we have done quite a bit in trying to get longer leases to help do something about that. The minute that we can get longer periods of tenure, then the tenant can be interested in doing something about carrying on practices that will build up that land.

DESIRABILITY OF FARM OWNERSHIP

Mr. CURTIS. Isn't it true that the greatest single thing or inducement to conserve the soil of our country is farm ownership—ownership by the operator?

Mr. MORGAN. That would be ideal. However, I don't think that we will ever solve the thing that we are combatting through ownership alone. I am thinking if we had enough money today, through private or public sources, to buy up enough farms to give every tenant farmer a farm, you still wouldn't have solved all of these problems, by any means. Ten years from now, you would have a great many tenants, and——

Mr. CURTIS. You would find some of these people right back on your doorstep to take care of, wouldn't you?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir. Ownership will never solve it alone. Ownership will certainly contribute to the solution.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is just one of the steps?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And your program is rehabilitation, a rehabilitation program with the practices on the farm supervised, and soil conservation, and you think that it is necessary for all of those to exert a united front?

Mr. **Morgan.** Yes, sir; decidedly, that is true. You take the leased lands, lands leased by tenants in the Southeast—it is not a question of the landlord demanding such rent that these people can't exist, it is just the whole system. The mortality rate with the landlord possibly would show as high, or a higher percentage than that of the tenant. It is a system that we have all worked under, that contributes largely to that.

TENANT NEEDS

Mr. **Sparkman.** In your paper, you discuss this matter of land tenure and bring out the fact that in Alabama approximately two-thirds of the farmers are tenants?

Mr. **Morgan.** Yes, sir.

Mr. **Sparkman.** I wonder how that compares with other States in your region?

Mr. **Morgan.** That is about the same in Georgia; there is only 28 percent tenants in Florida, and I don't recall the exact figures in South Carolina—here it is—South Carolina, 60 percent tenants, and for the Nation it is 42 percent, and that will give you some idea of it.

Mr. **Osmers.** I possibly know less about this problem than any member of the committee, because the country where I come from tenancy is almost nonexistent. Isn't it preferable to work through your large landowners in your program, instead of working with the individual tenant or sharecropper or wage hand? I am thinking now of such related matters as land improvement and soil conservation and housing for the tenant and so on. After all, the primary responsibility for the land lies with the owner, and I wondered if you didn't feel you might make some progress in that direction?

Mr. **Morgan.** Well, again, I think you have got to work with both.

Mr. **Osmers.** No doubt.

Mr. **Morgan.** After all, the thing I mentioned just now, the improvement of the tenure system which will involve both the landlord and the tenant, would be the best approach to that. I don't think that a program just with the landlord would accomplish the thing. Neither do I think a program just with the tenant would accomplish it.

Mr. **Osmers.** From the small amount of observation that I have made, I would say that both ends need jacking up. Do you agree with that idea?

Mr. **Morgan.** That is right.

Mr. **Osmers.** Your tenant needs information, education, and help, and certainly some of the landlords need a new viewpoint on this problem.

Mr. **Morgan.** The landlords not only need a new viewpoint, but in so many, many instances, the landlord just can't do anything about this.

Mr. **Osmers.** He needs new financing, too.

Mr. **Morgan.** Yes, sir; the mortality rate with the landlord is just about as great as that with the tenant. I want to say that we have done quite a bit of work on this tenure thing. To begin with, through the Southeast, it has seldom been the practice for tenants to have a written lease with the landlord. It was always verbal. In the beginning of our program, we demanded a written lease before we would make a loan to the tenant.

Mr. Curtis. Have you a copy of that lease, or the form of lease?

Mr. Morgan. I don't have a copy of it with me, but I will furnish you a copy of it for the record.

Mr. Curtis. We would appreciate it if you would.

(Copy of the lease was furnished to the committee and reads as follows:)

(Region V)

United States Department of Agriculture

FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

FLEXIBLE FARM LEASE

This lease, made this ---------- day of ------------------, 19 ----, between ---------------------------------------, Landlord, of ------------------- (Address)
and ------------------------------------, Tenant, of--------------------------- (Address)

1. *Description of Property.*—The landlord hereby leases to the tenant, to occupy and use for agricultural purposes, the following-described property, located in ----------------------- County, State of ----------------------:

----
and consisting of ----------------------------- acres, more or less, together with all buildings and improvements thereon and all rights thereto appertaining. (All this property is hereinafter referred to as the "farm.")

2. *Term of Lease.*—The term of this lease shall be for $\left\{\begin{matrix}\text{three}\\\text{five}\end{matrix}\right\}$ years, from --------------------, 19 ----, to --------------------, 19, ----.

3. *Rental Rates and Arrangements.* (Clauses not applicable should be stricken out.)

Option A—Crop-share or share-cash.—As rent for said farm, the tenant agrees to pay shares or quantities of crops or shares of crops and cash as indicated in the table below.

Option B—Per acre cash rent.—As rent for all of said farm, the tenant agrees to pay in cash at the uniform rate of ---------------- dollars ($------------) per acre on -------------------- acres or at a variable rate per acre at the rates and on the acreages indicated in the table below.

It is agreed that the acreages indicated in column (1) of the table below are the approximate planned acreages for the year 19 ——, and that crop acreages and livestock enterprises may be changed by mutual agreement to meet changing conditions and needs and shall be determined from year to year by mutual agreement by the parties to this lease upon the basis of a sound plan for this farm. It is further agreed that the shares of crops or the rates of rent indicated in column (2) will be paid upon the acreages actually grown as determined at the time the rent is payable.

Note.—Planned acreage of each crop to be grown will be entered in column (1) and the acreages in this column should total the exact or approximate land available for use in the farm. The share of each crop to be paid as rent will be entered opposite the crop in column (2). If cash rent is to be paid at a variable rate of cash per acre, this will be entered in column (2) opposite the crop which is indicated in column (1).

Approximate planned acreages of crops (1)	Shares of crops grown or cash per acre to be paid as rent (2)
__________ acres of corn__________	__________
__________ acres of oats__________	__________
__________ acres of wheat__________	__________
__________ acres of cotton__________	__________
__________ acres of alfalfa or other hay crops__________	__________
__________ acres of__________	__________
__________ acres of__________	__________
__________ acres of__________	__________
__________ acres for subsistence garden, orchard, etc.__________	(rent free).
__________ acres for pasture for subsistence livestock__________	(rent free).
__________ acres in farmstead, barnlot, poultry yards, etc__________	(rent free).
__________ Total acres.	

Option C—Lump-sum cash rent.—As rent for said farm, the tenant agrees to pay the sum of__________ dollars ($__________) per year, payable as follows:

____

____

4. *Farm Operation:*

(*a*) The tenant will furnish all work stock, machinery, and other necessary operating equipment, and will pay all operating costs except:

____

____

(*b*) Cost of harvesting, threshing, baling, ginning, fertilizer, lime, seed, twine, spray materials, etc., will be paid or shared as follows:

____

____

(*c*) The tenant will operate the farm in an efficient and husbandlike manner and will perform seeding, cultivating, harvesting, and plowing at the proper time and in the proper manner. As applied to this farm this clause shall be interpreted to include the following specific provisions (Russian thistle, Johnson grass, etc.):

____

____

(*d*) It is agreed that the tenant, or the parties jointly, may engage in the small-scale commercial production of livestock or livestock products on the farm. Such production will be under the following special arrangements, if any (nature and extent, respective contributions and shares, use of pastures and crops, etc.):

____

____

(*e*) It is agreed that the tenant may use dead or unmarketable timber for his own fuel, but the tenant shall cut no marketable growing trees for fuel or other use and shall market no timber from the farm without the consent of the landlord.

5. *Improvements and Repairs:*

(*a*) *Immediate repairs.*—In order to place the farm in good condition and repair, the following repairs will be made by the landlord, or by the parties jointly, prior to __________, 19____, according to the following arrangements:

____

____

(*b*) *Compensation to tenant for permanent improvements.*—Improvements of a permanent nature may be made by the tenant, at his own expense, under the following arrangements and conditions:

Improvements which the landlord ordinarily should provide.—With the written consent of the landlord, the tenant may, at his own expense, make improvements of a permanent nature, such as new buildings, additions or major repairs to buildings, permanent household fixtures and equipment, new fences, wells, water and sewage systems, ponds, terrace or drainage systems, and other improvements of this nature, and at the termination or expiration of this lease, or any renewal or extension thereof, or at such earlier time as may be agreed upon, the tenant will be compensated or credited therefor by the landlord on the basis of cost to the tenant (including value of his own labor) less agreed deductions for depreciation and use.

Improvements which landlord and tenant customarily share.—With the written consent of the landlord, the tenant may, at his own expense, apply lime or rock phosphate, establish permanent meadows or pastures, plant orchards or farm woodlots or make other improvements of this nature, the benefits of which are realizable or exhaustible over a period of several years. At the termination or expiration of this lease or any renewal or extension thereof or at such earlier time or in such installments as may be agreed upon, the tenant will be compensated or credited therefor by the landlord upon the basis of the landlord's customary share of cost of the improvement.

Minor improvements.—The tenant may, at his own discretion, make minor improvements of a permanent nature which do not substantially change the appearance and arrangement of the farm and will not expect or receive compensation for improvements so made.

Written memorandum.—In any instances in which the written consent of the landlord is required for an improvement as provided above, the parties shall, before such improvement is made, execute a written memorandum covering such points as: Statement of improvement to be made, location of improvement, agreed approximate cost, agreed basis of compensation for labor and other contributions to be made by the tenant, and agreed basis of deductions for depreciation and use. Such memorandum shall be deemed a part of this lease as though fully set forth herein.

(*c*) *Removal of improvements.*—The tenant may, if he chooses at any time this lease is still in effect, remove any improvement he has made, whether or not it has become legally a fixture, and the tenant shall not be compensated for improvements removed.

(*d*) *Maintenance of the farm.*—The tenant agrees to maintain the farm in good condition and repair and to yield possession thereof, at the end of the term of this lease or any renewal or extension thereof, in as good order as the beginning, ordinary wear and damage caused by conditions beyond his control excepted. The landlord will furnish necessary materials for such repairs and maintenance as are required to be made by the tenant.

6. *Governmental agricultural programs.*—If the parties participate, with respect to the farm, in any applicable agricultural conservation, soil conservation, or other governmental program designed to aid agriculture, modifications in this lease may be agreed upon from time to time which may be necesary to conform with such program. Any cash or other benefits received for participation in any such program shall be divided between the parties as provided in such program. Any quota, allotment, or base made to or properly belonging to this farm shall be available to the tenant and if, in any such program, the farm covered by this lease is treated as part of a larger tract, the tenant shall be entitled to participate proportionately and share proportionately and in like manner shall contribute proportionately in fulfilling the requirements of such program.

7. *The tenant agrees that:*

(*a*) He will not assign this lease or sublet any portion of the farm without the consent of the landlord.

(*b*) He will permit the landlord or his agent to enter the farm at any reasonable time for repairs, improvements, and inspection.

(*c*) He will not commit waste on or damage to the farm or permit others to do so.

8. *The landlord agrees that:*

(*a*) He is the owner of the farm, has the right to give the tenant possession under this lease, and will, so long as this lease remains in effect, warrant and defend the tenant's possession against any and all persons whomsoever.

(*b*) He will repair or replace promptly any improvements on the farm damaged or destroyed by conditions beyond the control of the tenant other than ordinary wear.

9. *It is mutually agreed that:*

(*a*) This lease shall bind and shall inure to the benefit of the heirs, executors, administrators and assigns of both parties.

(*b*) Willful neglect, failure or refusal by either party to carry out any material provision of this lease shall give the other party the power to terminate this lease, in addition to the right to compensation for damages suffered by reason of such breach. Such termination shall become effective ten (10) days after written notice of termination specifying the delinquency has been served on the delinquent party, unless during such ten (10) day period the delinquent party has made up the delinquency. The landlord shall have the benefit of any summary proceedings provided by law for evicting the tenant upon termination under this paragraph, or at the end of the term.

(*c*) If, when the tenant vacates the farm, the total acreages of prepared, seeded, or cultivated land on the farm are greater than at the beginning of his tenancy, he will be compensated by the landlord on the basis of the value of such excess acreages to the landlord or to an incoming tenant. In like manner, if such total acreages are less than at the beginning of his tenancy, the tenant will compensate the landlord on the basis of the value of such deficient acreages, provided such deficiency is not due to drought, flood, or other causes beyond the control of the tenant. As applied to this farm the foregoing shall be interpreted to include the following specific crops and practices:

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---

(*d*) *Disposition of growing crops.*—If, at the termination of this lease, for any reason, there are growing crops on the farm in which the tenant has an interest, the landlord will compensate the tenant for his interest upon such basis as may be mutually agreed or determined by arbitration, or will take possession and complete the care and harvesting of such crops, deduct the expenses thereof from the returns from such growing crops, and will pay the tenant his proportionate share of the proceeds.

(*e*) *Arbitration.*—Any differences between the parties under this lease, including the determination of valuations and matters herein left to subsequent agreement, shall be submitted to the arbitration of a committee of three disinterested persons, one selected by each party hereto and the third by the two thus selected; and the decision of such arbitration committee shall be accepted by and shall bind both parties.

10. Additional agreements, if any (option to purchase, water rights, etc.):

---

---

In witness whereof, the parties have signed this lease on the date first above written.

Witnesses as to both signatures:

------------------------ ------------------------ [SEAL]
Landlord.

------------------------ ------------------------ [SEAL]
Tenant.

Acknowledgment (proper form to be inserted):

FLEXIBLE FARM LEASE

Between

---
Landlord.

---
Tenant.

For---

(Common name or number of farm)

In-- County

State of--

Effective

From--, 19--

To--, 19--

Renewed--, 19--

From---, 19--

To --, 19--

Prepared by
Tenure Improvement Section,
Farm Security Administration,
United States Department of Agriculture

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

FARM SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

ANNUAL CROPPING SUPPLEMENT TO FLEXIBLE FARM LEASE

For year 19----

Between--------------------------, *Landlord, and*------------------, *Tenant*

Dated---------------------------------*day of*-------------------------, *19--*

It is agreed that it shall be the mutual purpose of the landlord and the tenant to plan and carry out the operations of the farm from year to year upon such basis as will: (1) Provide an adequate and satisfying standard of life for the tenant and his family, (2) provide profitable returns to the tenant and the landlord for labor and investment, and (3) maintain and improve the productivity and value of the farm. In accordance with these objectives the following crops and acreages are agreed upon for the year 19--. The rental rates and arrangements shall be as specified in the lease. On crops not specified therein the rates shall be as agreed by the parties.

Approximate planned acreages	Field or portion of field, A, B, C, D, etc.	Share or rate of rent: On crops specified in lease, indicate rate specified therein. On other crops, indicate rate agreed upon
Tillable land in crops:		
---------- acres of corn----------------------	--------------	------------------------------
---------- acres of oats----------------------	--------------	------------------------------
---------- acres of wheat---------------------	--------------	------------------------------
---------- acres of cotton--------------------	--------------	------------------------------
---------- acres of alfalfa-------------------	--------------	------------------------------
---------- acres of other hay-----------------	--------------	------------------------------
---------- acres of---------------------------	--------------	------------------------------
---------- acres of---------------------------	--------------	------------------------------
---------- acres of---------------------------	--------------	------------------------------
Tillable land fallowed and idle:		
---------- acres of fallowed crop land--------	--------------	------------------------------
---------- acres of idle crop land------------	--------------	------------------------------
Pasture land:		
---------- acres of---------- pasture---------	--------------	------------------------------
---------- acres of nonwoodland permanent pasture----------	--------------	------------------------------
---------- acres of woodland pasture----------	--------------	------------------------------
Land for tenant family's living:		
---------- acres for subsistence garden-------	--------------	------------------------ (rent free)
---------- acres for subsistence orchard, vineyard, etc----------	--------------	------------------------ (rent free)
---------- acres, pasture for subsistence livestock-	--------------	------------------------ (rent free)
Farmstead, woodlots and waste land:		
---------- acres of woodland not pasture------	--------------	------------------------ (rent free)
---------- acres, farmstead, lots, poultry yards, etc----------	--------------	------------------------ (rent free)
---------- acres, waste land, gullies, etc----	--------------	------------------------ (rent free)
------------- Total acres in farm		

Map of Farm

For the year 19___

It will usually be helpful to draw a map of the farm each year, indicating the general arrangement of the farm, location of fields and buildings, and crops to be planted in each field or use to be made of each portion of the farm. The plat below is provided for that purpose.

The plat may represent a quarter section; one-half of the plat may represent a half section, or the entire plat may represent a full section. If the farm is irregular in shape an outline of the farm may be sketched in irregular fashion within the boundaries of the plat. Each field or portion of field should be designated by a letter, such as A, B, C, etc., to correspond to the letters indicated in the table on the reverse side of this form. The plats prepared from year to year should be preserved for future reference in planning crop rotations.

Size of farm ______ acres. Scale used ______ inches per ______ mile.
Section _______. Township or block _______. Range or survey _______.

NORTH

WEST

EAST

SOUTH

It is agreed that this supplement shall be considered a part of the said lease as though actually incorporated in the same.

Witnesses as to both signatures: Signed this ---- day of ----------, 19---.

------------------------------ ------------------------------ [SEAL]
(Landlord)

------------------------------ ------------------------------ [SEAL]
(Tenant)

(Copies of this form may be secured from the office of the County Rural Rehabilitation Supervisor in each county.)

TESTIMONY OF E. S. MORGAN—Resumed

TENANT LEASES

Mr. MORGAN. We started with a 1-year lease, and when we began, that was a very revolutionary thing, while today we have more than 65 percent of our borrowers with 3- to 5-year leases. In a few places we have a higher percentage. When we began to get those longer-term leases, or when we begin to get them, we can begin then to work out something with the tenant and the landlord on this land, that will be definitely beneficial. We have done quite a bit of that work in Greene County, Ga., where we have put on an intensive program to see just what could be done there, and we have no clients in that county but have what we call a long-term lease, mostly 3 to 5 years.

Mr. SPARKMAN. To what extent have you put that in, in Greene County, Ga.? Do you have any statistics or any facts that you can give us there, about that experiment which you have just mentioned?

Mr. MORGAN. I would like to say that Greene County probably presents an extreme picture on that. Before the coming of the boll weevil that county was producing about 20,000 bales of cotton per year, and they finally went down to where, in 1922, they raised 333 bales of cotton.

Mr. OSMERS. How many bales?

Mr. MORGAN. Three hundred and thirty-three.

Mr. OSMERS. How many before?

Mr. MORGAN. The figures we have show a peak of 20,030 bales of cotton produced in Greene County in 1919, and the production dropped to 13,414 bales in 1920; it dropped to 1,487 bales in 1921, and dropped down to only 333 bales in 1922. The boll weevil wiped out the county, almost, and a lot of the landowners left the county, and the tenants left the county also. The population of Greene County in 1930 was 12,616, almost equally divided between the whites and the Negroes. Between 1920 and 1930 the county suffered a population loss of 1,783 whites and 4,572 Negroes, or a little more than one-third of its total population as shown by the 1920 Census. The immediate cause of the migration of such a large number of its people, most of them farmers, was the unusually heavy boll-weevil infestation in the early twenties. So, that is an extreme case and is not typical of all the counties in the Southeast; but, with that situation, we decided to put on an intensive program in that county to see just what we could do about it.

As a result, we contacted the landlords; worked out various things—there was no housing in the county hardly at all. There are the remains of fine palatial homes that have simply gone down without any care, and the tenant-house roofs had fallen in, and the situation was in a terrible condition; and we worked out arrangements with the various landlords in that county to rent this land on long-term leases, with us advancing certain portions of the money for repairs, and so forth; and, as a result, we have done quite a job of repairing the houses, developing the land, terracing, putting in various soil-conservation practices through the tenant operators and, in general, things look good in that county.

REQUISITES OF SUBSISTENCE FARM

Mr. Curtis. May I interrupt you here for just a moment? How large a subsistence farm does it take in the territory that you work in to provide an average family with vegetables, and maintain at least 2 cows and the necessary horses and mules to work the land? How many acres does it take? I am not dealing with cash crops now, but the subsistence.

Mr. Morgan. Even when you confine your question along that line to the Southeast, that is almost like saying "How long is a string?" Because there is so much difference in the productivity in the different areas of the Southeast, but certainly the average family of five—that is about what the families run on the farms in the Southeast—it takes, for the farm as a whole, certainly for a family to be self-sustaining, better than 40 to 50 acres. Of that, possibly 15 acres would be devoted to cash crops, and the balance would be devoted to the production of food and feed crops for the family on the farm.

Mr. Curtis. How much of that land would be devoted to pasture?

Mr. Morgan. One question is how much should be, and another is how much is.

Mr. Curtis. How much should be?

Mr. Morgan. Certainly, you should have 10 or 15 acres of pasture land.

Mr. Curtis. And what would that land cost per acre?

Mr. Morgan. The price of land varies in the Southeast from $5 to $50 per acre, depending upon the fertility of the land.

Mr. Curtis. Can you raise anything on $5 per acre land?

Mr. Morgan. Very little. Yet, that is one of the great problems—we have so many acres of the $5 land in the Southeast.

Mr. Curtis. Is that $5 land such that you can raise anything on it, or are there certain things that you can raise only?

Mr. Morgan. No; you can raise something on it, but it is so little in proportion to the cost. For instance, nearly all the land in the Southeast requires fertilizer. The 11 southeastern States buy three-fifths of all the fertilizer in the country.

NATURE OF CLIENTS

Mr. Curtis. Do you make a character investigation of your clients before you take them on?

Mr. Morgan. Well, no, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Do you investigate their willingness to work?

Mr. MORGAN. Well, of course, to a certain extent, yes; that is considered.

Mr. CURTIS. How many disappointments do you have?

Mr. MORGAN. I presume, our drops will average about 10 percent each year, but that includes deaths and voluntary withdrawals, and things of that kind; I would say that not more than 5 percent should fail to make the grade.

Mr. CURTIS. You have been present at the hearing here for the most part of the last 2 days, have you not?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. This resolution under which this committee comes to Montgomery is to make an investigation relative to the interstate migration of destitute persons?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you feel that your program is making a contribution in holding people to the land who would otherwise be destitute and out on the road, many of them?

Mr. MORGAN. I think so.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I noticed in your statement that there are 13,000 farm families in Alabama on Farm Security.

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir; 31,000.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I am always getting my figures turned around. What proportion of the families who need rehabilitation are you taking care of?

Mr. MORGAN. Not more than 35 or 40 percent, I would say.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Now, of these others, this 60 or 65 percent additional—of course, you used the term "those who needed it"—can they qualify under the Farm Security?

Mr. MORGAN. They certainly can. In our program, we say that we are dealing with the lower third. We feel that is the group where we have a responsibility, and in these 5 years, we have learned a lot about these people, and one of the things that we have learned is that there is just not much difference in the people. It is wholly economical, the difference in the people. For instance, we selected a hundred families in Georgia, where the county supervisor said he just couldn't make loans to these families, that they just didn't quite qualify under what he thought should be the requirements—he was the fair average supervisor, with the average knowledge of what it would take for a farmer to succeed. Now, of the hundred families selected, we put 1 farm supervisor and 1 home supervisor to 50 of these families, 50 in one group and 50 in another, and we said "Let's see what you can do with those 50 families."

The first thing we did, we went to work and secured land leases for them; we worked out the very best farm plan that we could, and among those groups, who were so far down below normal and there were so many things that they needed, that we just couldn't work out a farm plan where they could repay us, and therefore, in those instances where that was the fact, we supplemented that farm plan with a grant to get them started off on an equal basis with the other clients. There is no difference between those people and the other people. In just 1 year, it is remarkable, the progress they have made.

We did find this—we gave those people a medical examination—every member of the family, and it was amazing what we found there as a result. In my written testimony here, I set out some of the things that we found. There were more than 1,300 ailments in 575 people that were examined in these 100 families, and yet the bulk of those ailments were traceable directly to malnutrition. And so we have out there a great big problem of not only how can they make some money to buy the necessities of life, but we have a great big health problem in there. Incidentally, I would like to say that in this region of 331 counties, we have 175 county medical associations in operation.

MEDICAL ASSISTANCE

Mr. SPARKMAN. 175 out of 331?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes sir. In these instances, the clients contribute from $12 to $16 per year; that is placed in a pool through an arrangement that is worked out with the State and County Medical Associations. They render medical services to these people, on a monthly basis, they render their bills just as they would to the average tenant, and then if the total amount of the bill does not exceed the monthly portion of that money, then they are paid in full, and if it exceeds that, it is paid on a pro rata basis.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You say that each of these families was paying from $12 to $16 a year?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Suppose that one family has no medical attention at all during the year, and the other family runs over their payment several times in amount, what arrangement is made relative to that?

Mr. MORGAN. Each family puts that in the pot just as protection, each one that participates in this arrangement; he doesn't get anything back.

Mr. CURTIS. Does the Farm Security Administration sponsor that, or is that a local project in which you have been cooperative?

Mr. MORGAN. It is a local project in which we have been very cooperative, to say the least.

Mr. CURTIS. Is it your enterprise?

Mr. MORGAN. We certainly have done everything we could to project such a program; yes, sir. We first went to the State medical associations and said to them, "Now, here, we have this group of people—here is this medical problem. We can work it out this way—these people can pay this amount of money, but no more. We can lend them this amount of money, but no more. Their farm plan wouldn't justify it." And in that way, we were able to do business with the medical association.

Mr. CURTIS. Do these people select their own doctors?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; the whole medical association approves the plan before it is put into the county, and then they call a doctor of their own choice.

Mr. CURTIS. Suppose that some client didn't want to go into that kind of an arrangement, does he have to?

Mr. MORGAN. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. It is entirely voluntary on his part?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir. We insist that they include in their budget approximately this amount of money for medical services. That is up to the client to decide, up to the borrower to decide, whether he wants to put this money in this pool or whether he wants to hire the doctor and pay him out of that fund.

Mr. CURTIS. You do explain to him and try to show him that it is to his benefit to do it in this manner?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; those associations are formed among the borrowers, and they have a committee that operates it; usually some member of one of the families acts as secretary for the association in the county.

Mr. CURTIS. How many of those do you have in the 67 counties in Alabama, for instance?

Mr. MORGAN. I couldn't tell you exactly, but my guess is that there must be 40; approximately 40.

RURAL-REHABILITATION PROGRAM

Mr. OSMERS. I wonder if you would just briefly tell the committee—and probably for my own information more than for the balance of the committee—the various services offered by the Farm Security Administration. I notice that Mr. Beecher mentioned the migrant-camp program, and the rural-rehabilitation program, and so forth. Will you enumerate them for me?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; I shall be glad to. Of course, the largest part of our program is the rural-rehabilitation program, where we loan money to farmers to make crops. Fully 90 percent of our activities as to personnel or money used is in that particular phase of the work.

Mr. OSMERS. You don't buy land or encourage the purchase of land at all; that money is loaned either to tenants, owners, or sharecroppers?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, owners or sharecroppers, either one.

Mr. OSMERS. They are either of them eligible under the F. S. A.?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; provided they can't get adequate financing from other sources.

Mr. OSMERS. Is rural rehabilitation purely a financial program, or is that also an educational program?

Mr. MORGAN. I believe I had rather state it the other way.

Mr. OSMERS. All right.

Mr. MORGAN. I think rather than offer an educational program—credit will not solve any of these problems by itself. Probably these people have had too much credit of some kind already, but we look on our loans as simply a tool by which we can carry on this program of supervised instruction of various kinds, in planning their crops and planting it, and then in actually cultivating the crops and in marketing them.

Mr. OSMERS. I have seen some photographs that have impressed me very favorably, showing the results of a home food canning program. In what division is that?

Mr. MORGAN. That is in the rehabilitation program. The first thing we do when a client applies and he is evidently eligible for help under this program, we work out a farm and home plan for that family. That is worked out with a farm supervisor who is trained in agriculture, and a home supervisor who is trained in home economics, and the program is worked out with the farmer and his wife. In working out that farm plan, they first arrive at the amount of food and feed needed for the family, and next, enough cash income to make their payments on the loan. The home supervisor, in working out this home plan, works out the amount of canned goods that is necessary for that family during the coming year. They work out a very definite budget plan, depending on the size of the family, and during the summer months—that is—during the growing season, that canning program is carried out. Now, after we work out this farm plan and extend to that borrower a loan based on that plan, we make the loan for a period of five years.

To make this clear—I heard a witness testifying just now, and he didn't quite make it clear as to how that loan operates—we take a mortgage on the chattels that are bought with the loan money, and in that budget is also set up an operating capital. For example, say we loan the man $500, $300 of it is used to purchase major farm equipment, such as mules and wagons and things like that, and $200 of it is for operating capital, year to year operating capital.

Now, we break that down into five, usually—certain circumstances may change the terms whereby we would require more payments one year than the other, but ordinarily the replacements or the replacement, would be $100 per year for 5 years. Now, under this arrangement, in the fall of the year he repays $100 on his loan. Then he puts $200 in the joint bank account through which all of these funds are cleared between the borrower and the county supervisor; he puts $200 in the joint bank account for the operation of his farm the coming year; that takes care of his $100 replacement on his whole loan, and gives him an operating capital for the next year of $200, and at the end of 5 years, if he meets his payments regularly for the 5 years, he should be able to go on his own and not only have his chattels clear, but will have $200 clear in the bank to go on his way.

That is the general way that the loan is worked out.

Mr. Osmers. What is the chance for the change in the price of his agricultural commodities to upset your whole program of Farm Security Administration, or are you diversified enough to stand that?

Mr. Morgan. The basis of that farm plan, first, is a subsistence program, to produce as much as he possibly can at home, and so far as that cash crop is concerned——

Mr. Osmers. I am thinking now of the $300, the $100 that goes back to the Farm Security Administration, and the $200 that goes back in the bank. The success of the program must rest upon the acquiring of that $300.

Mr. Morgan. That is right. Certainly all that you can do is to work out the farm plan on the basis of conditions when the farm plan is made.

Mr. Osmers. That is principally based on cotton as the cash crop?

Mr. Morgan. That depends. We have talked a lot about the one-crop system in the Southeast. I think that it is pretty definitely proven that we have two crops, one cotton and the other children, but we can't export either one at the present time, and that is giving us a lot of our trouble.

Mr. OSMERS. The market seems to be very steady in regard to the children.

Mr. MORGAN. Well, I don't know; as to the production, yes, but not the market. We ordinarily send away about 300,000 a year down here, and you folks are not taking any of them now, and that is giving us quite a problem.

It might be interesting, gentlemen, to know that in these four States, we have, since the inception of this program, loaned to these people $41,249,000. The maturities to June 30, 1940, were $17,091,000; total repayments were $16,105,000; payments ahead of schedule, $512,000; delinquent January 1, $498,000, and that figure includes all of our losses to date, because we can't charge it off. You people are the only people who can relieve anybody of Government debts. That means that 91.23 percent of all the maturities have been paid.

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Morgan, I sort of interrupted you there as you were itemizing the various parts of the program. We got rural rehabilitation. Can we go on now?

FARM DEBT-ADJUSTMENT PROGRAM

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir; with this rural rehabilitation program, there are two or three phases that I would like to mention, besides what I have just mentioned. For instance, we make small cooperative loans to this group, which we call cooperative loans, which fared rather badly in the present Congress. In a great many instances, a group of these people need certain small services, such as a threshing machine or sires, or things of that kind, and no one of the group can afford them, and then we make loans to a group of those for one of those services. And another phase is our farm debt-adjustment program.

That is not confined to our borrower—that is a service that is open to all the farm people.

Mr. OSMERS. That is a refinance plan?

Mr. MORGAN. No, it is not a refinance plan—it is a sort of adjustment between lender and borrower. We have committees of businessmen and farmers in each of the counties, and just a few—I suppose not more than 10 or 15 employees in this region—are engaged in full-time work. And, of course, that is one of the responsibilities of the county supervisor. When a farmer in trouble makes application to the county office, then his case is referred to the committee, and if it is quite a problem, we get one of these specialists in and work it out. We have rendered very valuable help to the farm people in that particular service.

TENANT PURCHASE PROGRAM

Then our tenant purchase program, which was authorized under the Bankhead-Jones Tenant Purchase Act, is administered by the Farm Security Administration. That is simply a program of loaning money to buy and to improve farms. The first appropriation was for $10,000,000, and the second year $15,000,000, and last year $40,000,000, and this year $50,000,000 for the Nation.

The money of that program is allocated on the basis of the farm population and the prevalence of tenancy. On account of the prevalence of tenancy in this southeastern area, under this particular arrangement, almost 20 percent of all of that money is allocated to these four States. With a $50,000,000 appropriation this year, on this arrangement, we will make approximately 2,400 of those loans in this coming year.

Mr. CURTIS. Heretofore, the number of loans that have been made has not quite kept up with the number of farms lost through foreclosure.

Mr. MORGAN. I think that is right. I have heard a statement very similar to that, and I am quite sure that is just about the picture. You know that foreclosure has been quite a problem throughout the country in the last few years, a question of liquidation. In 1930, we had nine and a quarter billion dollars farm mortgage debt throughout the Nation, and today that is just a little over seven billion, but that doesn't mean that $2,000,000,000 worth of the farm debt has been paid off, but that means there have been foreclosures all over the country, and Nebraska probably shows the largest percentage of any section in the United States.

Mr. CURTIS. The farm tenancy purchases in my State run about one per county.

Mr. MORGAN. Yes.

Mr. CURTIS. And the foreclosures run many, many times more than that.

Mr. MORGAN. That is right. I said awhile ago that ownership, while it was ideal, that no program leading to ownership could solve very much of this problem, because it is just too big. Even with a $50,000,000 annual tenant purchase program, somebody has said, with authority, that it would take 135 years to purchase enough farms for the tenant farmers in the United States, if there were no more tenant farmers produced in this time.

Mr. OSMERS. How much money did you say?

Mr. MORGAN. Fifty million dollars annually.

Mr. OSMERS. And it would take 135 years?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. OSMERS. But we are producing more, so you will never catch up?

Mr. MORGAN. That is right. So, that is just scratching the surface.

Mr. OSMERS. Don't you think it would be well to deal with this tenant purchase on a more or less sectional basis? In a territory where you testified that even the land was poor—you can raise vegetables—and where the heavy foreclosures are, it is largely a matter of the nonproductivity and the dependence upon a cash crop, the price of which isn't adequate, or has not been adequate, that has contributed to the foreclosures and not the inability to get the land. It appears to me that here in the South and the Southeast that you have a matter of individuals acquiring farms, which remedy is not necessarily the proper remedy for other States far removed from this section.

Mr. MORGAN. That may be true. I wouldn't venture a statement on that.

Mr. SPARKMAN. The formula for making these loans is laid down in the act.

Mr. MORGAN. That is right.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And it is not for the Farm Security Administration to work out?

Mr. MORGAN. That is right.

COUNTY, STATE, AND REGIONAL SET-UP OF F. S. A.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I wonder if you might just tell us what constitutes a typical county set-up of the Farm Security Administration, in order that you might show these services that they are rendering?

Mr. MORGAN. A county set-up consists of a farm supervisor and a home supervisor, with additional assistant farm and home supervisors, depending on the size of the load. Ordinarily, we consider a case load of 150 about all that a farm supervisor can take care of. A home supervisor, about 250; and so if we have—of course, it doesn't always work out exactly that, because the case loads won't follow exactly, but if there were 350 borrowers in a county, ordinarily there would be a farm supervisor and his assistant, and a home supervisor and her assistant, and one clerk, and possibly a relief clerk during peak periods. That is generally the county set-up.

Now, over that, with an average of about 10 counties—that constitutes a district—over which we have a district farm supervisor and a district home supervisor that supervises the work in these counties.

From that, then, we have a very small State set-up, and then a regional set-up that takes care of the clearing of loans and things of that kind.

I would like to say right here, too, that we are spending 82 percent of our administrative money in the district and county set-ups. Of our total administrative money, 82 percent of it is used right there giving supervision to the people. We are steadily trying to improve our efficiency in that regard; and while this year we have had a loan approval officer in the regional office to approve all of these loans, this year we are putting that responsibility on the district supervisor himself. After all, he knows more about the loan problems in that particular area than any man here in Montgomery.

Mr. OSMERS. How do you get this personnel? It must require a very well-trained man to be a farm supervisor, to go out on a man's farm and in a reasonably short time to give him advice as to how to farm that land and fix up the budget.

Mr. MORGAN. That is true. You know organizations grow. If we had to begin overnight to set up an organization such as we have now, it would be an almost impossible task, but our personnel has grown with the building up of the organization, and we watch the young people coming out of the agricultural colleges very closely, and the graduates in home economics; we usually get our share of the pick of those people.

Now, maybe I better mention some of the other phases of the work.

Mr. OSMERS. All right.

Mr. MORGAN. I don't suppose you need any more information on the tenant purchase program. That is generally understood.

COMMUNITY PROJECTS

We have a very small program in comparison with our total program, in certain communities known as community projects; most of this we inherited from the old relief administration. The idea of buying land and building homes and developing farm communities. We have in this region some 29, I believe, of those, and 4 suburban homestead projects that we inherited from the old Suburban Homesteads up in the Birmingham area. Incidentally, 3 of the 4 suburban projects are sold to the occupants, and they are being operated under homestead agreement.

These strictly rural community projects, this year we will soon transfer to the Homesteads Association with lease and purchase contracts to the occupants, most of these. Certainly in 2 more years they will all have been transferred. We are not buying any land for that purpose. We are not developing any of these community-type projects at the present time. We have no authority under our present act to purchase land. We have their loans for these community projects. I like to think about those community projects as kind of experiment stations by which we can develop some pattern with such a group that we can carry into this large group or mass we are working with, and we have done some remarkable work in that particular line.

I hope as you drive up to Tuskegee this afternoon you will pass a Negro project with 34 units; it is on the road to Tuskegee. There is a Negro camp manager there who is operating the project, and I hope that you can drive in there and see it.

Mr. CURTIS. Are those Negro farmers?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Why did you put them all together?

Mr. MORGAN. They were taken from a tract of submarginal land just north of the project that was purchased under the old land-use program and turned back to forests.

Mr. CURTIS. Are they farming now?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes; they all have farm units there and are operating.

Mr. CURTIS. How many families?

Mr. MORGAN. Thirty-four.

Mr. CURTIS. Why did you put them in a group?

Mr. MORGAN. Each man is on his own farm, but they are in a group there.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You bought a large tract of land and blocked it up into units?

Mr. MORGAN. Yes, sir. There is absolutely no subsidy in that project, except the building of the roads into the project.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We appreciate your statement. For my own part, I want to say that I very highly value the fine program that you and your organization have been doing. I know something about it from first hand. My hat is always off to the work. We appreciate your faithfulness in being here every day since we have been holding these hearings. I understand that you are compelled to leave now to go to South Carolina, and we again wish to thank you and tell you of our appreciation for your being here with us.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

Mr. SPARKMAN. Let the committee recess for 10 minutes.

(Whereupon a short recess was taken.)

TESTIMONY OF L. S. FLUKER, LIVINGSTON, ALA., MEMBER OF THE STATE A. A. A. COMMITTEE FOR ALABAMA

Mr. SPARKMAN. The committee will be in order. Is Mr. Fluker in the hearing room?

Mr. FLUKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Give your name to the reporter, please, sir.

Mr. FLUKER. My name is L. S. Fluker.

Mr. SPARKMAN. As I understand it, Mr. Fluker, you are a member of the State A. A. A. Committee for the State of Alabama; is that correct?

Mr. FLUKER. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And you have a statement that you want to present to the committee?

Mr. FLUKER. Yes, sir; I just want to present it and have it put into the record, and I don't know that there is any necessity of making any comments on it. It is self-explanatory.

And then, in addition to that, I have a written statement here by Mr. G. T. Scott, chairman of the North Carolina State A. A. A. Committee, that I wish to present on behalf of Mr. Scott. His statement is clipped here with mine, and it is along the same lines. We are dealing primarily with farm people.

Now, as to the migratory situation of farm people and with relation to the farm land, I also have a short statement here from Mr. A. W. Jones, acting administrative officer in charge of the Triple A program of Alabama, and I would like to have this statement of Mr. Jones incorporated in the record.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We are glad to have these statements both from you and these other gentlemen that you have mentioned, and they will be received and made a part of our record, and given due consideration.

(Written statements referred to by the witness are as follows:)

STATEMENT OF L. S. FLUKER, MEMBER OF STATE AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE FOR ALABAMA

The Bureau of Agricultural Economics, in a study dated May 11, 1940, mentions some of the principal causes of migration, after making it clear that no one factor alone is sufficient to explain the phenomenon.

An examination of the various factors listed by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics suggests that there may be an underlying pattern to the migratory problem, a basic "cause" of the immediate causes.

1. *The seasonal nature of agriculture.*—Certain crops, such as cotton, sugar beets, fruits, and vegetables, require a great many farm hands in peak seasons that are not needed at all in slack seasons. But, the seasonal nature of agriculture does not explain why there is a whole army of migrants for every handful of jobs.

2. *Size of farms.*—Most operators of large-scale farms find it cheaper to use day laborers for seasonal peaks rather than keep hired men on the job all year around. This makes for mobility among hired hands, but again it does not explain why the number of migrants should run up to 2,000,000 annually.

3. *Lower Labor needs.*—Tractors, trucks, and automobiles have eliminated the need for an estimated 345,000 agricultural workers. If the trend of the past decade is continued for the next 10 years, it is expected that an additional 350,000 to 400,000 workers in agriculture will be displaced by mechanization. Improved farm practices—better seed, better breeding of stock, etc.—also reduce the need for labor on the farm. In 1939, through greater efficiency, farmers supplied an abundance of food and fiber with 602,000 fewer farm workers than in 1930.

Mechanization and more efficient farm practices account for a large part of the surplus of farm workers in the United States. Nevertheless, agriculture has increased its efficiency from the beginning and had also made rapid progress in mechanization long before the migratory problem became the national issue that it was in the depression. So mechanization is by no means the basic cause of the destitution among families wandering about the countryside looking for odd jobs.

4. *Decline in foreign markets.*—About 63,881,000 acres were required to produce the principal export crops in 1920–21 but only 17,770,000 in 1934–35. Indications are that this year's agricultural exports will require even fewer acres. The loss of foreign trade, of course, means displacing farmers as well as the acreage devoted to export crops.

5. *Increased rural farm population.*—The birth rate in farm areas is higher than in the cities. The rate is highest on poor land, among farm families with the lowest standard of living. It is higher in the South than in any other region. Thus the farm, particularly the low income farm of the South, is the Nation's greatest supplier of people. In the 1920's the net migration from farm to city was about 6,000,000, but it began to slow up in 1927 and declined swiftly after 1929 until in 1932 there were actually more people moving to the farm than from it. The net farm-to-city migration was resumed at a lower rate thereafter, ending up with 2,179,000 for the decade of the 1930's. It is highly significant that the farm-to-city movement was almost 4,000,000 less in the 1930's than in each of the two preceding decades. The piling up of people on the farm has increased the human pressure on the land. As a result many families are bound to be pushed into the stream of migrants seeking stray jobs.

6. *Drought.*—Long rainless periods in 1934 and 1936 drove thousands of families from their dust-covered farms. A border count of persons entering California looking for work during the 4 years ending in the middle of 1939 showed that over half (51.3) percent came from the Great Plains States, and more than 1 out of 5 (22.7 percent) came from Oklahoma alone. Drought and dust storms hastened and no doubt intensified migration from abandoned farms.

7. *Erosion.*—About 100,000,000 acres of cropland have been ruined or nearly ruined, another 100,000,000 acres severely damaged, and an additional 100,000,000 acres seriously harmed by erosion. All too often farm families have to abandon their land and join the migrant army because their soil is too exhausted to give them a living.

These seven factors contributing to migrancy fall into three groups. The seasonal nature of agriculture causes a demand for farm labor in peak seasons only. Large-scale farming, mechanization, and improved practices, the decline in foreign markets, and the high birth rate on farms increase the pressure of an excessive number of folks trying to make a living on the land. Drought and erosion drive families off the farm.

Another factor facilitating migrancy is the rapid development of transportation and the improvement of highways in the past generation. Automobiles are so plentiful that almost any family with $25 to $50 has a way of moving from place to place.

It might be added that misleading advertising, in the absence of adequate employment information, lures hundreds of thousands of families to places where they have no chance to make a living.

Noteworthy about these factors which contribute to migrancy is that all of them taken together do not add up to the size of the problem that has confronted the Nation ever since 1929. Every one of the contributing factors was in operation long before the migrancy crisis of the past decade.

Ways and Means by Which the Agricultural Adjustment Administration Has Attacked the Problem of Migration in Relation to Agriculture

(Statement by G. T. Scott, chairman of the North Carolina State Agricultural Adjustment Administration Committee, prepared for the Special Congressional Committee Investigating Interstate Migration of Destitute Citizens, meeting in Montgomery, Ala., August 14–16, 1940)

The deep underlying cause of migrancy is the same historic force which is behind the paradox of millions of unemployed and lack of sufficient income for two-thirds of the Nation's families in the midst of boundless resources and billions of dollars seeking productive use.

In days gone by there was plenty of land for everybody—land free for the asking; land so rich that it was wasted without heed for the future. If a farmer wore out his soil in one place he could move to another. If a worker got crowded out of his job in the East he could move to the West. There were plenty of jobs for everyone who wanted to work and plenty of opportunities for all the young folks coming up in the world.

The depression beginning in 1929 marked a change in the pattern of the national economy. Drastic adjustment had to be made because westward expansion was ended, the effects of the war and the speculative boom afterward had run their course, the exhaustion of soil had become a national peril, millions of able-bodied men and boys had no jobs, and billions of dollars could find no profitable outlet for investment.

Directly or indirectly, all wealth comes from the earth. As long as there was free land, the Nation could live in luxury by squandering the riches that nature had saved up for thousands of years. But now that the treasury in the soil is running low, the Nation is forced to adopt a new budget, a budget calling for public action to save the land and to save the people who can no longer get a decent living, directly or indirectly, from the land.

The migratory crisis is one of many problems arising from this transformation in America. When people are driven off the land by large-scale farming, by mechanization, by the loss of foreign trade, by the high birth rate in rural areas, or by drought and erosion, they have no place to go. Formerly rural youth could swarm into the cities and find jobs. Today the farm population is backed up on the land, exerting a terrific pressure on soil that is being depleted faster than it is being restored.

So we have the familiar trend from independent farm ownership to foreclosure tenancy, sharecropping, day labor at impossibly low wages, or abandonment of agriculture altogether. From this tragic process comes an endless swarm of migrants.

Migrancy is a national problem. It is national in its cause, and it must be national in its cure.

So far as the Agricultural Adjustment Administration is concerned, efforts are being concentrated on the source of migrancy.

Migrants come from eroded land, and the agricultural conservation program is improving the soil on about 82 percent of the Nation's cropland.

Migrants come from low-income areas, and the Agricultural Adjustment Administration is boosting farm income through parity payments, price protection, stabilization of supplies, commodity loans, and crop insurance in the ever-normal granary.

Triple A payments to small farmers are proportionately larger than to large farmers.

Under the 1938 agricultural conservation program 93 percent of the participating farmers received payments under $200. The Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1938 set up the following schedule to increase payments of less than $200:

Payment earned:	*Amount of increase*
$20 to less	40 percent.
$21 to $40	$8 plus 20 percent of amount over $20.
$41 to $60	$12 plus 10 percent of amount over $40.
$61 to $186	$14.
$186 to $200	Enough to increase payment to $200.

In addition, the agricultural conservation program has made it possible for any farmer to earn at least $20 for complying with special crop-acreage allotments and for carrying out soil-building practices. If the largest amount a farmer may earn through compliance with acreage allotments is less than $20 the amount which he may earn for carrying out soil-building practices will be increased so that his total payment may be at least $20.

The Agricultural Adjustment Act also makes specific provision to prevent the needless displacement of tenant farmers and sharecroppers. Landlords are not allowed to receive increased payments by unjustifiably cutting down the number of tenants or discriminating against them. Any reduction in the number of tenants below the average of the preceding 3 years or any change in the relationship between the landlord and tenants or sharecroppers tending to increase the landlord's payments is prohibited unless the local Agricultural Adjustment Administration committee after an investigation approves the change as necessary and justifiable. An amendment to the act, approved May 14, 1940, places the burden of proof upon the landlord.

In the long run the best protection for tenants, sharecroppers, and small farmers is the democracy of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration program. Every participating farmer has an equal right to vote for the committeemen who carry out the farm program locally. They are definitely responsible for suggesting improvements in the operation of the program in case any existing provisions are not airtight.

The machinery of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration is available at all times to help prevent the evils of migratory farm labor.

The Problem of Farm Migrations

In my opinion the problem of the farm migrant in Alabama and the Southeast is due to:

1. Pressure on the land. We have in Alabama 6 acres of cropland per person compared to an average of 13 for the United States and 21 for Iowa.

2. Decline in exports of cotton and low prices for cotton and low income. These have been brought about largely by substitutes for cotton, changed clothing habits, closed or preferential economies of other countries, and our protective tariff system.

3. Soil erosion and unproductive lands that are always associated with high rainfall, rolling topography, sandy or loosely consolidated soil, warm climate, and intensively, clean cultivated crops.

4. Lack of a balanced economy in the South. We have relatively little industry to provide a market for a diversified agriculture and a near-at-home source of jobs for the increase of births over deaths on farms.

Other contributing causes that are not of as primary importance:

1. Labor-saving machinery.
2. Higher birth rate.
3. Decrease in industries that formerly contributed to farm income, the most important of which was timbering.

The proper solution of this problem, it seems to me, should include:

1. An expanded conservation program, including conservation works projects for stranded and unemployed farm workers on the lands that they live on.

2. Legal provisions for parity of income on the production of needed supplies of cash crops.

3. Development of industries suited to the raw material supplies of the South and the economic needs of the Nation.

A. W. Jones,
Acting Administrative Officer in Charge.

TESTIMONY OF L. S. FLUKER—Resumed

Mr. Fluker. Would there be any necessity for Mr. Scott or Mr. Jones coming here or remaining here any longer?

Mr. Sparkman. Not at all.

Mr. Fluker. Would it be necessary for me to remain longer?

Mr. Sparkman. Not at all, Mr. Fluker. I understand that you want to get away?

Mr. Fluker. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. In that connection, I think it is well to bear in mind that this being a Nation-wide investigation, and going from place to place, in the last analysis, we are going to have to rely on the printed page that we gather here and there, and the fact that we have interrupted a witness or have not interrupted a witness does not mean that their statement will have any more or less weight upon the relevant points than those of other witnesses.

(Whereupon, the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF SAM MORGAN, AREA CONSERVATIONIST, SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE, MONTGOMERY, ALA.

Mr. Sparkman. Is Mr. Sam Morgan in the room?

Mr. Sam Morgan. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. State your name for the record, and your address.

Mr. Sam Morgan. My name is Sam Morgan; I am area conservationist with the Soil Conservation Service, Montgomery, Ala.

Mr. Sparkman. And you want to present a statement that has been prepared by Mr. O. C. Medlock. State coordinator of the Soil Conservation Service, Auburn, Ala.; is that correct?

Mr. Sam Morgan. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. You have a statement that you wish to make in that connection?

Mr. Morgan. I don't believe that it is necessary to make any further statement, because I have a written statement here that I think is self-explanatory, unless you have some questions that you want to ask.

Mr. Sparkman. We will receive the statement that you have referred to, prepared by Mr. Medlock, and it will be made a part of the record.

Mr. Morgan. Thank you.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY O. C. MEDLOCK, STATE COORDINATOR, SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE. AUBURN, ALA.

As a representative of the Soil Conservation Service, I am, naturally, thinking not only of the welfare of the farm people but also the welfare of our farm lands. It is our belief that if we are to achieve security of tenure on any permanent basis then we must see to it that the foundation of farm production and, indirectly, farm progress is maintained. Only if there is adequate production can there be any level of income which can afford the farmers a standard of living which will enable them to remain on farms with a sense of security.

FARM PRODUCTIVITY IS MAJOR PROBLEM IN ALABAMA

May I point out the major problem which we are confronted with here in the State? There are, roughly, 9,000,000 acres of cropland in Alabama and of this 9,000,000 acres approximately 2,000,000 are devoted to the production of cotton. From this 2,000,000 acres comes about two-thirds of the cash income of the farmers of Alabama. We do not think it necessary to point out that the future of cotton production is not bright. With the loss of most of our export markets it may be that even that acreage must be curtailed. Thus, we are forced to look to land use other than cotton production for an increase in our income. From that acreage not devoted to cotton must come a greater income. It is our belief that livestock offers the best opportunity for the utilization of the larger part of this acreage and the Soil Conservation Service, through its work in perennial legumes, in summer and winter cover crops, permanent and temporary pastures, and additional grain crops, is building a firm foundation on which to build a stable livestock industry.

This problem is further aggravated by the fact that the average farm has only 27 acres of cropland. It is true that there are many larger farms and many more smaller ones. Thus, the problem resolves itself into how we can obtain an adequate income from a per farm crop acreage of 27 acres, or a per-capita acreage of about 6 acres.

SOIL CONSERVATION

There are two alternatives to this major problem of production: One, increasing the productivity of the acreage now available; and, two, through reclamation and soil conservation increase the amount of land available for production. The first of these two alternatives offers many possibilities in which the Soil Conservation Service is actively engaged. We are attempting to prevent the decrease in productivity by terracing, by the planting of soil-building crops, and other measures which I am sure it is not necessary to point out to this group. As evidence of the tremendous cost of even maintaining the production of the acreage now in cropland, may I refer you to table 1 which shows the total tons of commercial fertilizer used from 1928 through 1939? Even with this tonnage, the only noticeable increases in production are in cotton and that is attributed largely to the fact that cotton is now being grown on better lands on the farm than was the case prior to the Agricultural Adjustment Administration Program. Thus, we might say that the tonnage represented in this table is necessary to produce even the low yields which we have at the present time. In addition to the tonnage of commercial fertilizer, the use of legumes has played an ever-increasing roll in supplying nitrogen to soil and replacing commercial nitrogen. Table 2 shows the pounds of winter legume seed sown on Alabama farms from 1918 through 1938.

One of the most serious problems in maintaining soil fertility, or the productivity of farms, is erosion. The seriousness of the erosion problem in Alabama can be seen by studying table 3 in which the various types of erosion taking place are shown on an acreage basis. The Soil Conservation Service, through its trained personnel in the field, is teaching farmers to carry out soil-conservation practices. The influence of this work radiates beyond those farms on which definite soil-conservation plans are being carried out and, thus, by method demonstration, is attacking the serious erosion problem which annually costs the farmers of the State tremendous sums. The Soil Conservation Service is assisting the farmers in carefully planning the use of lands on the farms which are actively cooperating with soil-conservation districts. Some of the practices recommended are proper woodland management, terracing, strip cropping on land to prevent erosion, the planting of fields to the crops for which they are best suited, the encouragement of perennial legumes, pastures, hay, grain, and other summer and winter cover crops which will not only maintain these soils but which will improve them in time. Along with this planting of acreage there have been recommendations as to livestock and other farm enterprises which will utilize the products of the farm, increase the income to the farm families, and at the same time build the productivity of the soils.

RECLAMATION OF IDLE LAND

The second phase of the problem, that of bringing into productivity lands which are at present unsuited to the production of crops, offers greater possibilities than many of us realize. In 1935, 1,041,000 acres of cropland lay idle. This is, roughly, one-eighth of the available cropland of this State. Most of this land lay idle because of erosion and other physical problems which rendered it relatively useless for production of cash income. In addition to this acreage, there are other areas of pasture and woodland which, because of erosion, have lost much of their productivity. It is significant to point out that 8¼ million acres of land now in farms is in woodland. This does not represent waste land but offers a potential source of farm income.

The idle land need not be idle. The Soil Conservation Service, working in cooperation with the agricultural colleges and their agencies, has developed plans which, when put into practice, will make these idle lands yield an income. This is done by terracing the gentler and least eroded slopes and by planting perennial legumes such as kudzu on that land which is too severely eroded for row-crop production. Not only do these legumes furnish hay and temporary grazing, but they release cropland for row-crop production. In the past hay has been largely grown as a row crop occupying some of the better cropland. By producing our hay on lands which up to the present have contributed little or nothing to the farm we will release a considerable acreage for other crops. On much of the more severely eroded land reforestation has been recommended, thus, adding an additional source of cash income and utilizing land which heretofore has been a liability.

Th acreage in woodland, the importance of which has already been stated, is being made to yield a greater income by working out proper management, fire control, and other improved forestry practices. We have worked with farmers on the management of farm woodlots, thus preventing the use of valuable timber for firewood and non-income-producing purposes.

The physical productivity of the soil means that the farmers will produce more products and have more sources of cash income. Along with this the program has encouraged the production of food, feed, and forage, which means that less of the farm income will have to be spent for those things which can and should be produced on the farms. This whole program centers around the conservation of the soil and better land use, thus increasing farm income and the welfare of the farm people. It is our belief that this will increase farm incomes to the point where a standard of living will be attained which will give the farm people a sense of security and make their tenure more stable.

SECURITY OF SOIL BASIS OF FARM SECURITY

We believe that there can be no stability of tenure or security of our farm people unless the basis of farm production, the soil, is maintained and conserved so that it will supply a greater income. Many people have moved because the soil has moved from them. If the people are to be secure, the lands which they farm must, likewise, be secure.

I am sure that it is this permanent security which all of us are looking to. Anything less than permanent security based on the security of our soil and other natural resources is merely a postponement of the problem. We think that it is significant to point out that the work which has been mentioned herein is being done by the people in their respective soil conservation districts, through enabling State legislation, to solve their own problems. The enabling legislation referred to, the soil conservation districts law, was passed in March 1939. Already about 18,000,000 acres, or more than one-half of the acreage of the State, has been incorporated into soil conservation districts, and plans are being made for the conservation of the soil in these districts. By July 1, 1940, plans had been prepared and operations begun on 1,093 farms containing a total of one-quarter million acres. Additional districts will be established as rapidly as funds become available. However, I wish to point out this fact, that practically all of the cost is being borne by the people themselves except for technical assistance rendered by technicians of the Soil Conservation Service cooperating with the districts. Thus, the Soil Conservation Service is enabling farmers to help themselves.

We believe that this approach to the problem is sound and that if we are to achieve any lasting security we must not forget that the welfare of the farm people is based upon the productivity of the soil.

TABLE 1.—*All commercial fertilizer used in Alabama—calendar years 1928–39*

	Tons		*Tons*
1928	688,600	1934	366,900
1929	684,000	1935	420,000
1930	645,900	1936	468,800
1931	425,000	1937	620,000
1932	241,000	1938	531,000
1933	322,000	1939	549,000

Source: State department of agriculture; based on fertilizer tax tag receipts.

TABLE 2.—*Progress of winter legume movement in Alabama*

	Pounds		*Pounds*
1918	1,535	1929	1,956,869
1919	2,465	1930	1,955,224
1920	10,470	1931	2,609,025
1921	35,508	1932	5,725,661
1922	149,465	1933	6,030,733
1923	315,765	1934	6,649,390
1924	505,905	1935	5,893,129
1925	526,905	1936	8,015,385
1926	397,928	1937	11,594,511
1927	790,649	1938	15,673,602
1928	1,127,096		

Source: J. C. Lowery, extension agronomist, 67 county agents cooperating.

TABLE 3.—*Erosion conditions in Alabama as shown by reconnaissance survey made by Soil Erosion Service in 1934—acreage within which more than 25 percent of the land has been affected as indicated*

	Acres	Percentage
Total area of State covered by survey	32,913,588	
Area with little or no soil erosion	5,616,851	17.1
Area which has largely lost the topsoil	8,240,954	25.0
Area which has lost ¼ to ¾ of topsoil	17,182,166	52.2
Total area with sheet erosion problems	25,423,120	77.2
Total area affected by gullying	19,861,601	60.3
Area severely affected	2,947,728	8.9
Area essentially destroyed for further tillage; severely gullied and practically all of subsoil lost	931,429	2.8

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF GERALD HARRIS, VICE PRESIDENT, ALABAMA FARMERS UNION

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. Harris, I believe you wish to make a statement?

Mr. HARRIS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. State your name and official position for the record.

Mr. HARRIS. My name is Gerald Harris; I am vice president of the Alabama Farmers Union.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have a statement that you wish to submit for the record?

Mr. HARRIS. I haven't the original statement right here.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you want to supply it later on?

Mr. HARRIS. I have a copy of it here.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your statement will be made a part of the record, Mr. Harris.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY GERALD HARRIS, VICE PRESIDENT, ALABAMA FARMERS UNION

First, I wish to state that my official position is that of vice president of The Alabama division of the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union of America. This organization is formed primarily of small land-owning farmers and tenants and sharecroppers. Our organization has local units in 22 of the Alabama counties and county organizations in 11 counties. Since the membership of our organization is primarily a part of the above-mentioned farm group, we feel that we know their problems in at least a small way and are interested in the things that will help to alleviate their poverty.

As yet we acknowledge that Alabama has not provided migrant workers in as great number as some other States. We also know that with the exception of a few localities, Alabama has not felt the impact of these workers as have other States. We do know that conditions of the last few years have begun to form such a group within the State and we realize that if something is not done to correct the present conditions there will soon arise a large group of migrants from within Alabama. It will be my privilege to state three of these conditions and some of the results therefrom.

THREE CAUSES OF MIGRATION IN ALABAMA

1. The present triple A program with its acreage control has had much to do with putting tenants and sharecroppers off the land. Many examples could be cited where larger landowners having a good many tenants on their land have seen fit when their acreage was cut to dispense with the services of their tenants and divide the remaining acreage among a smaller number. Some were driven, so they thought, to mechanization and by the installing of machinery were enabled to change from tenancy and sharecropping to wage labor.

When we come to this question of mechanization we are faced with the fact that in a great percentage of the cases the plantation or farm which has become mechanized has not always made a great reduction in the number of families or workers. So then we must show the effect of this on the unmechanized farms. We must also remember that the tractor, and its labor-saving machinery is not the monster, but that which is behind it and also the people behind it.

The results of mechanization are at least twofold. First, it results in enlargement of acreage that may be cared for by any given number of laborers. Even on the farm where the triple A program has reduced the acreage the feed crops can be enlarged and become a source of income where heretofore the feed crop was small enough that it had to be supplemented by purchase. Also what the farm used before can be put on the market. This reduces the actual cost of raising cotton by raising the landowner's cash income.

Second, it enables the farmer or landowner to increase the productivity of his land. It is easier to use cover crops where machinery has been put in place of animal cultivation and thus again the cash price of cotton and corn is reduced by elimination of fertilizer cost.

These two things have a tendency then to reduce the price of our chief cash crop for the smaller farmers and the tenants and sharecroppers by enabling the mechanized farmer to continue in business at a less selling price due to lower cost of production. Here then has been the impact on the small landowners and even some plantations. Unable to make a living by the old methods the small farmer has been driven into debt and many have left the farm. Eventually many more will be driven off under such circumstances.

These things actually forced many of the rural families to find jobs at other work or to seek a place on Work Projects Administration, or in some cases and in some localities, drove them to be squatters, living in old shacks in deserted mining camps or the like, and living as best they can. If inducements are offered in some far place and by the pooling of interests old cars could be obtained, these people are prospective additions to the present large number of migrant workers.

2. An inability to finance tenants or of small landowners to finance themselves, is also a condition that will help to develop migrant workers. A report from Escambia County as recently as August 7 tells of many acres of idle land because the risk of financing for the making of a crop is too great or the fact that Farm Security Administration's regulations and conditions cannot be met. As an example, we find that 789 farmers have left the farm in Walker County in 5 years; Pickens County shows a loss of 357; Winston County, 227; Lamar County, 72; Fayette County, 150; and Franklin County, 636. While in this group of counties we find only 1 with a gain, which is Marion County, with a gain of 165. In every county the population has increased, but the farm population has decreased. Pitted against that, we find that the average cotton baleage in Walker County alone was 8,000 in 1935, 10,000 in 1936, 15,000 in 1937, 12,000 in 1938, and 9,000 in 1939, while the average loss of farmers per year has been 158. In the counties above-mentioned while the population gain has been approximately 16,665, a net loss of 1,566 farm families that have ceased farm operation has occurred.

This above-mentioned group of counties are peculiar in that they are on the edge of industrialized sections and are themselves providing a large amount of industry. In Walker County especially is a great deal of mining. We find that since these sections depend on the bituminous coal mines as their basic industry that this industry with its already large group of unemployed provides no place for jobs for those leaving the farm and eventually they will be forced to become migrants.

3. We find that in the last place some have been forced from the farm because of a change of products in those localities. This is especially true where many of the large landowners have changed from the raising of cotton to that of feedstuff and livestock. Because of low wages paid in these localities there is temptation on the part of many to leave those localities, and here again we find a prospective group of migrant workers.

In summing up, we find these three reasons have also seriously affected the membership of the one organization whose primary principle is the protection of the family-size farm. Many have no finances for dues and the necessary expenses for the carrying on of a local organization. We find also in many localities opposition from the landlords to the organization of their tenants, sharecroppers, and wage hands for fear that rights may be secured by them which will mean a loss for themselves. There is no doubt that under the present circumstances they have some reason for that fear.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In answer to the problems we do not profess to know the answer. We do believe that the program for the establishment of subsistence farms should be enlarged. That other sources of income crops be established in certain localities so that the unmechanized farm will not come in such close competition with the mechanized farm. That perhaps, even though we as an organization fear very much the danger of regimentation for the farmer, some relief could be secured by combining the processing of farm products with the producing of them. There is also some danger of injury to the industrial worker in this which should be carefully guarded against.

We must think of what the present conditions are doing to the rural youth. In some cases isolated, they learn to hate rural life and finding no outlet for their labor at home or abroad, are added to the group of migratory youth. Not able to have an ordered social life because of lack of clothes, and so forth, they are driven to a disordered social life.

Thousands, who under ordinary circumstances would have continued their education, are unable to do so. They lose ambition and become a source of discord and unrest rather than the source of a finer community life. It is surprising to note the lack of proper recreational life for the rural youth in hundreds of communities. If we are to guard against this other source of migrants we propose that the present inadequate program for the above be enlarged.

Since none has the whole answer to the present problems it is our contention that an organization which will enable farmers to better help themselves can assist very materially in the answer by having the actual patients concur in the diagnosis of their status and consideration of the alleviation. It is our hope that we may cooperate with the Government in helping to relieve these conditions and perhaps keep from having a large number of Alabama's rural population added to the present migrant workers.

Mr. Sparkman. We appreciate your being here with us all three days, Mr. Harris, and your statement will be given due consideration in the record.

(Whereupon, the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF JOHN GURNEY HOUSTON, KINSTON, ALA.

Mr. Sparkman. We will now take up the next witness.

Mr. Curtis. Give your name to the reporter.

Mr. Houston. My name is John Gurney Houston, Kinston, Ala., Route 1.

Mr. Curtis. What is your age?

Mr. Houston. Thirty-seven.

Mr. Curtis. You have lived in Alabama all your life?

Mr. Houston. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. What occupation did your father have?

Mr. Houston. My father?

Mr. Curtis. What was his occupation?

Mr. Houston. He was a sawmill man, and packing-house man.

Mr. Curtis. What did you work at from the time that you grew up until 1929?

Mr. Houston. Sawmill and packing house was my biggest occupation.

Mr. Curtis. How many different places did you live?

Mr. Houston. Since I have been married, or all my life?

Mr. Curtis. No, since you grew up and were working for yourself, up to 1929, how many places, how many different places did you live?

Mr. Houston. Five, I think is right.

Mr. Curtis. All of them in Alabama?

Mr. Houston. Yes, sir, all in Coffee County.

Mr. Curtis. In 1929, you tried farming, did you not?

Mr. Houston. No, sir; in 1930 I tried farming.

Mr. Curtis. How does it happen that you turned to farming at that time?

Mr. Houston. Sawmilling played out in our part of the country, and it was about all that was left for me to do.

Mr. Curtis. All the work that you had followed for all your life was gone?

Mr. Houston. From that part of the country; yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. How much of a family do you have?

Mr. Houston. Six children and my wife.

Mr. Curtis. How old is the oldest one?

Mr. Houston. It will be 14 in September.

Mr. Curtis. How young is the small one?

Mr. Houston. It will be 3 years old next June.

Mr. Curtis. You just tell us a little about your first attempt at farming.

Mr. Houston. The first farm that I ever put in to make a crop was with a man named Kelly. I moved to his place and he was having financial trouble with the bank at Dothan, and they foreclosed on him and he couldn't get us any supplies, and I had to give up my crop, because I had to be financed, had to have financial aid, and I moved over to another place to make a crop where a man had quit, and I finished that crop up, and then I made another crop with that man over there in 1931.

Mr. Curtis. Were you successful in getting started to farming up until 1935, or before that time?

Mr. Houston. Well, after 1931, I didn't try to farm.

Mr. Curtis. Did you know anything about farming at that time?

Mr. Houston. No.

Mr. Curtis. Now, in 1935, you were taken care of by the Farm Security Administration, weren't you?

Mr. Houston. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. Did they help you rent a farm, or buy one?

Mr. Houston. I rented a farm myself, and they financed me.

Mr. Curtis. You are still on that same farm?

Mr. Houston. No. I am on one of the Farm Security farms at this time.

Mr. Curtis. Who owns the farm?

Mr. Houston. The Government.

Mr. Curtis. How many acres is in it?

Mr. Houston. Eighty acres, more or less.

Mr. Curtis. What do you raise?

Mr. Houston. Cotton, corn, peanuts and hogs, peas and velvet beans.

Mr. Curtis. Do you have any milk cows?

Mr. Houston. Yes sir.

Mr. Curtis. How many?

Mr. Houston. Two.

Mr. Curtis. Do you have any chickens?

Mr. Houston. Yes.

Mr. Curtis. How many?

Mr. Houston. I imagine about 30.

Mr. Curtis. You have never been a migrant, moving from State to State?

Mr. Houston. No, sir.

Mr. Curtis. You understand this committee is investigating that thing?

Mr. Houston. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. And you feel that where you fit in the story is if you had not been placed on a farm by the Farm Security Administration that you would have had to get out on the road and hunt something; is that right?

Mr. Houston. That is right.

Mr. Curtis. Do you think that you can keep your family going, and off relief, if you get to stay on that farm?

Mr. Houston. I can keep them from perishing, at least.

Mr. Curtis. Can you raise enough to eat?

Mr. Houston. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Together with your milk cows and chickens, to get along?

Mr. Houston. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. And you can do that regardless of what might happen to the cotton market or anything else?

Mr. Houston. Yes, sir; I can raise something to eat.

Mr. Curtis. I think that that is all that I want. Thank you for appearing here.

(Whereupon the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF DR. H. H. CHAPMAN, DIRECTOR, BUREAU OF BUSINESS RESEARCH, UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA

Mr. Sparkman. Dr. Chapman, on behalf of the committee and certainly for myself personally, I want to express to you our appreciation for your coming down here today for this hearing. I have seen the very interesting statement that you filed with us, and I would like to ask you some questions. I assume that all members of the committee would. It might be there will be other suggestions that you will want to add, or it might be that you would like to give the outline as you have it prepared.

(The statement mentioned reads as follows:)

Statement of Dr. H. H. Chapman, Director, Bureau of Business Research, University of Alabama

I. As is well known, there has been a very decided tendency for persons born in the Southern States to migrate to other sections of the Nation. A considerable portion of the labor supply of the North and East has had its origin in this migration. Dr. Odum has calculated that in 1930 the Southeast had a net loss from migration of 3,412,150 persons. The net loss of Alabama in 1930 was 380,031. These figures represent the net loss as regards the 1930 population, the people reported in the 1930 census, and must not be interpreted as an annual net loss.

(See: Population movements into and away from Alabama, H. H. Chapman, University of Alabama Business News, July 1, 1938. Population Trends in Alabama, H. L. Geisert, University of Alabama Business News, November 1, 1938.

Agriculture and Industry in the South, H. H. Chapman, in Industrial Expansion of the South, a special section of the Journal of Commerce, May 20, 1940.)

II. The migration has undoubtedly arisen from population pressure. The existing southern economy has not been able to support the population of the South on the standard of living which we consider satisfactory. The South generally has a high density of population insofar as farm population is concerned, and at the same time has a high birth rate. We may well consider that the South has a very large surplus population. For the Southeast it may be estimated that the number of persons living on farms at approximately the level of share croppers in 1930 was approximately 2,500,000. It is unlikely that this figure has been materially reduced in recent years.

(See: Agriculture and Industry in the South, H. H. Chapman. Journal of Commerce, Special Section, May 20, 1940.)

III. In spite of the large number of poor people in Alabama, there is, so far as I know, no considerable movement of destitute and unattached persons which originates in the State. There is, of course, a very considerable movement of poor people from one farm to another, and also, perhaps, some displacement of former tenants, but so far as I have been informed, this has not resulted in large groups being cut adrift from some means of maintaining themselves, even though it be at a relatively low level.

IV. I do not believe that it is likely that the development of manufacturing will proceed at a rapid enough pace to absorb all of the persons we may at present consider as constituting the surplus population. The trends of manufacturing in the past, I think, will support this conclusion. Also, if we take the number who may be considered as a surplus population and figure on the expansion of manufacturing which would have to take place to furnish these persons with employment, I am sure that we would decide that such an expansion is very unlikely.

As compared with 1900 the number of wage earners in the Southeast has doubled—1,216,412 in 1937 as compared with 570,976 in 1899; but the increase took place largely prior to 1920. Since 1920 the increases have been relatively small. (See unpublished paper Industrial Trends in Alabama and Their Significance, H. H. Chapman, pp. 747–751).

V. On the other hand, I do not think that the problem is one of finding a single line of activity to absorb the surplus.

(*a*) Providing an escape for a portion of those who now seem to be submarginal agricultural workers may relieve the pressure sufficiency to permit an agricultural economy that will furnish a reasonably good living to those who remain. The influence of population pressure upon the economy of the Southeast has forced the use of land which is low in fertility and otherwise unsuited to cultivation and has also caused human labor to be used in combinations with capital equipment that make the earning of a satisfactory livelihood impossible. A reduction in this population pressure should result in a more than proportionate increase in the per capita productivity of those who remain on the land. Also, the competitive position of the agriculturist should be improved and he should be in a better position to get a larger share of the value of his product.

(b) The development of manufacturing should absorb a portion of the present surplus population and will probably be accompanied by other developments.

1. The development of nonfarm occupations to service the manufacturing industries and the factory workers. While the number of wage earners in manufacturing industries in the Southeast has not shown as great an increase as might have been expected, there has been some decrease in the number of persons gainfully employed in agriculture and a decided increase in the number of gainfully employed in nonagricultural pursuits. The figures are:

	Agriculture	Nonagriculture
1910	5, 454, 229	3, 451, 299
1920	4, 442, 053	4, 102, 742
1930	4, 295, 083	5, 435, 075

2. The development of new markets for farm products either as raw materials for the manufacturing process or for the use of the nonfarm population. It is possible that the climatic and soil conditions of the South may result in producing materials particularly needed for industries—pulpwood, materials for synthetic fibres and plastics, oil, chemicals, etc. The old one-crop agricultural economy may be gradually replaced by a new economy capable of furnishing a relatively good living, perhaps to fewer people than are engaged at present in agriculture, but to a larger number than are now getting a good living out of farming. Such a new economy may permit better use of capital in the form of land, buildings, and equipment, and a better combination of manpower with the other factors of production.

(See. Agriculture and Industry in the South, H. H. Chapman. Special section, Journal of Commerce, May 20, 1940.)

3. There is a decided possibility that the South may use its scenic, climatic, and recreational resources to a much greater advantage in providing enjoyment to a larger number of its own residents and to residents of other sections. Providing such services may well absorb a very considerable number of our present so-called surplus population. Modern improvements in technique mean among other things that we no longer need as many to produce adequate quantities of the commodities of yesterday. We have people available to produce new products or to perform new services. I don't think that our attention should be directed primarily to production of commodities as a means of absorbing surplus population.

SOME ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS INVOLVED IN THE PROBLEM OF MIGRATION

Migration basically arises from maladjustments in our economic structure. These maladjustments may be entirely of a personal character and affect only scattered individuals or they may be widespread. Study of the problem, therefore, should be directed toward underlying economic, social, or political causes.

I. Migration is not in or of itself an evil. Members of a population who are not making sufficient incomes to maintain themselves are liabilities to the community rather than assets. If migration can give them the opportunity to earn a livelihood such migration should be encouraged. As long as we have a dynamic economic order—one where new products and new methods are being developed—changes are bound to take place. These changes will likely take place both within localities and between localities. Migration is a means of making adjustments to new conditions.

II. However, aimless shifting is likely to result in increased misery and may become dangerous. A well-coordinated and efficient employment service should help greatly in bringing about desirable migrations of workers. The work of the Alabama employment service in handling the shut-down of the big mill at Lockhart, Ala., deserves attention. A well coordinated service should be studying changing demands for labor and attempting to direct persons seeking employment to the most likely places. On the negative side, any practices of employers which tend to create temporary surpluses and hence low wage rates should be discouraged.

III. The possible upsetting effects of legislation should be given the most serious consideration. It is entirely possible for well-intended regulations to force enterprises out of business and provide no alternative employment for those formerly employed. I think that this is probably particularly true of the small, independent operator who is operating in the smaller and more out-of-the-way sections of the country. It probably falls heavily upon the new enterpriser—the person who is trying to establish himself in new lines or to progress from a hired worker to having a business of his own. We may not be entirely consistent in passing laws to aid the small businessman such as the chain-store tax laws, the Wright-Patman Act, and the like, on the one hand, and labor standards and labor relations acts on the other. In attempting to reform agriculture it is entirely possible that many persons who have been securing some sort of living by farming will be separated from the land. It is entirely possible that the net long-time results of legislation may be good, but that is scarcely an excuse for failing to foresee the displacements and to take steps to care for them.

IV. The long-run desirability of programs of restricting production which simply impose uniform percentages of reduction on all producers may well be questioned. The hope, of course, is that sufficient increases in prices will be forced so that all will be benefited. This implies that the group of producers involved can control prices, which is usually doubtful. If prices do not go up the policy will simply impoverish everyone to the extent of the reduction. The tendency is to keep the same number of producing units and to give a poor selection of the land which is continued in production. The really important objectives should be to guide economic efforts so that land least suitable to the production of the crop will no longer be so used and that production methods, production costs, and the per capita values of the products produced adjust themselves to market forces. The key must be in finding opportunities to better use the factors of production.

V. The effect of the relief policies of the Federal Government, the several States, and individual communities should be studied carefully to determine possible connections with the migration problems. Any factor that prevents an adjustment to fundamental changes in the economic structure of the country may well be suspected as being a cause for unemployment or employment under less favorable conditions than might have been possible. Relief policies which discourage initiative or destroy the desire to seek an adjustment are undesirable. They may hold people in one place and so discourage migration, but they probably also tend to perpetuate the unsatisfactory conditions which are the basic causes of migration. On the other hand, migration caused by the attempt to find the places where the most liberal relief payments may be secured is certainly unfortunate.

VI. We have a deadly fear of any downward adjustments. We have done everything that we could to prevent wages and salaries from being cut, we have used Government credit to prevent fundamental readjustments of the debt structure of agriculture and business; we have tried to maintain prices at the old levels or even to force them higher. We have heaped criticisms on the business and economic policies followed in the 1920's and have passed many laws to prohibit many of the more conspicuous abuses of that period, but we have struggled desperately to maintain the price, wage, and capital structure. It is time to ask whether in so doing we are really nursing and keeping alive the basic causes of disorder. Perhaps the only way to do away with the unemployment of the fit is to let prices and wages find the levels where they can maintain themselves without pegging. It may be that there are certain fields where less legislation is needed rather than more. Perhaps the most effective way of passing on the benefits of improved techniques is through lower prices.

VII. Many believe that artificial restraints of trade get in the way of the most effective use of labor and capital. Almost everyone is ready to agree when the offending restraint is a tariff or a monopolistic corporation. Conditions tending to create monopolistic business enterprises should be carefully studied. I question that mere size should be made the basis for discrimination, but I do think that the working of patent laws and other protections of monopolistic practices need review. Also, we should not forget that placing control of strategic places in our economy in the hands of a small group—whether they be businessmen, Government officials, or labor union officers can be disastrous. Any of these quickly get a vested interest and any may use their power to further their own or their group's interest to the detriment of the public.

VIII. We need to face the fact that many of the tendencies of the present are making our people less adaptable. These are not entirely the results of the policies of the employers, e. g., the high degree of specialization of jobs under scientific management. The policies of labor unions tend in the same direction. There is a danger in formulating legislation on the assumption that the factory wage earner is the prototype of the workers of our Nation and that business is typified by the huge mass production establishments. There are millions of workers who do not work under the standardized conditions of a Ford or General Motors factory. There are great sections of our country which are important to its economic life where business is relatively small and must adapt itself to local conditions. It is, of course, true that the full shock of changes needs to be cushioned but long-continued and blind resistance makes matters worse, and laws can easily have such results.

Population conditions in agriculture in the Southeast

[Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Kentucky, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Louisiana]

	Total	White	Colored
Number of cropper operated farms in Southeast, 1930	646, 396	294, 987	351, 409
Number of cropper operated farms in Southeast, 1935	621, 169	281, 799	339, 370

NUMBER OF GAINFULLY OCCUPIED PERSONS IN 1930 IN AGRICULTURE IN THE SOUTHEAST

	All persons	Male	Female
Total	4, 214, 033	3, 543, 759	670, 274
Farmers	2, 304, 652	2, 168, 090	136, 292
Managers and foremen	19, 510	17, 044	2, 536
Laborers	1, 886, 724	1, 355, 916	530, 808
Wage workers	839, 701	709, 353	130, 348
Unpaid family	1, 047, 023	646, 563	400, 460
Others	3, 077	2, 709	368
Negro			
Total	1, 722, 929	1, 263, 682	459, 247
Farmers	756, 577	687, 036	69, 541
Managers and foremen	1, 428	1, 223	205
Laborers	964, 206	574, 733	389, 473
Wage workers	441, 552	330, 160	111, 392
Unpaid family	522, 654	244, 573	278, 081
Others	718	690	28

ESTIMATE OF GAINFUL WORKERS IN 1930 IN AGRICULTURE ON APPROXIMATELY THE CROPPER LEVEL

	Southeast	Colored	White
Total number of farms	2, 388, 806	766, 111	1, 622, 695
Number of farms operated by croppers	646, 396	351, 409	294, 987
Percent farms operated by croppers ... percent	27. 06	45. 87	18. 18
Share cropper tenants	646, 396	351, 409	294, 987
Family workers in families of croppers (calculated by taking 45.8 percent of colored and 18.18 percent of white family workers)	335, 071	239, 741	95, 330
Number of wage workers	839, 701	441, 552	398, 149
Total	1, 821, 168	1, 032, 702	788, 466

To which should be added many of the other tenant and small-owner families who are probably in little better condition than the croppers. Total probably is no less than 2,500,000 gainful workers.

A second estimate of gainful workers in 1930 and 1935 in agriculture on approximately the sharecropper level:

Assume an average family of 4.5 persons for white croppers and 4.0 for Negro, which is about the median for rural farm white and Negro families, respectively. Cropper families probably are larger than the other rural farm families.

	1930	1935
Number of croppers:		
White	294, 987	281, 799
Negro	351, 409	339, 370
Estimate of persons in cropper families:		
White	1, 327, 442	1, 268, 096
Negro	1, 405, 636	1, 357, 480
Total	2, 733. 078	2, 625. 576

SIZE OF FAMILY

Southern families tend to run somewhat larger, but differences are most apparent in the white rural-farm families.

RURAL FARM, WHITE

For instance for the United States, 27.5 of the families have 6 or more members, while of the 11 Southeastern States, Florida has the lowest percent, 30.6, with the other States in the following order: Kentucky, 31.3; Tennessee, 31.4; Arkansas, 31.5; Mississippi, 32.3; Virginia, 34.3; Louisiana, 34.4; Georgia, 35.9; Alabama, 36; South Carolina, 38.7; and North Carolina, 39.2.

RURAL FARM, WHITE AND COLORED, ANOTHER INDICATION

For the United States, 16.5 percent of the rural-farm families have 3 or more children under 10 years of age. Of the 11 Southeastern States, Florida has the lowest percent, 17.17, the others in order are: Arkansas, 18; Tennessee, 18.5; Mississippi, 18.5; Kentucky, 19.7; Louisiana, 20.2; Virginia, 20.7; Georgia, 21.3; Alabama, 21.8; South Carolina, 24.9; and North Carolina, 25.5.

The Bureau of the Census for the 10-year period from 1929–38, inclusive, reported births and deaths in States of Southeast:

Total births in Southeastern States	5, 620, 629
Total deaths in Southeastern States	2, 929, 487
Excess of births over deaths	2, 691, 142

For the period 1933–38 (6 years) during which all States and the District of Columbia have been in registration area:

	United States	Southeast
Births	13, 039, 062	3, 377, 473
Deaths	8, 442, 807	1, 759, 647
Excess births over deaths	4, 596, 255	1, 617, 826

The Southeast had 20.8 percent—the population in 1930, but 1933–38 had 35.2 percent—the excess of births over deaths.

MIGRATION FROM SOUTHEAST

[Odum's figures, p. 484, for 1930]

	White	Negro
Total born in Southeast and living outside	2, 884, 781	1, 905, 489
Total living in Southeast but born outside	1, 023, 143	64, 731
Net loss	1, 861, 638	1, 840, 758

Total net loss, 3,702,496 (total white and Negro).
Net loss given p. 464, 1930, 3,412,150.

AGE DISTRIBUTION

Males

Under 20, all Southeastern States above United States percentage (38.7); Florida lowest, 38.8; next lowest, Louisiana, 44; highest, South Carolina, 51.7 (all classes).

Whites.—United States percentage was 43.9; Florida lowest in Southeast with 41.6; next lowest, Virginia, 44.4; and highest Northeast, 48.9.

Negro.—United States, South predominantly Southeast, that contrasts not very significant. Middle Atlantic was 31.2 and East North Central 30.1; Kentucky lowest in Southeast, 35.7, and Florida, 38.7; but North Carolina 53, Georgia 49.3, South Carolina 15.8, Alabama 47.8, Mississippi 47.7.

From 20 to 54, inclusive (working age):

All.—United States was 48.8. Florida was highest with 49.2; Louisiana next highest, 48. The others range from Tennessee 44.4 to South Carolina 40.

White.—United States was 45.2. Florida highest in Southeast, 46.4; next highest, Louisiana, 45.8, and Georgia, 44.1; lowest, North Carolina, 41.9.

Negro.—Middle Atlantic was 62.5 and East North Central 62.6; Florida highest in Southeast with 53.4; Kentucky next, 51.2; South Carolina lowest, 36.4.

Older than 5.5 Southeast percentage not consistently above or below.

Females similar

Generally, with exception of Florida, the percentage of the young run high in South and percentages of those in working ages run low. Particularly is this true for the Negro population.

Of interest to note, the urban population of two of our very important sections show the following numbers as born in some one of the Southeastern States:

	Born in Southeast
Middle Atlantic	623, 777
East North Central	1, 075, 653
Total	1, 698, 430

Changes in gainfully employed in agriculture and nonagricultural occupations

	Number of gainfully occupied	Number in agriculture	Number in nonagricultural occupations	Percent changes		
				Total	Agriculture	Nonagricultural
SOUTHEAST						
1930	9, 730, 158	4, 213, 421	5, 516, 737	+13. 9	−5. 1	+34. 5
		[1] 4, 295, 083	[1] 5, 435, 075	--------	−3. 3	+32. 5
1920	8, 544, 795	[2] 4, 442, 053	4, 102, 742	−4. 1	−18. 6	+18. 9
1910	8, 905, 528	[2] 5, 454, 229	3, 451, 299	--------	--------	--------
UNITED STATES						
1930	48, 829, 920	10, 471, 998	38, 367, 922	+17. 3	−4. 4	+25 1
		[1] 10, 722, 467	38, 107. 453	--------	−2. 1	+24. 3
1920	41, 614, 248	[2] 10, 953, 158	30, 661, 090	+9. 0	−13. 5	+20. 2
1910	38, 167, 336	[2] 12, 659, 203	25, 508, 133	--------	--------	--------

[1] After adding forestry and fishing.
[2] Included forestry.

Workers and capital equipment in the southeast, 1930

	Southeast	United States other than Southeast
Number of work animals per agricultural worker	0. 93	2. 19
Number of tractors per agricultural worker	. 017	. 136
Or agricultural workers per tractor	59. 47	7. 37
Value of machinery per agricultural worker	$88. 60	$472. 67
Value of machinery per farm	$156. 00	$758. 56

People versus land

Acres per farm person	1935	1930	1920
Southeast	14. 82	13. 96	14. 84
East North Central	24. 52	24. 70	23. 96
United States	33. 16	32. 41	30. 24

Agriculture, 1930

	Alabama	United States	Southeast	United States outside Southeast
Acres in farms	17, 554, 635	986, 771, 016	170, 507, 869	816, 263, 147
Number gainfully occupied in agriculture	492, 761	10, 471, 998	4, 213, 421	6, 258, 577
Acres per agricultural worker	35. 62	94. 23	40. 47	130. 42
Farm population	1, 340, 277	30, 445, 350	12, 209, 807	18, 235, 543
Acres per farm person	13. 10	32. 41	13. 96	44. 76
Number of work animals	392, 559	17, 611, 905	3, 927, 432	13, 684, 473
Number of agricultural workers	492, 761	10, 471, 998	4, 213, 421	6, 258, 577
Work animals per worker	. 80	1. 68	. 93	2. 19
Tractors, number	4, 664	920, 021	70, 852	849, 169
Workers per tractor	105. 65	11. 38	59. 47	7. 37
Value of farm machinery	$33, 544, 806	$3, 301, 654, 481	$373, 367, 847	$2, 958, 286, 634
Value of machinery per agricultural worker	68. 08	315. 28	88. 61	472. 67
Value of land and buildings	502, 370, 806	47, 879, 838, 358	6, 731, 230, 671	41, 148, 607, 687
Value of buildings alone	148, 331, 856	12, 949, 993, 774	2, 018, 934, 237	10, 931, 059, 537
Value of farm dwellings	104, 969, 633	7, 083, 536, 150	1, 346, 099, 735	5, 737, 436, 415
Buildings other than dwelling	43, 362, 223	5, 866, 457, 624	672, 834, 502	5, 193, 623, 122
Value per agricultural worker:				
Land and buildings	1, 019. 50	4, 572. 17	1, 597. 58	6, 574. 75
Buildings other than dwellings	88. 00	560. 20	159. 69	829. 84
Value of land alone	354, 038, 950	34, 929, 844, 584	4, 712, 296, 434	30, 217, 548, 150
Value per agricultural worker	718. 48	3, 335. 55	1, 118. 40	4, 828. 18
Gross income (1929)	233, 620, 000	11, 916, 590, 000	2, 495, 958, 000	9, 420, 632, 000
Per acre in farm	13. 31	12. 08	14. 64	11. 54
Per farm worker	474. 10	1, 137. 95	592. 38	1, 505. 24

Number of wage earners in manufacturing industries in the Southeast

	1899	1909	1919	1929	1935	1937
Virginia	72, 702	105, 676	119, 352	120, 273	121, 867	132, 643
North Carolina	70, 570	121, 473	157, 659	209, 826	229, 534	258, 771
South Carolina	48, 135	73, 046	79, 450	108, 777	109, 842	129, 748
Georgia	83, 842	104, 588	123, 441	158, 774	142, 968	159, 496
Florida	34, 230	57, 473	74, 415	64, 868	53, 412	52, 005
Kentucky	62, 962	65, 400	69, 340	77, 825	67, 456	68, 998
Tennessee	50, 504	73, 840	95, 167	128, 400	116, 624	135, 073
Alabama	52, 902	72, 148	107, 159	119, 559	97, 710	120, 301
Mississippi	26, 418	50, 384	57, 560	52, 086	36, 852	46, 040
Arkansas	26, 501	44, 982	49, 954	44, 205	30, 511	37, 280
Louisiana	42, 210	76, 165	98, 265	87, 345	62, 864	76, 057
Total southeast	570, 976	845, 175	1, 031, 762	1, 171, 938	1, 069, 640	1, 216, 412

INDUSTRIAL TRENDS IN ALABAMA AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE

It should be said that available facts do not permit the drawing of a complete picture because lack of information excludes factual discussion of a number of important industries. Furthermore, no industry is covered to such an extent that the student can feel completely satisfied with his basic data. As a result this paper must be looked upon as a progress report giving the best information which is available at present on the subject. The study of trend will be approached from two main angles. The first of these has to do with physical volume of output and the second with the number employed in the industry. Each of these will be taken up in turn, and then a brief summary of the important facts will be presented.

Volume of output.—The study of physical volume necessarily must be made on the basis of individual industries, because the output of the different industries are expressed in different kinds of units. Statistical series representing 10 industries have been examined, and the results of the study for the period of 1913–21 will be presented.

Cotton.—The series which reports the number of bales of cotton consumed by textile mills has been chosen as the measure of physical volume in this industry. On a relative or percentage basis the tendency to increase is more rapid in Alabama than in any State other than Tennessee. However, the greatest absolute increases (in bales) took place in North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. The increase in the industry for the Nation as a whole during the 17-year period was comparatively small, and most of the gain in the cotton-growing States was made at the expense of New England. Indeed, this movement has gone so far that in recent years only 15 percent of the cotton consumed by the American industry is used by New England mills. It is very likely, therefore, that this shift of location has run its course, and that the opportunity for further growth in Alabama at the expense of New England is decidedly limited. Further expansion apparently must come either from a general growth of the industry or must be made by attracting mills from other Southern States.

Coal.—Coal stands in decided contract to cotton textiles. For the period as a whole the formal methods of studying growth indicate practically a standstill, but the fact that coal production reached its peak in 1926 and generally has been declining since that year suggests that the trend has turned decidedly downward. The course for the United States is quite similar, except that the decline has been more rapid in Alabama. The result has been that the Alabama percentage of the national output has been declining.

Coke.—The situation with regard to coke is rather similar to that for coal. The growth indicated in the earlier years was not well maintained during the last of the 1930's, and a serious question arises as to whether the trends in the past give much foundation for an expectation of continued growth in this line. In fact, there are some grounds to expect a decline, because a very large part of the output is used in the blast-furnace industry, and improved methods in the handling of fuels is likely to react quite decidedly on the demand for coal.

Iron ore.—Alabama, in common with Minnesota and Michigan, showed comparatively little growth in the output of iron-ore mines.

Pig iron.—The growth in the production of pig iron was not great for the United States as a whole. On a percentage basis the growth in Alabama was a little larger than that of the United States, and so the Alabama percentage of the national total increased somewhat. The most conspicuous increases occurred in Indiana and Michigan. On the other hand, Pennsylvania appeared to be having difficulty in maintaining her position in the industry.

Steel ingots.—Alabama increased more rapidly than the United States as a whole. On a relative basis, the Alabama trend was exceeded by that of Michigan, Indiana, West Virginia, Missouri, and the two States of Kentucky and Tennessee taken as a unit. However, the last two, Missouri and Kentucky-Tennessee, are comparatively small. The absolute increments of increase (in tons) were greater in Indiana, West Virginia, Ohio, and Illinois. Still it can be said that the increase in Alabama has been one of the most conspicuous in the Nation, and, quite contrary to the opinions expressed by some students of industry, the data at hand indicate that expansion is much more likely to take place in steel than in pig iron.

Production of finished iron and steel products.—In the United States a moderate increase was indicated. Indiana, West Virginia, and Alabama had the largest increases on a relative basis and Ohio, Indiana, and Alabama on an absolute or tonnage basis. Pennsylvania again showed a tendency to decrease.

Lumber production.—The data for the period failed to show any decided tendency either to increase or to decrease.

Raw clay and lime.—Raw clay and lime are two other lines for which quantitative data from 1913 to 1931 are available. These are relatively small industries, but each showed a rather decided increase throughout the period.

Employment.—The statement of trends given above has been based upon statistical series which are measurements of the physical volume of production. The number of persons employed in the various industries of the State provides another approach to the subject. The chief source of this type of information is the United States Bureau of the Census. The most important single source is the census of manufactures. However, to get a complete picture of industrial employment we also need to include mining and construction. Some information concerning the former industry is available, but the data concerning construction are of little value in a study of this kind.

Again, many problems arise when attempts are made to analyze and interpret the available data. The census of manufactures since 1919 excludes establishments with a value of product of less than $5,000, and so the figures for the later years are not strictly comparable with those preceding 1919. Because of the frequent changes in classification, difficulty is encountered in tracing some of the most important of our industries through a sufficiently long period of time to make significant comparisons. Furthermore, new industries are usually shown under the all-inclusive "Other industries" group. While limitations must be recognized, it is still true that many significant facts can be obtained.

In all manufacturing industries, as shown by the census, the number of wage earners in Alabama increased from 52,902 in 1900 to 107,157 in 1919, and to 119,558 in 1929. These figures represent 1 percent of the total number employed in manufacturing in the United States in 1900, 1.18 percent in 1919, and 1.35 percent in 1929. Consequently there was an increase in the relative position of the State in the Nation, but the change was not particularly startling.

In the individual industries for which information is available, the greatest increases took place in the textile group, as shown by the fact that the number of wage earners in all industries in Alabama increased 12,400 from 1919 to 1929, while those in the textile group increased 9,622 during the same period. Other industries showing substantial increases are stoves and ranges, structural and ornamental iron, bread and bakery products, and fertilizer. These are comparatively small industries, especially the last.

Decreases in employment took place in the lumber group generally, blast furnaces, particularly since 1929, cast-iron pipe (since 1925), car and railroad repair shops, cottonseed oil, cake and meal, coke, manufactured gas, and flour and grist mills. To these manufacturing industries may be added coal and ore mines.

In addition to industries which show either a decided increase or a tendency to decrease, a number of industries continued at almost the same level throughout the period studied. Representatives of this group are foundry and machine shops, confectionery, ice manufacture, and printing and publishing.

The list of industries covered by our data is far from inclusive, but it should be sufficient to indicate that there are a number of important industries which were showing declines in the years before 1929. The introduction of several new industries, such as pulp, paper, and rubber, has undoubtedly tended to counteract these tendencies to some extent, but accurate information concerning these new industries is not available. It is, however, quite certain that the number employed in this latter group, though important, is as yet not a very large figure. A very conspicuous omission from our discussion of the number of persons employed in industry is the steel works and rolling-mill industry. This omission arises from the fact that the small number of units in the State makes it impossible for the Bureau of the Census to give separate reports except at rare intervals.

Thus far only the trends up to and including 1931 have been discussed. This has been done because it is desirable to get a picture of what was taking place in the State before conditions became so badly confused by the depression.

It is now time to raise the question as to what has happened in the more recent years. Up-to-date material is not available in all lines, and time does not permit presentation of more than a general statement. The great decreases which occurred from 1930 to 1933 or 1934 need not be mentioned, because we are all familiar with them. It is also common knowledge that decided improvements have been made from the levels represented by the depths of the depression. As a general proposition it may be said that those lines which showed a tendency to increase before 1930 have either felt the depression less or have shown decided signs of recovery, while those which were declining before 1930 have been lagging in their improvement. This condition may be taken as an indication that the tendencies which appeared before 1930 for the most part have continued.

We may now consider the significance of the trends which have occurred in the past. What problems do they present? What light do they throw upon the probable developments in the future?

One great problem is that which arises from a declining demand for labor by certain of the well-established industries. The most important of these industries are coal mining, ore mining, manufacture of coke, the blast-furnace industry, and the cast-iron-pipe industry. The most important factors in this decline of employment are declines in demand for the product and increased mechanization of the industries. In coal mining the decrease in the demand for product is extremely important and a factor which probably will continue unless decided changes in the use of coal take place. In the case of pig iron the important factor is that of increased mechanization. It is, however, quite likely that the production of pig iron will not continue to increase rapidly. As the iron and steel industry becomes thoroughly established the need for pig iron as a raw material tends to be relatively less important due to the accumulation of supplies of scrap iron and steel which may be remelted and used. The demand for coke has depended largely upon its use in blast furnaces. It is entirely possible that any decline in this demand will be more than offset by the increased use of coke for other purposes particularly in homes. The cast-iron-pipe industry seems to be in a process of decentralization. In the past Alabama has occupied a position of dominance which it seems to be losing. The decline in the demand for labor in these five important industries affect several thousand employees and constitutes a serious problem in the industrial life of the States.

Another important problem arises from the susceptibility of our industries to cyclical disturbances. Industries producing raw materials always tend to react sharply to cyclical fluctuations. Particularly is this true of the raw-material industries which depend upon the demand for heavy capital goods. Because of this situation Alabama industries have suffered severely during the depression. Available data indicate that our industries have not reacted more violently than the same industries in other parts of the Nation. The trouble is simply that Alabama has depended so largely upon industries which typically have wide cyclical variations. This points particularly to the need for the development of industries the demand for whose product is relatively steady. Generally speaking, industries which manufacture products for use by consumers are of this desirable type. The presence of cotton textiles goods explains the better record made by Etowah and Calhoun Counties as compared with Jefferson County during the period from 1929 to 1934.

It is quite obvious that we have not yet attained a well-rounded industrial economy. The task of developing finished-goods industries lies largely in the future. It is important, however, to remember that the developments in the past have provided the foundation for the future. In the first place, two great basic industries have become firmly established—cotton textiles and iron and steel. In the second place, the past has seen the development of certain other requisites of an industrial economy. Abundant power in the form of electricity and coal and coke are available. Transportation is well developed, and in Birmingham the problem of industrial water seems to have been solved. From the point of view of the physical prerequisites, the State seems to be in position to move forward rapidly.

In textiles the fact that the transfer of the industry from New England seems to have run its course suggests that further development probably will take the form of using the products of the mills in the manufacture of consumer goods.

Already some progress has been made in the establishment of garment manufactures, generally of the cheaper types, such as work shirts and overalls. In iron and steel the trend of finished iron and steel products cited above suggests that a rapid development may occur in that field. The development of a number of small industries to use the products of the iron and steel industry in the manufacture of many of the simpler of the products used commonly in the South, such as the simpler farm implements, buckets, garbage cans, and the like, would represent an important advance. The present expansion programs of the steel mills is providing tin plate and many other types of steel products which open up fields of industrial opportunity which have not previously existed in the State.

Along with the development of industries supplementary to the two great basic industries of the State has gone the development of a number of new industries, such as rayon, pulp and paper industry, and various kinds of chemical industries. Any general industrial development will also encourage the building up of the small but important industries which are needed to serve the larger industries and to supply the needs of those who are regularly engaged in industries, such as machine shops, printing, bakery, food-products industries generally, and the like.

The State faces many serious problems in carrying out a program of industrial development. Its coal seams are not easily worked. Its iron ore is of a relatively low grade and contains other elements that are troublesome. Other minerals present similar problems. In other words, Alabama's natural resources are not in the class of gold nuggets which have only to be located to be used. Many of the technical problems, however, either have been or are being solved. Climatic conditions also may tend to keep down the efficiency of labor, but the effect is undoubtedly exaggerated, particularly as other deficiencies are corrected. It is entirely possible that special attention should be given to problems of diet, ventilation, air conditioning, and so forth, to best suit working conditions to the climatic conditions. Special health problems require attention, but here again the State generally and many communities in particular have demonstrated what can be done. Also labor and markets present serious problems. The great rural population on a subsistence level presents a huge supply of cheap labor. In the past it has been migrating from the country. To a large extent the migration has gone to the North, but a very considerable part of it has been directed toward industrial centers in the South. Birmingham, Gadsden, and Anniston undoubtedly have drawn many from the surrounding rural sections and many more only await the opportunity to make the change. In the opinion of many, cotton culture in the State in the future will decline drastically in importance. Much of the present farming occurs on submarginal farms where costs are so high that a decent living is impossible even at extremely high prices. This seems to point to a further removal of people from the farms, for none of the suggested substitutes in the agricultural set-up require as much hand labor as does the cultivation of cotton. The other side of the picture is that the opportunity for employment of persons of this type is limited because they are qualified to do only common labor or the simplest kind of machine tasks. Lumber and cotton mills offered opportunities in the past. Heavy jobs in the iron and steel industry have done likewise but the presence of so many workers of this general class has tended to perpetuate low-wage levels. Rates in more skilled lines indicate general shortage of skilled workers. Gradually, however, formal education and training should bring about a change in this condition. Contact with industrial problems should tend to increase the population which has the ability to handle the jobs requiring greater skill. This, however, must be a very gradual process.

From the market point of view, the South has a large population, but the demand per person is low. The South has been a shipper of materials—raw materials and bulky semifinished products—and has been buying most of its finished products from outside. Irrespective of the economy or wisdom of this policy, it has created a condition which cannot easily be overcome. Trade channels have been established which cannot easily be changed and perhaps in many cases should not be. However, a potential market for perhaps several times the present volume of goods and services is in existence provided the potential demand can be converted into an effective demand. Without entering into controversial questions, it certainly can be said that the two elements involved are the stimulation of an active desire for the commodities and services which are a part of a higher standard of living and the development of an increase in productivity which will enable the inhabitants of the area to command in exchange the commodities they demand. It follows, therefore, that the effects of social environment and of public policies with regard to education, health, highways, taxation, and public welfare upon the attitudes and capacities of our people should receive the most careful consideration of those who wish to promote the economic development of the State.

TESTIMONY OF H. H. CHAPMAN—Resumed

Mr. Sparkman. In what way would you prefer to proceed?

Dr. Chapman. I would personally prefer to proceed by your asking me such questions as you wish, because I might take unnecessary time, otherwise.

Mr. Sparkman. I have a question noted here that I want to ask you first. For the benefit of the record, will you give to the reporter your official title and name and so forth?

Dr. Chapman. My name is H. H. Chapman, director of the bureau of business research, University of Alabama.

Mr. Sparkman. Your bureau is now making a comprehensive study of the commodity production in the Southeast. I want to ask that when that is completed, that you will make it available to our committee.

Dr. Chapman. I certainly will.

Mr. Sparkman. We will regard it as a very valuable contribution to this hearing. In the meantime, has this work progressed to the point where you might give us some information on the general subject of the employment in the Southeast?

OPPORTUNITY FOR DEVELOPMENT OF MANUFACTURING IN SOUTH

Dr. Chapman. Our work is largely made up of detail material, and all I can say is of a very general character as to that, rather than to attempt to give any very definite statistical information. There are a number of general facts concerning the Southeast that are quite generally known. The fact that so much of our productive effort is engaged in the production of heavy raw materials of low value, to a considerable extent shipped out of the Southeast, is one of the outstanding features of the commodity production. This characteristic affects us, of course, particularly, because those are the industries that are most subject to variations, subject to market changes, and sudden ups and downs in demand for labor.

Mr. Sparkman. This region is a region of raw materials?

Dr. Chapman. Largely so.

Mr. Sparkman. And we don't have the finishing processes here?

Dr. Chapman. That is right.

Mr. Sparkman. And we ship it out in a raw material state?

Dr. Chapman. Yes, sir; to a large extent. That is being corrected to some extent, but that is largely so.

Mr. Sparkman. From time to time in these hearings, certain people have mentioned the fact that we should have a greater industrial development in this section of the country, to try to absorb our surplus farm population. I was very much interested in some of the comments that you made in your brief, and some of the conclusions that you drew. In order that we might have a little further discussion of it, I will ask you the question outright—do you believe it is likely that the development of manufactures in the South will be rapid enough to absorb this surplus population?

Mr. Chapman. Not in and of itself. It should be an important contributing factor, but dependence should not be placed to too great an extent on the development of the manufacturer. For one thing, the general trend in manufacturing is rather toward producing more with less people. While you may have a very decided increase in the production of the manufactured products, it probably wouldn't be accompanied by a proportional increase in employment. But as part of a developmental program, it may have an indirect effect or effects that are highly important. That is in creating markets or leading to the demand for other services, it may have a very important effect, much more than the direct effect on employment.

Mr. Sparkman. I notice you say that it would be one of the contributing factors?

Dr. Chapman. Yes.

Mr. Sparkman. What are some of the others?

DEVELOPMENT OF URBANIZATION

Dr. Chapman. Well, along with the development of manufacturing ordinarily would go a greater development of urbanization, perhaps not the development of very large cities, but certainly the development of people living off the farms and that in itself would tend to furnish markets for agricultural products, and be a contributing factor toward a change of the agricultural set-up. I think it is generally felt that one of the reasons it is so difficult to change from the one-crop system in agriculture is that it is difficult to find markets for any of the other products produced, and those markets frequently have to be found in relatively close proximity to where the material is raised. That is one.

JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR FORMER AGRICULTURAL WORKERS

Mr. Sparkman. In your opinion, what line or lines of activity offer the most promise in providing jobs for the former agricultural workers, or these surplus agricultural workers, I might say?

Dr. Chapman. Well, I wouldn't at all overlook the opportunities arising in the so-called service industries—that is, such things as filling stations and retail trade, and the various service industries. I think our attention is perhaps too much focused on the agricultural farm worker and the industrial worker to the exclusion of many other lines of employment which are probably, on the whole, employing more people than either of those other two.

Mr. Osmers. Isn't it true that all over the United States, that the service employment is on the rapid increase, while agricultural employment and industrial employment, possibly, is decreasing in general throughout the United States?

Dr. Chapman. Yes, sir. I think that is true in agriculture everywhere.

Mr. Osmers. By service employment, you mean advertising agencies and laundries and things like that, retail trade?

Dr. CHAPMAN. Yes, sir; in a 3-way break-down you might divide all of the employment into agriculture, manufacturing, and service. That is rather commonly done.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I noticed in your brief that you mention the development of manufacturing would probably be accompanied by other developments, one of which is the development of the nonfarm occupations.

Dr. CHAPMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is the one that you just mentioned, the various services?

Dr. CHAPMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You say that the development of manufacturing should absorb a portion of the present surplus population, and will probably be accompanied by other developments. You mention the development of new markets for farm products, either as raw materials for the manufacturing process or for the use of the nonfarm population. Do you care to discuss that for us a little further?

Dr. CHAPMAN. Not any more than to make it more specific or definite. What I meant by the market for farm products to nonfarm people was simply that workers in service occupations, or in manufacturing, will need to eat, and this need provides a market for the farm population which increases if you have a decided increase in those occupations. From point of view of raw materials, our industries are largely based either on agricultural production or on mineral production and development—I should say, maybe, plant production rather than agriculture, because the development of the paper industry, I think, is quite similar in many ways to agriculture, in that it uses trees, a crop of a several-year basis rather than a crop of a 1-year basis. The development of new industries using crops that can be raised in the South will provide new markets.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Isn't that true also as to a great number of our mineral resources that are of a low-grade nature, as the processes are improved, we can utilize those raw materials more?

Dr. CHAPMAN. Yes. Of course, I think there are some factors that should be kept in mind in that connection. Some of the improved methods depend largely on having great quantities of a mineral deposit available at one place. Where we have had those big deposits of low-grade minerals, it is entirely possible that new markets may mean a considerable advance for us. On the other hand, due to the geological formation of the region, we have a great many small deposits of low grade, which improved techniques may tend to throw out rather than to bring in.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I had in mind particularly the processes in connection with phosphates. For instance, it was only a few years ago, 10 or 15 years ago, that the United States began to think that it was confronted with a shortage of phosphates, because the only phosphates we used were our rock phosphates, a more or less permanent formation of phosphate, but as the processes were improved we learned that we could use the low-grade phosphates, and it thus opened a great field for that industry, and we are now using them up in the Muscle Shoals plant, for instance.

I was also interested in the third point that you had in your outline as to the possible development of the recreational facilities in this section of the country, the scenic, climatic, and recreational development, and the effect it might have on employment, and therefore on migration.

Dr. CHAPMAN. If we will stop to think we will realize that recreation has had a great effect already on two States of the Southeast, Florida and North Carolina. These States are particularly catering to the tourist trade, which has been a very important factor in both States, and undoubtedly has furnished a great deal of employment in those two States, in western North Carolina and in the State of Florida.

Mr. OSMERS. Couldn't that be extended maybe to a lesser extent to South Carolina and Georgia, too?

Dr. CHAPMAN. Yes, sir; as to the seacoast and the mountain sections.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And you would include the Tennessee Valley, too, in that category, wouldn't you?

Mr. OSMERS. Do you mean for recreation?

Mr. SPARKMAN. Yes, sir.

Dr. CHAPMAN. Yes, sir; I understand that the Tennessee Valley Authority is making quite an effort to call attention to the recreational facilities of the valley, particularly in attracting tourists who can't go to Europe at this time.

Mr. OSMERS. Would you feel that the present international situation would aid the tourist business in a place like Alabama and through here?

Dr. CHAPMAN. Decidedly so; yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Any questions?

INDUSTRIAL POSSIBILITIES IN SOUTH

Mr. CURTIS. In what general field do you think there is the most hope for new industries in the South?

Dr. CHAPMAN. Well, I don't know whether I would want to narrow it down to one. There are several that seem to furnish a good bit of hope. I think, for instance, that the paper and the pulp industry has a very decided future possibility in the South.

Mr. CURTIS. And that is an industry that needs developing in the United States as a whole, does it not?

Dr. CHAPMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. It does not constitute a matter of taking an industry away from another part of the country or from another State?

Dr. CHAPMAN. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. And placing it in another or a new location?

Dr. CHAPMAN. No, sir; even here we import a good deal of our pulp for that industry—at least, before the war we did.

Mr. CURTIS. You refer to the type of paper used in newspaper and white papers?

Dr. CHAPMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Wherever the functions of the Federal Government are used to move an industry from one State to another as a nation, as a whole, we are not gaining anything, are we?

Dr. CHAPMAN. I would not go quite that far. Although I think, generally speaking, your statement would be true. You may improve the general level if you move an industry from a highly developed section that is not particularly hurt by its moving to a section where it can operate to a better advantage.

Mr. CURTIS. But there can be moves where the industry is better fitted in the new location?

Dr. CHAPMAN. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Have you given much thought or attention to the farm chermugic program?

Dr. CHAPMAN. Not as a specialist. Only as a sort of interested spectator. That is, I do not pretend to be an expert on farm programs. I have been brought in contact with a good many of the features, of course.

Mr. CURTIS. What is the situation with regard to the timber in the South; is that being replaced as fast as it is being taken?

Dr. CHAPMAN. The recent Forest Survey—of course, the Forest Survey people can speak with authority on it—but the recent Forest Survey shows it is being replaced as rapidly or perhaps more rapidly now than it is being taken out. I think perhaps one factor there should be kept in mind, however, and that is that a great deal of our matured timber has been cut out and the replacement is in young timber, so that we may still be cutting more timber, more matured timber, than the matured timber that is coming on, but on the whole the total figures indicate it is being replaced more rapidly than it is being taken off.

Mr. CURTIS. In your explorations, have you gone into the new kind of material being used in buildings, which was not heretofore used?

Dr. CHAPMAN. So far as the plastics, ordinarily called Masonite, that has been exploited, but I think there is much opportunity for such development, using materials that are commonly available in the South.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you feel that we will have to turn to the chemists for the answer to that, or for the answer to a lot of these things in the next few years?

Dr. CHAPMAN. Oh, yes; I think we will be continuing just what we are doing on that. We have already turned to the chemists.

Mr. CURTIS. Personally, somehow, I have a faith that this world was pretty well created. I think it is quite a wonderful place to live, and that it is not out of balance in its possible production, and that we can get an economy that will take care of the situation if we apply ourselves to the task long enough and hard enough. I have nothing further.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING FOR INDUSTRY

Mr. OSMERS. Much has been said by many of the witnesses from the South at this hearing in Montgomery, about the great advantage that would come to the South by industrialization of the area, and I think that we all agree that it will relieve, to a certain extent, the overburden in this rural section. But I would like to make the observation that my State has brought in 1,800 industries in the past few year, and I now find that we have a shortage of skilled labor in my

State, and I wonder if the State of Alabama has given any thought to the establishment of vocational schools to train labor to receive new industries?

Dr. Chapman. Well, that is a subject on which I can't speak with authority; that is for the department of education, of course. There are a good many agencies in the public-school system that are supposed to do that sort of thing, and I think they are. Then there is the State School of Trades and Industries, which is relatively small.

Mr. Osmers. Would you care to give an opinion on the idea of extending the vocational-training program?

Dr. Chapman. I think that is one of the fundamental necessities. I think that we are dealing with one of the most important factors which slows down industrialization, particularly the development of the finished industries—because those industries call for skill, and most of our people that come into these cities, from the rural sections of our country to the cities, are not skilled. Most of them are not accustomed to the use of machinery. A farm boy from Ohio or Iowa is already accustomed to a very considerable extent, to using machinery, but most of the agriculture in the South is done with the most simple type of equipment.

Mr. Osmers. They can fix a mule but not a tractor?

Dr. Chapman. That is right.

Mr. Sparkman. We do have one State-operated school of vocational training, isn't that correct?

Dr. Chapman. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. Doing good work as far as it goes, but it would be well to have it extended considerably?

Dr. Chapman. Yes, sir; but I think the better training will come through the public-school system rather than in some centralized plan. Most people are going to the high school or to the public schools until they are 18 years of age; 17, or 18, or 20, that is, if they can afford to go to school at all. If they can't afford to go to high school at home, they certainly wouldn't go away 50 or a 100 miles in order to go to a particular vocational school.

Mr. Osmers. Do you care to express an opinion on the present American system of education? Do you believe that we concentrate too much on the classical subjects and academic subjects, rather than the vocational ones?

Dr. Chapman. Well, I wouldn't say so, perhaps, exactly. I think this is the critical problem, the problem of getting those who should go into, we will say, vocational subjects to take the vocational subjects, and those who should prepare for a career or profession, to do that. There is a tremendous amount of waste in our American educational set-up, in view of the fact that the people get their heads set on being some particular thing and then after 25 or 30 years, they find that they can't make a go of it.

Mr. Osmers. In our own State of New Jersey, and we are very proud of our school system up there, we find that our high-school graduates, who have taken the commercial courses, have to go to a business school before they can take a definite clerical position such as that of accountant or stenographer, and as to those who have taken the vocational training in the public schools which has amounted to about an hour a week on manual training, which comes under the heading almost of recreational work, because there is so little of it, we find that these graduates have to have additional training, and I have criticized our school system for that.

Dr. CHAPMAN. I think that our difficulty is the one of selecting your work along the American idea, giving a person a chance to be what he wants to be, but at the same time, getting him to be what he ought to be.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is there anything more?

Mr. CURTIS. No; I realize the difficulty of the gentleman's last statement as it applies to Congressmen.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We appreciate your coming before us, Doctor.

(Whereupon, the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF PRESTON VALIEN, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENN.

Mr. OSMERS. Please state your name for the record.

Professor VALIEN. My name is Preston Valien.

Mr. OSMERS. And state your occupation.

Professor VALIEN. I am connected with the Department of Social Sciences, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

Mr. OSMERS. You have submitted a very fine statement, and it is very brief, and I wonder if you would read it to the committee, the statement that you have submitted; it brings out some very fine points. I mean for you to read the brief or the digest of your statement, of course. The one that is prepared in outline form.

Professor VALIEN. I don't have a copy of that.

Mr. OSMERS. Dr. Lamb, will you give the witness a copy of the digest of his testimony?

His statement will appear in the record at this point.

(The statement appears below.)

STATEMENT BY PRESTON VALIEN, OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, FISK UNIVERSITY, NASHVILLE, TENN.

INTRODUCTION

The department of social sciences of Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn., regards the opportunity to present its brief to the Committee on Interstate Migration as a definite privilege, for we regard interstate migration with its complex pattern of concomitant and resultant economic and social problems as a fruitful field for governmental study and action.

Until recent years the question of population movement had been studied in this country chiefly from the international point of view, but with the restriction of immigration, beginning in 1921 and made permanent in 1924, more people left this country from 1931 to 1935 than entered it. It seems safe to assume that as long as we have any considerable unemployment problem the restrictions on immigration now in effect will not be relaxed. Thus, in the near future at least, immigration seems destined to play a smaller rôle in our population theater. Aside from the prolongation of restriction on immigration, the economic emergency has had another effect, in that it has given rise to consideration of the desirability and practicability of moving people from areas of economic scarcity to areas of economic opportunity and of restricting population movement to seriously depressed areas. Social science tends to be opportunistic and pragmatic in its research interests, and thus the restriction of immigration, together with the long-continued depressed state of our national economy, of which immigration restriction is a partial result, has served to focus serious attention on interstate and intrastate population movements in this country. This attention has been focused on diverse and manifold facets of the problem—the need for migration, the quality of the migrants, the outlook for future migration, the need of a governmental migration policy, and the effects of migration upon its source, the destination, and upon the migrants themselves. Because of historical experience, the Negro has, perhaps, come in for a large share of this recent attention.

The experience of the twenties with regard to Negro migration naturally raises the question of the possibility of similar large-scale Negro migration in the near future. Bearing in mind the difficulties of accurate prediction of future large-scale human behavior, the wiser course appears to be a restatement of the characteristic patterns of the migration of 1916–24, a survey of available information on subsequent Negro population changes in the southeastern area, a discussion of the factors influencing present Negro migration, and finally a statement regarding the prospects of future mass migration of Negroes, taking into account current factors which may operate to retard further mass migration. The presentation of this brief will in a large measure follow this scheme.

THE NEGRO MIGRATION

It seems appropriate to begin this discussion with the observation that two tendencies, fortunately of decreasing persistence, have characterized social studies with regard to the Negro population. One tendency has been to isolate and classify as a Negro problem that somber section of far-reaching social movements which merely involve the Negro population in their sweep, and another is the tendency to regard as a new social phenomenon that which has not previously been carefully observed or studied. The migration of the Negro population from the South has been the unfortunate beneficiary of both tendencies. Migration of people from one section of the country to another has at all times been a conspicuous phenomenon in the history of the United States, and the Negro has been merely a sector, although an important one, of this perpetual flux of inhabitants. If the Negro migration of the twenties has uniqueness, it must derive it not from the mere fact of movement, but from the special factors of unusual volume, significant changes in major direction and length of the moves, migration causes which affected only Negroes, and social and economic effects growing out of the peculiar racial and occupational status of the group in question.

The existence of two waves of Negro migration during the period of the twenties—from 1916–19 and from 1921–24—has been pointed out by Dr. Charles S. Johnson and other students of the situation.[1] These two waves were separated by a period of industrial stagnation and unemployment which occurred in 1920 and early 1921. The migration of 1916–19 was distinguishably different in character, though not seriously different in volume, from the migration of 1921–24. The first wave, because of its dramatic nature and its possible effect upon the successful prosecution of the war which we entered in 1917, engendered more concern and comment than the second, but notwithstanding the concern which it evoked, much uncertainty clouds the volume of the 1916–19 movement. Estimates range from 150,000 to upward of 750,000. A Government report issued in 1918 and based upon migration during 1916 and 1917 placed the lower and upper limits at 150,000 and 350,000, with the probable figure as 200,000.[2] Since that time the 1920 census has shown that the southern-born Negroes living in the North increased from 415,533 in 1910 to 737,423 in 1920, or a gain for the North of 321,890. While this number is considerably less than was frequently estimated during the migration period, it was sufficiently large, because of the concentration of source and destination to involve important economic and social consequences.

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[1] Johnson, Charles S., The Negro in American Civilization; New York: Henry Holt, 1930, pp. 21 and 26. Kennedy, Louise V., The Negro Peasant Turns Cityward; New York: Columbia University Press, 1930, p. 33. Lewis, Edward E., The Mobility of the Negro; New York: Columbia University Press, 1931, pp. 17, 87–114.

[2] Dillard, J. H., et al., Negro Migration in 1916–17; United States Department of Labor, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919, p. 11.

The source of the migration which began during the World War period may be inferred by comparing the number of southern-born Negroes living in the North in 1910 and 1920. Such a comparison reveals that the greatest proportionate increase from 1910 to 1920 of southern-born Negroes living in the North came from Alabama (507 percent), Florida (442.6 percent), Georgia (384.1 percent), Mississippi (287.6 percent), and South Carolina (164.7 percent), in the order named. In other words, in 1920 there were six times as many Negroes born in Alabama and living in the North as there was in 1910. Two States showed a loss greater than 50,000 between 1910 and 1920, Georgia losing 58,632 and Alabama 54,398. Three other States lost more than 25,000 Negroes between 1910 and 1920—Mississippi, 36,576; Tennessee, 34,433; and South Carolina, 26,723.

The destination of these interstate migrants during this period as well as those who limited their movements to the South was the urban centers. Negroes who went north tended to concentrate in the largest cities. In 1920 Chicago had 60 percent of the Negro population of Illinois, Detroit 68 percent of that of Michigan, and more than 75 percent of the New York State Negroes were concentrated in New York City. The evidence of Negro migration from rural to urban areas within the South may be stated as follows: With one exception (Kentucky), even those States which revealed in 1920 an actual decrease in Negro population had at the same time an increase of urban colored population.

The causes of the 1916–19 movement have been grouped into two pairs of causes by different writers. Some have characterized such causes as "driving" and "beckoning" or "push" and "pull."[3] Others treat them within the frame of reference of "economic" and "sentimental" motives.[4] The following beckoning causes have been listed: High wages, little or no unemployment, a shorter working day than on the farm, less political and social discrimination than in the South, better educational facilities, and the lure of the city.[5] The following driving causes have been given: General dissatisfaction with conditions, ravages of the boll weevil, floods, change of crop system, low wages, poor houses on plantations, poor school facilities, unsatisfactory crop settlements, rough treatment, cruelty of the law officers, unfairness in courts, lynching, desire for travel, labor agents, the Negro press, letters from friends in the North, and finally, advice of white friends in the South where crops had failed.[6] These latter causes were derived from a special study of the three Southern States from which the movement had been greatest—Alabama, Mississippi, and Georgia. The causes of migration from Alabama, according to this report, were, in the main, economic. These causes may be briefly listed as follows:

1. Change in the system of farming made necessary by the ravages of the boll weevil.
2. Serious shortage of crops in 1916 due to floods.
3. A greater demand for labor in the North, rendered effective by offers of higher wages than those paid in Alabama.
4. A shortage of railroad cars resulting in the discharge of miners, lumber employees, and other industrial workers.[7]

Other potent influences mentioned were the persuasion of friends and relatives already in the North and the activities of labor agents. The desire for changed social conditions, because of the possibility of partial fulfillment, provided another stimulus which would not have operated alone, however, to cause the movement from the State.

In the migration from Georgia, low wages in the South and high wages in the North were given as the chief determining factors.[8] However, after the movement had begun, the social grievances of the Negro became the topic of conversation and a complex of economic and social factors began to operate. These may be listed as:

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[3] Donald, Henderson H., The Negro Migration of 1916–18; Washington: Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, 1921, p. 29. Lewis, op. cit., p. 12. Scroggs, W. O., Interstate Migration of Negro Popuulation; Journal of Political Economy, vol. 25, pp. 1040–1041, December 1917.

[4] Johnson, op. cit., p. 21.

[5] Scroggs, op. cit., pp. 1040–1041.

[6] Dillard, op. cit., pp. 11–12.

[7] Ibid., pp. 51–74, prepared by Tipton R. Snavely.

[8] Ibid., pp. 75–94, prepared by T. J. Woofter, Jr.

1. Low wages.
2. Poor conditions of labor.
3. Lynchings.
4. Minor injustices in the courts.
5. Dissatisfaction with educational facilities.

The economic and social causes of migration from Mississippi varied in part according to sections of the State. The principal causes were stated as follows:

1. In southeast and east Mississippi, lack of capital for carrying labor through the fall and early winter until time to start a new crop.
2. Reorganization of agriculture after the boll-weevil ravages, particularly in southwest Mississippi, so as to require a smaller number of farm laborers per hundred acres.
3. Extremely low wages in Mississippi.
4. The attractiveness of the northern and urban industrial centers, with their higher wages for unskilled labor and their promise of better living conditions.[9]

It should be apparent from this discussion of causes that fundamentally, the Negro movements were caused by the dissatisfaction with economic and social conditions in the South in addition to the prospects of greater economic and social opportunities in northern industries and cities. It is advisable, however, to exercise caution in attributing too much of this dissatisfaction to other than economic causes. Lynching is a point in case. It has been cited as a motivating factor in many cases, yet statistical analysis shows: (1) the number of Negroes actually increased in some counties in which lynchings occurred; (2) the counties in which Negro population decreased show a similar decrease in white population; and (3) it even happens that a county with several lynchings in its history may show an increase of Negroes but a decrease of whites.[10]

It is not the intention here to indicate that social conditions were not influential in the movements but rather that they tended to act, not as primary influences, but as strong secondary and supporting causes of the movement. The primary causes of Negro movements, like those of other groups, may be more profitably understood as a search for improved economic opportunity.

Much has been written as to the effects of the 1916–19 movement upon the southern labor supply, but a shortage of southern labor was by no means general to all the occupations of the Southern States affected. A study of the labor situation in Mississippi, for example, showed that changes in the farming system in some parts of the State had so altered the demand for labor as to obviate any acute shortage.[11] On the other hand, in other sections of the State where the land laid idle this was due chiefly to lack of capital. There was indication of a shortage of labor supply for the lumber mills and docks of the State, but this was mitigated to some extent by the existing shortage of freight cars.

Shortage of labor was a serious problem in Alabama, especially in those sections of the State designated as black-belt counties.[12] Much land remained idle partly because of the scarcity of tenants and laborers and partly because of the reluctance of landowners, merchants, and bankers to supply the capital necessary for operating it. A serious shortage was found to exist in the Birmingham district, especially in the mines. In all parts of the State lumber companies reported a scarcity of Negro hands in their mills.

In 1917 it was reported that no acute shortage of labor existed in either the rural or urban districts of Georgia, but many individual employers reported that they needed more Negro labor for cotton picking and for the sawmill, turpentine, and ship-building industries.[13] On the other hand, the commissioner of labor of North Carolina reported a scarcity of Negro farm labor in 87 of a total of 100 counties prior to the exodus.[14]

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[9] Ibid., pp. 15–49, prepared by R. H. Leavell.

[10] Johnson, Charles S., How Much is the Migration a Flight From Persecution? Opportunity, vol. 1, pp. 272–4, September 1923.

[11] Dillard, op. cit., p. 17.

[12] Ibid., p. 70.

[13] Ibid., p. 90.

[14] Ibid., p. 73–74.

Although the first attempts of the South to stop the movement took the form of moral suasion on the part of southern newspapers and southern leaders, when these appeals failed, more drastic methods were used. One of the first repressive moves made by the South was the passage of laws regulating or prohibiting the exodus of labor through the activity of labor agents. These laws usually took one of two forms, either excessive fees or excessive requirements of State residence for labor agents' licenses. When these failed to stop the movement other drastic methods were invoked. These took the form of physical restraint, chiefly by the police, of Negroes who were thought to be heading North.

When none of these repressive measures exercised any influence, a changed state of affairs followed. Efforts were begun to conciliate the Negroes and to remove those conditions thought to be causing them to leave the South. Newspaper editorials gave evidence of this changed state of public opinion.

Although there were some in the South who favored standing aloof and allowing the movement to stop of its own accord, the opinion which prevailed was that the remedy for checking the exodus lay in the adoption of sympathetic measures with regard to the southern Negro population. Some of the measures suggested were as follows:[15]

1. A general and substantial increase in wages.
2. Fairer treatment of Negro tenants by landlords.
3. Correction of former abuses such as short weighing of coal, discounting of store checks, and unfair prices at the commissaries.
4. Crop diversification to provide year-round employment.
5. Better housing.
6. Better school conditions.
7. Contact between the two races for study of their mutual problems.

Thus, because of its economic pressure upon the South, the Negro movement resulted in a sincere consideration of the problems of the group and an effort to adopt measures which would demonstrate a sympathetic attitude toward these problems.

The effect of the Negro movement upon the North was not without its bad as well as good results. Although it meant a general improvement in the economic status of the Negro with respect to wages, hours, and conditions of employment, the opposition of labor unions created serious handicaps. Compared with other groups, the Negro was handicapped by limitation of economic opportunities and discrimination in the matter of employment and advancement. In general, however, migration from the South resulted in real improvement in the colored laborer's economic situation, for he had a wider choice of occupations and usually received higher wages than he did in the South.

On the other hand, the influx of southern Negroes created serious problems of housing, health, crime, education, politics, and race contacts. There was a noticeable strengthening of race prejudice among the whites, growing out of contact with the increased volume of Negroes, which often developed into open violence as occurred in East St. Louis, Chicago, and other northern cities. There was a tendency toward segregation and discrimination of Negroes who had long been residents of the North as well as the recent migrants.

Although Negroes in northern cities were not accorded the full measure of freedom and opportunity of whites, yet it must not be overlooked that migration tended to improve the social as well as the economic status of the newcomer. Better schools, the right to vote, free access to parks, museums, and recreational centers, and participation in city health and sanitary improvements were part of this improved social status. In spite of the higher cost of living and the difficulties of adaptation to a totally new environment, there seems to have been, as a rule, a real advance in the standards of living of Negroes participating in the 1916–19 movement.

NEGRO POPULATION MOVEMENTS SINCE 1920

The second wave of Negro migration beginning in the fall of 1921 and continuing at great pace through 1924 proceeded without the excitement incident to the movement of 1916–19. Various reasons may account for this. In the first place, there were communities of southern Negroes in the North to absorb these newcomers and soften their first contacts with the new environment. The termination of the war removed the concern which had been manifested because of the possible effects of the Negro movement upon its successful prosecution. One will recall that the Government studies of the 1916–17 movement grew out of this concern.

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[15] Johnson, The Negro in American Civilization, pp. 27–28.

The movement from 1921 or 1922 to 1924 possessed much the same characteristics as to direction and source which were observed in the first wave. It is impossible to make any accurate statements concerning the extent of the entire migrations for this period alone, but it was known for a few cities and may be estimated with reasonable accuracy for others. The Detroit school census taken in 1925 shows 81,831 Negroes, an increase of over 100 percent since 1920. It was estimated that no less than 50,000 moved to New York City during the same period, and test counts in three New Jersey cities and Buffalo, N. Y., where in local surveys by the National Urban League it was possible to secure the exact date of arrival of Negro newcomers, indicate that the volume of increase between 1920 and 1925 was two-thirds as large as the increase for the full decade of 1910–20.

It is believed that the source of the 1922–24 movement was essentially the same as in 1916–19, but data to support this belief are lacking. The United States Department of Labor issued a press release in October 1923, whose accuracy, as judged by the 1930 census, is quite doubtful, but it estimated that during the year September 1922 to August 31, 1923, 478,700, or nearly half a million Negro migrants, left the 13 Southern States. According to this release, these migrants came from the following States:

Alabama	90, 000	North Carolina	25, 000
Arkansas	5, 000	Oklahoma	1, 000
Florida	90, 000	South Carolina	25, 000
Georgia	120, 600	Tennessee	10, 000
Kentucky	2, 500	Texas	2 000
Louisiana	15, 000	Virginia	100, 000
Mississippi	82, 600		

While the census figures of 1930 may not be as accurate an indicator of the 1922–24 movement as the census of 1920 was of the 1916–19 movement, they will indicate perhaps what was taking place during the first half of the decade Whereas between 1910 and 1920, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, and Mississippi, in the order named, made the greatest proportionate contributions of southern-born Negro population to the North, during the next 10 years this dubious honor went to Arkansas, which contributed a Negro population increase of 260.1 percent to the north between 1920 and 1930; Virginia (238.7 percent), South Carolina (209.6 percent), and Georgia (177.9 percent). While the largest numerical contributions during the 1910–20 period were made by Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Tennessee, in the order named, in the decade following, Virginia (354,086), Georgia (131,454), South Carolina (90,041), and Mississippi (68,206) were the major contributors of southern-born Negroes to the North. It is worth noting that between 1920–30 Virginia alone contributed more Negroes to the North (354,086) than all the 17 Southern States, Virginia included, contributed during the period 1910–20 (321,890). During the 1920–30 period Virginia contributed 57 percent of the increase in the southern-born Negroes living in the North.[16]

Much of the northward migration has been in the nature of a State to State displacement. During both the 1910–20 and 1920–30 decade, South Carolina gave more Negroes to North Carolina than it received from North Carolina; North Carolina gave more to Virginia than it received from Virginia, and Virginia gave more to New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania than it received from these States. Likewise Alabama contributed to Tennessee, Tennessee to Kentucky, and Kentucky to Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois.

The Department of Social Sciences of Fisk University has recently found that population change in the Southeastern States is related to the nature of the basic economy in the region. It was found, for example, that 33 counties in 11 Southeastern States had decreased 40 percent or more in Negro popula-

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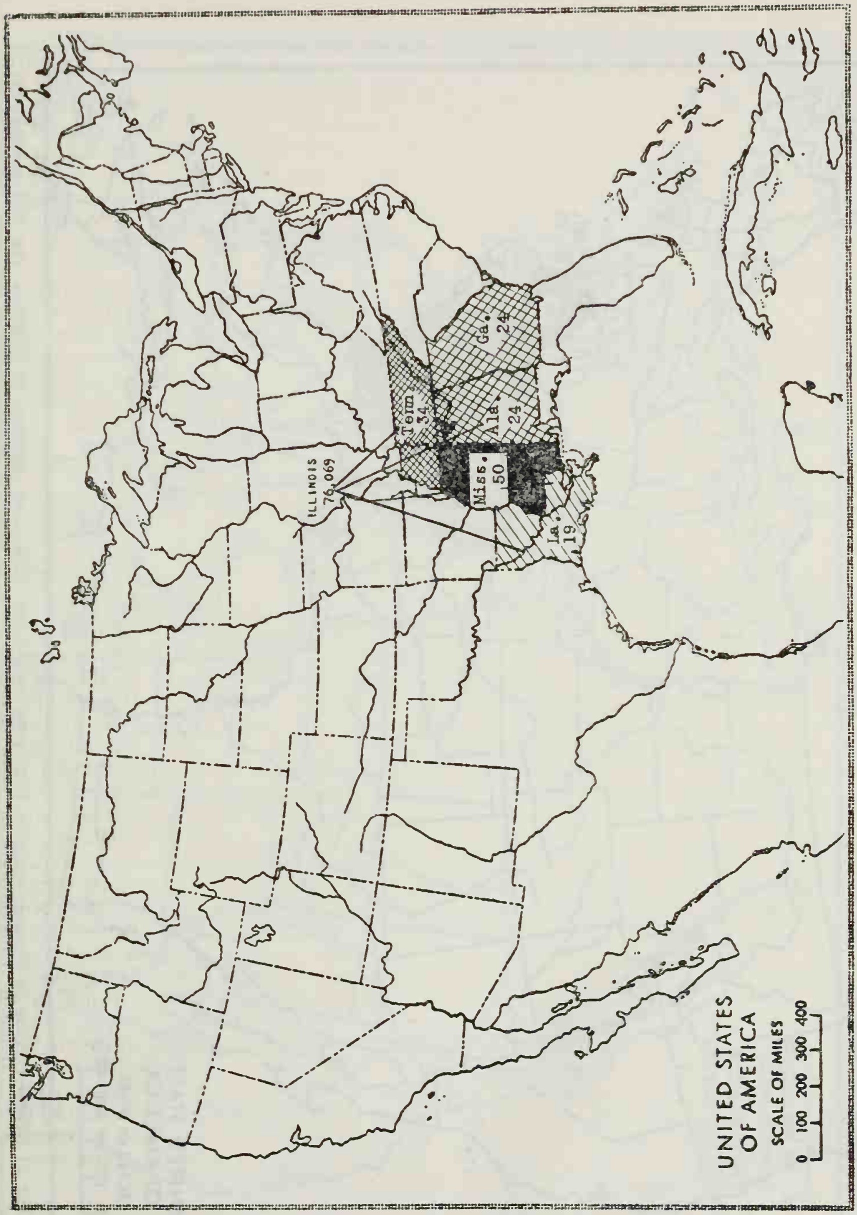
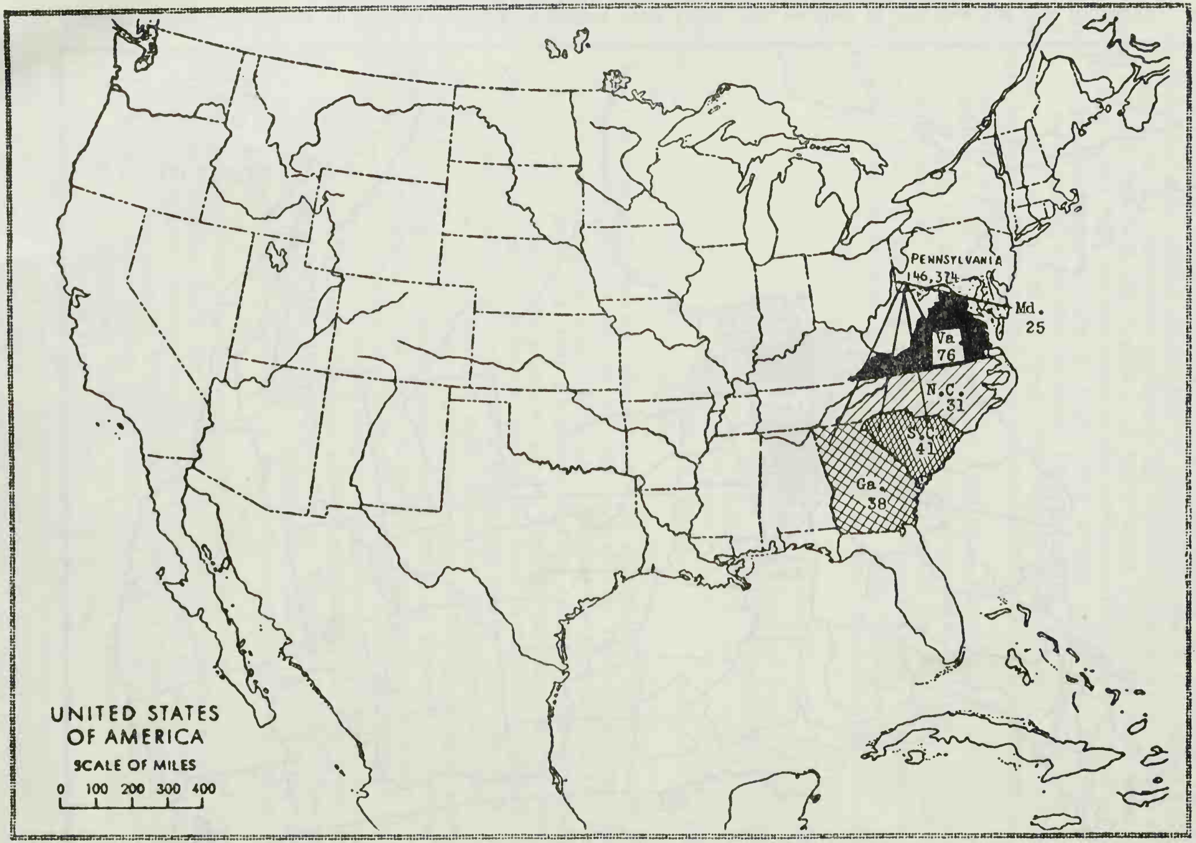
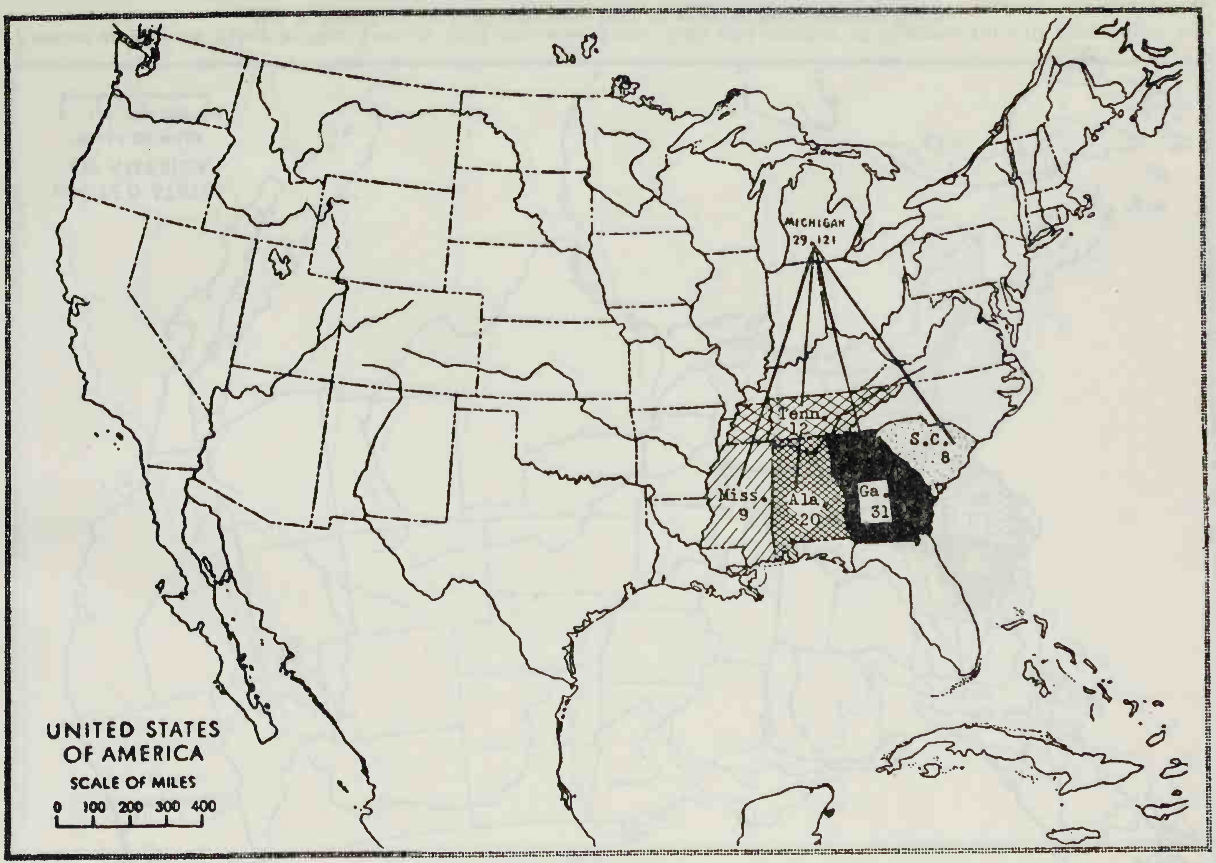
[16] For principal routes of northward migration of southeastern Negroes and major sources of southeastern Negroes for selected northern and eastern States see maps on subsequent pages which were prepared by Bonita H. Valien, using the census publication, Negroes in the United States, 1920–32.


ILLINOIS
76,069
Tenn.
34
Ga.
24
Ala.
24
Miss.
50
La.
19
UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400

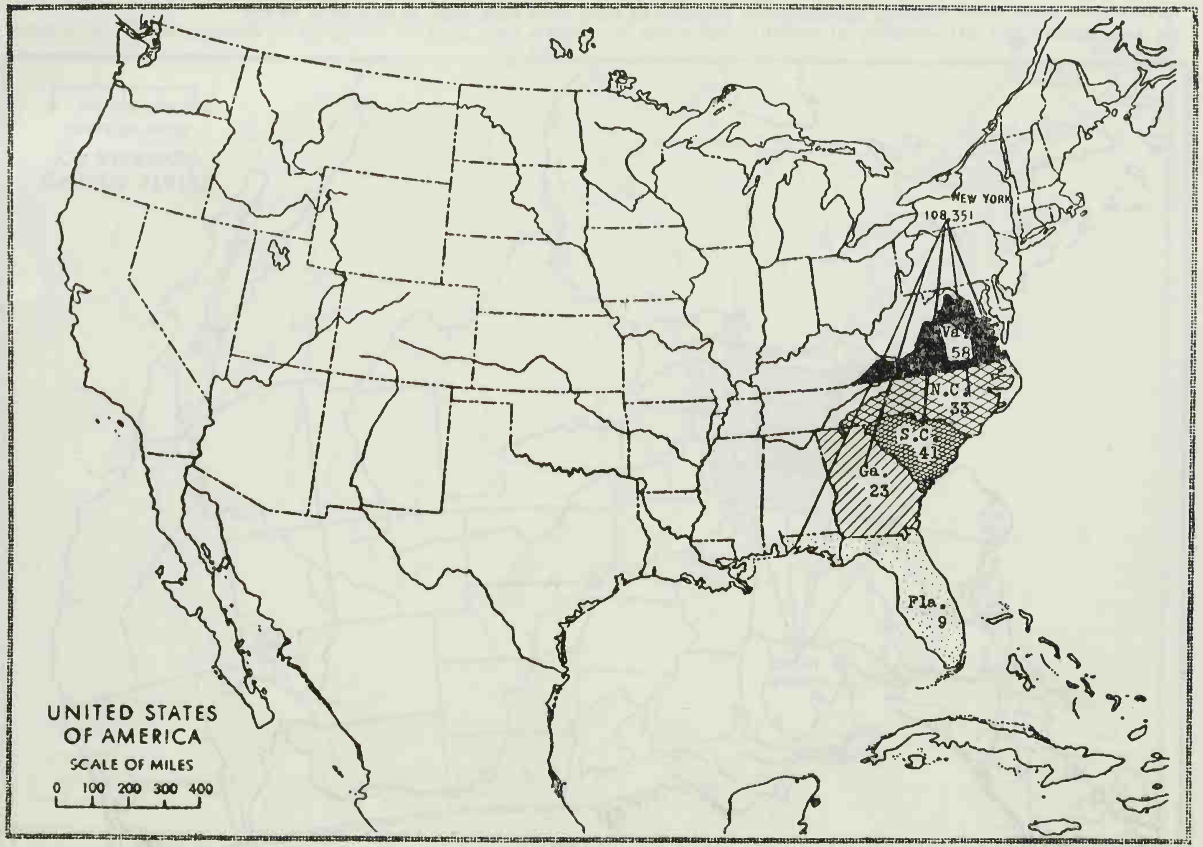
Number of Negroes living in Illinois in 1930 who were born there and number of Negroes (in full thousands) living in Illinois in 1930 who were born in selected Southeastern States


PENNSYLVANIA
146,374
Md.
25
Va.
76
N.C.
31
S.C.
41
Ga.
38
UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400

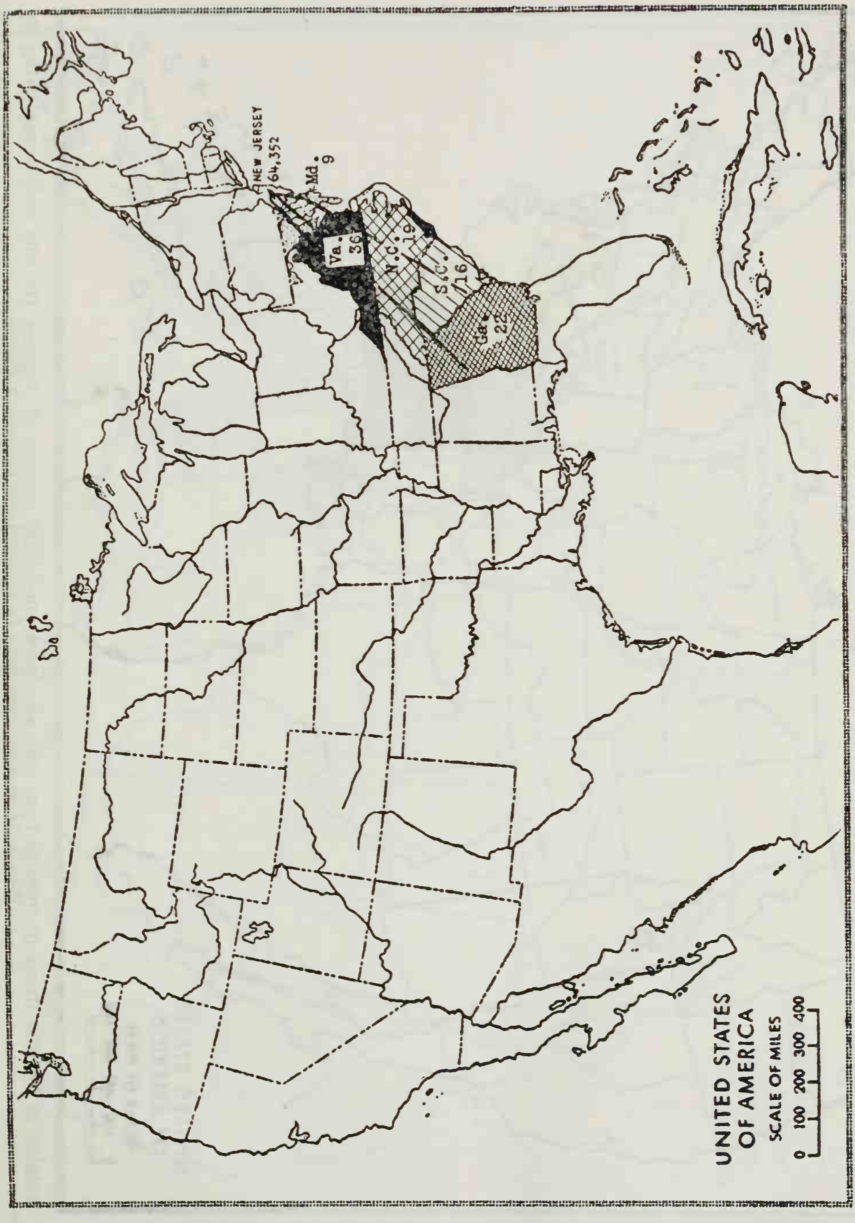
Number of Negroes living in Pennsylvania in 1930 who were born there and number of Negroes (in full thousands) living in Pennsylvania in 1930 who were born in selected Southeastern States.


MICHIGAN
29,121
Tenn.
12
S.C.
8
Miss.
9
Ala.
20
Ga.
31
UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400

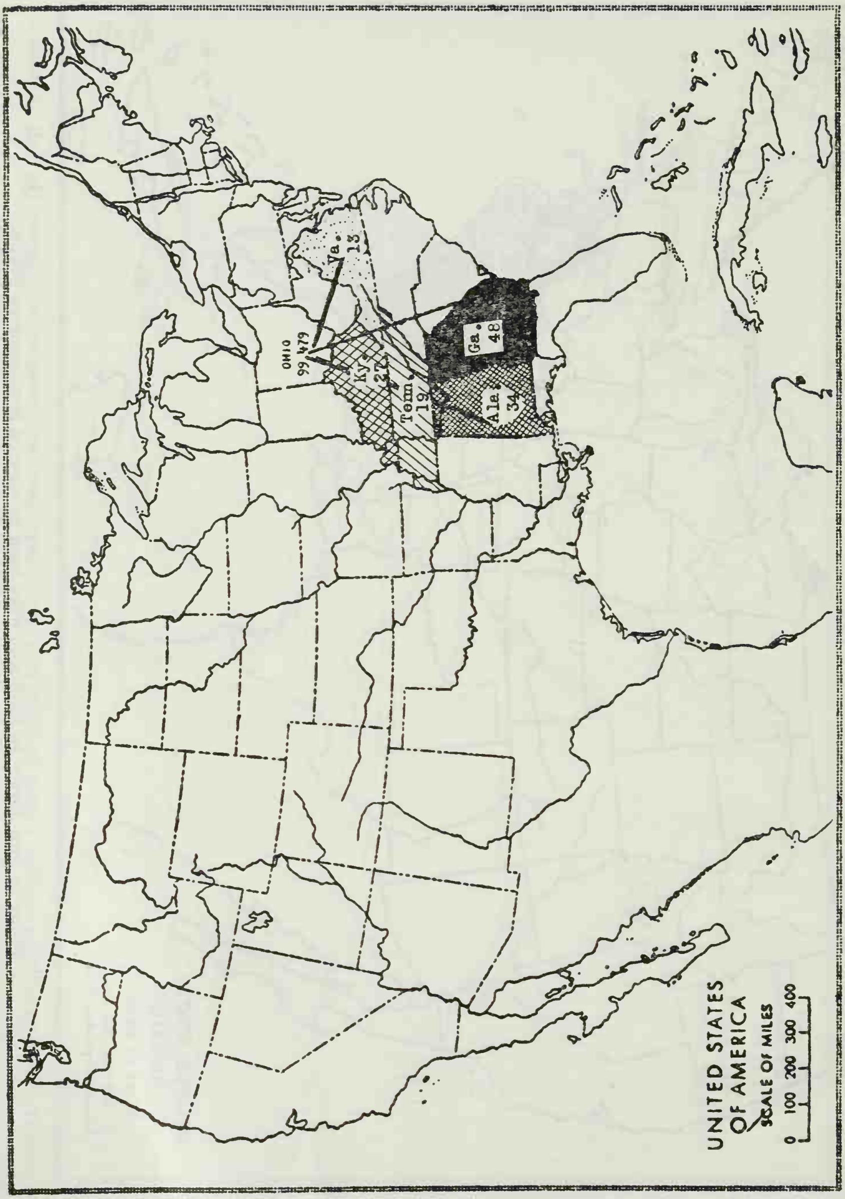
Number of Negroes living in Michigan in 1930 who were born there and number of Negroes (in full thousands) living in Michigan in 1930 who were born in selected Southeastern States.


NEW YORK
108,351
Va.
58
N.C.
33
S.C.
41
Ga.
23
Fla.
9
UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400

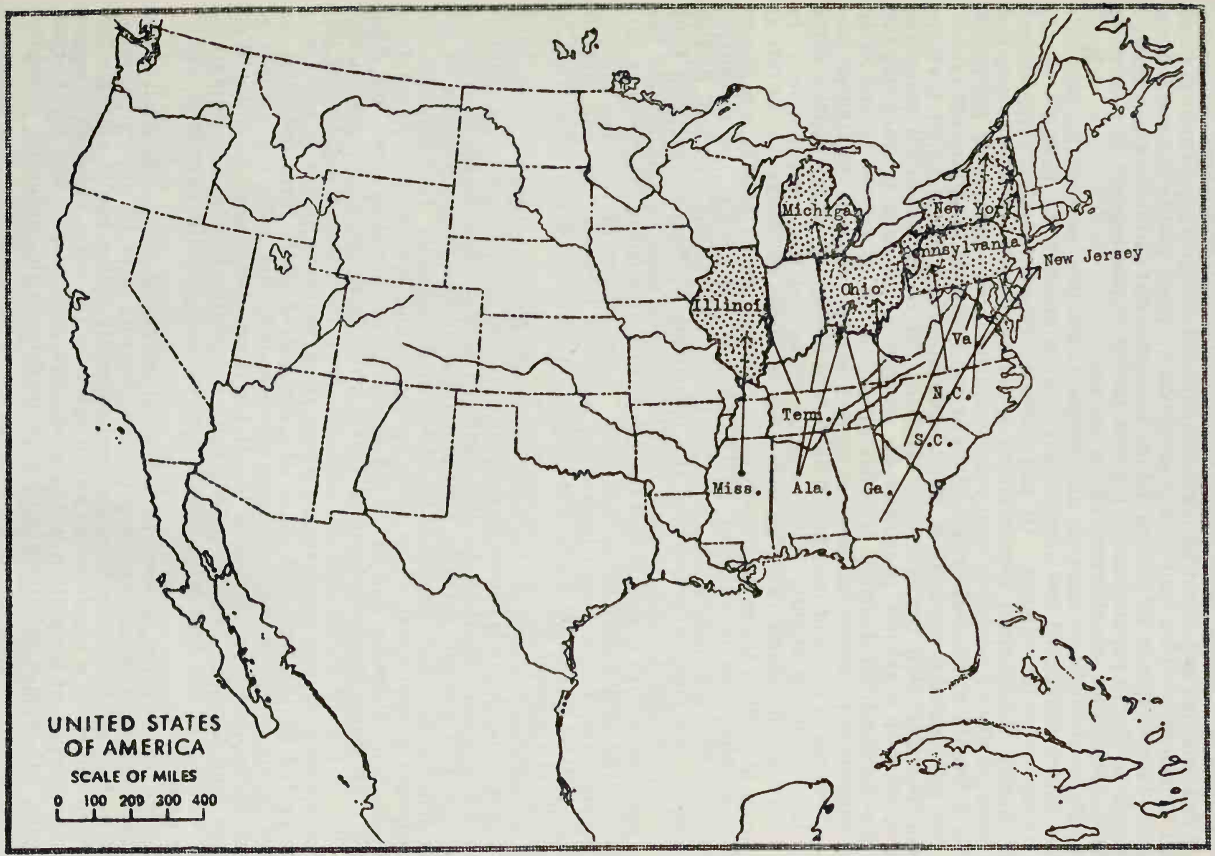
Number of Negroes living in New York in 1930 who were born there and number of Negroes (in full thousands) living in New York in 1930 who were born in selected Southeastern States.


NEW JERSEY
64,352
Md.
9
Va.
36
N.C.
19
S.C.
16
Ga.
22
UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400

Number of Negroes living in New Jersey in 1930 who were born there and number of Negroes (in full thousands) living in New Jersey in 1930 who were born in selected Southeastern States.


OHIO
99,479
Va.
13
Ky.
27
Tenn.
19
Ga.
48
Ala.
34
UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400

Number of Negroes living in Ohio in 1930 who were born there and number of Negroes (in full thousands) living in Ohio in 1930 who were born in selected Southeastern States.


UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
SCALE OF MILES
0 100 200 300 400
Michigan
New York
Pennsylvania
New Jersey
Ohio
Illinois
Va.
N.C.
S.C.
Tenn.
Miss.
Ala.
Ga.

Principal routes of northward migration of southeastern Negroes as indicated by State of birth and State of residence figures in 1930.

tion between 1920 and 1930 and 14, or 42 percent, of these 33 were cotton counties with no town of 2,500 or more people and no industrial diversification.[17] By no industrial diversification is meant (1) that less than 10 percent of the gainfully occupied workers in a county were in manufacturing or mining, and (2) that the county had no town rated as a trade center by the J. Walter Thompson Co.[18] Of 53 southern farm counties which decreased between 30 and 40 percent in Negro population between 1920 and 1930, 39, or about 74 percent, had no town of 2,500 or more people and no industrial diversification. While 187 of 905 counties decreased 20 percent or more in Negro population, not one of the 51 counties which had a city of 25,000 or more people showed such a decrease. While 129, or 65 percent, of the nonindustrial cotton counties showed a decrease in Negro population during this period, approximately 82 percent of the 51 metropolitan counties showed an increase.

Urbanization and movement of the Negro population within the South is further shown by one of the unpublished local studies of the Fisk University department of social sciences. Of 233 heads of Negro families living in one of the highly disorganized census tracts of Nashville, 161, or 69 percent, had been born outside of Nashville, and only 9 had been born outside of the South.

With reference to general urbanization of the South, it is of interest to note that the metropolitan districts in Tennessee, Alabama, Florida, and northern Georgia, together with the cities of 25,000 to 100,000 in North Carolina and Florida, showed a greater proportionate population increase between 1920–30 than the metropolitan districts of other areas. Much of this is due to rural-urban migration in which the Negroes have a significant place, for the proportion of Negroes in cities of over 250,000 has been increasing rather rapidly while it has been declining slightly in the smaller cities and the rural districts. In 1930 Negroes were about twice as numerous in cities of 250,000 to 500,000 as they were in 1890, 3 times as numerous in cities of over 1,000,000 and almost 4 times as numerous in cities of 500,000 to 1,000,000. While the proportion of Negroes has been declining in cities under 250,000 the greatest decline has been in the rural areas, where the proportion of Negroes declined from 14.8 percent in 189 to 12.4 percent in 1930. Since most of this decline has taken place since 1910 it means that the cityward movement of Negroes has only assumed large proportions since that time. As a matter of fact, the greatest relative increase in the Negro population occurred between 1920 and 1930 in cities of 250,000 to 500,000 where the proportion of Negroes increased from 7.7 percent to 11.7 percent.[19]

The amazing persistence of the Negro movement from southern farms to cities in the North and South is shown in the figures of the 1935 Census of Agriculture. While white farm operators in the Southern States showed an increase of 264,047, or 11.3 percent, between 1930 and 1935, colored farm operators in the South (chiefly Negroes) decreased by 65,940, or 7.5 percent. Between 1930 and 1935 Georgia gained 8,450 white farm operators and lost 13,504 colored farm operators and Alabama gained 18,614 white farm operators and lost 2,554 colored. Although Mississippi gained 12,902 white farm operators between 1930 and 1935, a loss of 13,882 colored operators, gave the State a net loss of 980. The persistence of the Negro trend away from southern farms is effectively demonstrated by the fact that while the number of white farm operators increased in all of the Southern States between 1930 and 1935, the number of colored farm operators decreased in all but four—Delaware, Virginia, West Virginia, and Florida—and these four were not States having a basic agricultural economy of the type with which Negroes in the South have been significantly associated.

A brief consideration of some of the social effects of Negro migration shows striking differences in age and sex composition and rate of natural increase. Migrants, be they black or white, are predominantly young adults and this fact has given the cities a considerable advantage over the rural areas with respect to the proportion of population in the productive ages 20–24. The rural areas, thus, are left with a relatively larger proportion in the naturally dependent groups, the very young and the aged. This has serious implications for economic productivity and social improvement. The farm population of the Southeastern States, for example, includes 13 percent of the Nation's children of school age, but it receives only 2 percent of the Nation's income.

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[17] These data are based upon, but not from, A Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties by Charles S. Johnson and Associates (now at press).

[18] J. Walter Thompson Co., Population and Its Distribution, 5th ed., New York, 1931.

[19] National Resources Committee Population Statistics: 3 Urban Data. Washington: Government Printing Office, October 1937, p. 14.

Another peculiarity of city population is the predominance of females. In the white population children are born in approximately the ratio of 106 males to 100 females. But since the cities have so many migrants and since females leave the country for the city in larger numbers than males, the cities generally have fewer than 100 males per 100 females while the excess of males in the rural districts is quite large. The ratio of Negro male births to Negro female births is only 103 to 100 as compared to 106 to 100 for the whites. Hence, the proportion of Negro males is low at all ages. In the cities the sex ratio among Negroes is particularly erratic because of the large recent migration. It would appear that there is even more difference in the age at migration of the sexes among Negroes than among native whites and that the Negro males have a decided preference for the largest cities.

Negro migration to northern cities has decidedly influenced Negro reproduction rates. At present, Negro females living in the North, a large proportion of whom have migrated from Southern States, are only about two-thirds as fertile as those living in the South. According to fertility and mortality rates prevailing in 1920 and 1930, 1,000 Negro females in the North would bear about 800 daughters during their lifetime. At 1920 and 1930 birth and death rates, 1,000 Negro females in the South would bear about 1,435 daughters in 1920 and about 1,130 in 1930. At the northern rate a population would decrease 20 percent in a generation (about 28 years).

FACTORS INFLUENCING PRESENT NEGRO MIGRATION

Mechanization in agriculture, especially in cotton production, must be regarded as a significant factor operating to influence present Negro migration. The number of tractors on farms increased between 1920 and 1930 from 811 to 4,664 in Alabama, 667 to 5,542 in Mississippi, 2,277 to 11,426 in North Carolina. The proportionate increase ranged from 730.9 percent in Mississippi to 78.4 percent in Louisiana.[20] It is worth noting, in this connection, that Louisiana had the smallest net out-migration of any of the Southern States.

Another important factor in the present Negro movement, although its quantitative effect is difficult of measurement, is the growing problem of the serious soil depletion in the South today. The National Resources Committee estimated in 1935 that 450,000 United States farms, containing over 75,000,000 acres of land should be retired from farming. According to the estimates of the committee, the South contained 63 percent of the farms recommended for retirement and 29 percent of the acreage so designated. Dr. Bennett has estimated that of Alabama's approximately 9.1 million acres in cultivation in 1930, approximately 4,000,000 have largely been denuded of the top soil. The significance of this factor for Negro migration lies in the fact that movement from the country is usually greatest from the regions of high-birth rates and low-economic opportunity.

The importance of crop restrictions and control in removing Negroes from farms has been recognized by several students of the problem. It has been recognized, for example, that under agricultural restrictions landlords split off the least productive members and attempt to retain others. One writer has stated that it is probable that white tenants offer more resistance than do Negroes to such shifting of responsibility on the part of the landlord.

The transition from tenancy to day labor likewise encourages mobility by its reduction in the responsibility and security of the former tenant. In the eastern cotton area, for example, 1 out of every 4 Negroes (26.1 percent) receiving rural relief in 1935 was a farm laborer as compared with about 1 out of every 6 whites (15.9 percent).

While the factors influencing present Negro migration are chiefly agricultural in nature, they are not wholly such. The upsetting of the balance of white and Negro in urban employment is an example of a nonagricultural factor. Any close observer of southern urban life within the last decade would hardly need documentation for the following statement made by a southern scholar:[21]

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[20] Peterson, James C., Mechanization in Cotton Production. (Unpublished Master's Thesis), Fiske University, Nashville, Tenn., 1938, p. 74.

"Formerly in the South, there were jobs known as Negro jobs at which the white man would not work. These included barbers, waiters, elevator tenders, and many manual occupations. The pressure of young white adults from country districts has changed this tradition during my lifetime. Negroes have almost completely lost out as barbers to white trade, largely lost out as elevator tenders, partially lost out as waiters, and felt severe pressure in the building trades. As an index of the trend, it is said that in certain cities white men are driving the trucks and collecting the garbage in Negro residence sections."

Documentary proof is not absent, however. Taking his evidence from the census reports of 1890 to 1930, Dr. Charles S. Johnson pointed out in 1933:[22]

"Negroes have a history in the skilled trades beginning with the founding of the American Colonies. Their position in these trades, in the new industrial direction and emphasis, has seriously declined in importance. * * * The greatest single loss, over the past decade, has been in the number of carpenters, a condition which reflects both technological improvement and displacement by white workers, largely on racial grounds. * * * The decline of carpenters in five Southern States, which incidentally, have been the slowest to introduce technological improvements in building operations, reveals direct displacement by white workers. This is equally true of bricklayers and contractors in many of these cities."

Such increases as Negroes have shown in skilled occupations are due chiefly to their industrialization following northward migration since 1916. Data on the State of birth of white-collar and skilled Negro workers of 85 cities were gathered in a Nation-wide survey in 1936 in which the Fisk University department of social sciences participated.[23] Unpublished data from this study reveal that of 2,216 skilled Negro males in four New Jersey cities, 1,505 or 67.1 percent were born in the South Atlantic region. Skilled Negro males born in Georgia and Virginia comprised almost 35 percent of the skilled Negro males of these four cities. Negroes born in Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia comprised 41 percent of the white-collar males in these cities, 54 percent of the skilled Negro males, 34 percent of the white-collar Negro females, and 49 percent of the skilled Negro females. These data show further that Detroit's white-collar and skilled Negro workers were usually born in Georgia or Alabama. Seventeen percent of the city's white-collar Negro males and 22 percent of its skilled Negro males were born in Georgia, while the respective proportions for those born in Alabama were 15 and 17 percent. Mississippi and Alabama were the principal States of birth of the white-collar and skilled Negro males and females of Chicago. More white-collar and skilled Negro workers of both sexes were born in Mississippi than in any other State, Illinois included, and Illinois exceeded Alabama as a birth State only for white-collar Negro males.

Finally, general social conditions, although of secondary rather than primary importance, are operating at present to support Negro migration. Our unpublished interviews with Negroes throughout the urban and rural South[24] reveal a tremendous discontent with present social conditions occasioned by denial of participation in southern political life, inadequate educational facilities, a feeling of widespread insecurity of life and property, and inferior transportation and residential facilities growing out of racial restrictions. These social factors, while seldom constituting the basic motivation in migration, are potent supporting influences when the "push" of economic insecurity in the South appears to coincide with an apparent "pull" of economic opportunity in southern or northern industrial or urban centers.

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[21] Woofter, T. J., Jr., Southern Population and Social Planning. Social Forces, vol. 14, October 1935, p. 18.

[22] Johnson, Charles S., The Economic Status of the Negro. Nashville: Fisk University Press, 1933, pp. 10–11.

[23] For reports of this study see Reid, Ira De A., Valien, P., and Johnson, C. S., The Urban Negro Worker in the United States, 1925–36, vol. I, Statistics by Regions, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1938; also Weaver, R. C., vol. II, The Skilled Male Urban Negro Worker, same publisher, 1939.

[24] To be published in the forthcoming Carnegie Corporation study, The Negro in America (now in preparation).

PROSPECT FOR FUTURE NEGRO MASS MOVEMENTS

The prospects for future Negro mass movement from South to North assume added importance at this time since past Negro migration occurred under somewhat similar conditions as exist today. In the first place, economic conditions in the South, which constituted the basic "driving" power of the movement of the twenties, are somewhat similar today in that (1) a period of expansion of war industries existed which may be paralleled somewhat by our national defense expansion; (2) southern agriculture was in a depressed state; (3) agricultural mechanization threatened to displace farm laborers; (4) wages in the North were higher than in the South; and (5) immigration to this country was restricted, first by voluntary emigration of aliens and later by legal restriction on immigration. Secondly, social conditions were somewhat similar in the past in that the Negro is still largely denied participation in the political life of the South, inadequate educational facilities still constitute a problem for southern Negroes, there is still a feeling of insecurity of Negro life and property in the South, although not as general as in the past.

In addition, new conditions have arisen which favor future Negro migration. One of these has been the increase in transportation and communication facilities tending to facilitate movement to and vicarious contact with the North. As long as people know no better, they can adjust themselves. but discontent comes by comparison. Travel affords comparison , and books, newspapers, movies, telephones, and radios are effective substitutes for actual travel. The coming of good roads and cheap automobiles on easy credit terms, together with modern communication devices, have added to the mobility and restlessness of the farm geared and racially proscribed southern Negroes. As new problems, the increasing economic pressure of soil depletion in the Southeast and occupational displacement of Negros by whites have already been mentioned. These appear to be the most significant new conditions favoring future Negro mass movement.

On the other hand, however, new conditions exist which tend to exert a negative influence on Negro migration. One of the most obvious negative influences, if not the most significant, is the presence in the North of a large body of resident unemployed workers of diverse skills and experience. Inasmuch as the Negro movement of the twenties was very largely due to the industrial "pull" of the North occasioned by the industrial vacuum created by the contraction of immigrant labor, the presence of this large body of unemployed workers, serving as an industrial reservoir, has and will doubtless continue to exert a potent negative influence on future Negro mass movement to the North.

Of lesser importance, but of some significance, will perhaps be recent movement of industries to the South in response to the promise of low labor and operating costs. This is believed to be of lesser importance because light industries have been the chief participants in this movement. The settling of the textile industry in the South Atlantic region is a point in case.[25] Between 1929 and 1933 the silk and rayon industry released about 20,000 of the 130,000 wage earners, but the South Atlantic region gained 6,000 wage jobs at a time when employment in Pennsylvania was cut by about one-fifth and that in New York and New Jersey by about one-half. The lower labor rates of the South have drawn some of the hosiery industry to the South Atlantic States. This trek toward lower wages has been so accentuated by the depression that such States as North Carolina, Virginia, and Alabama showed absolute increases in wage jobs in the face of a general contraction of employment in the industry. By 1933 the South Atlantic and East South Central States combined employed 35 percent of the labor in the entire knit-goods industry, compared to 27.8 percent in 1929. These changes in locational pattern are most obviously explained by the attempt of manufacturers to secure lower wage rates and to escape union pressure.

Factors connected with relief and public assistance will also serve to act as a deterrent to future Negro mass movement. The Federal Government by arousing public consciousness toward relief problems in the States and local areas and by assuming a share of the burden of public assistance has tended to reduce the economic "push" in the South. In addition the necessity for maintaining legal settlement in States and local areas as a prerequisite for obtaining relief is a deterring factor in the movement of marginal economic groups, of which the Negro is an outstanding representative.

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[25] Goodrich, Carter, et al., Migration and Economic Opportunity. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936, ch. VII.

Finally, the increase of race prejudice in the North and the relaxation of racial restrictions in the South have dulled the enthusiasm of Negroes for whom improvement of social conditions would be an influential secondary motivation. John Webb in his studies of migrant groups[26] has pointed out that custom and prejudice operate to restrict the mobility of Negroes and that migration without adequate resources, whether by highway or railroad, is much more difficult for Negroes, and particularly so in the South. Moreover, the employment available for Negroes in any locality is restricted by preference for white labor. In addition, in recent years many interracial bodies have been formed in the South and these have had some effectiveness in improving and affording contacts between the races.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

A consideration of the effects of the operation of positive and negative factors in present Negro migration leads to the conclusion that while there is small likelihood of a dramatic mass movement as occurred in the twenties, there will, however, continue to be significant changes in the movement of the Negro population of the southeastern areas to southern and northern urban and industrial areas. Competent students of the problem recognize the need for such movement to decrease the pressure of population on the resources of the region, although it is possible that economic reorganization of these resources might make the need for migration smaller than it now appears.

The increasing urbanization of the Negro population makes necessary continuous study not only of its distribution but also of the problems which urbanization creates both for the migrants and the old residents of the receiving areas with respect to housing, health, employment, education, recreation, crime, and other social and economic conditions. The chief requisite of an intelligent migration program is one of further research and analysis. No amount of discussion or speculation can serve as an effective substitute for this need.

Action by the Federal Government in cooperation with States appears to be a fundamental need toward a policy of planned migration with respect to Negroes as well as whites. Social problems, of which health, crime, and education are significant examples, are no respectors of community, State, or regional boundaries. If, for example, a child born in Mississippi or Alabama has in about 12 percent of the cases made his life contribution to New York or Illinois, southern education becomes of national rather than of sectional concern.

In conclusion, some suggestions as a basis for action include the following:

(1) Cooperation by the Federal Government with the States and local communities in research and analysis of the trend, need, problems, and possibilities of migration.

(2) Continued interest by the Federal Government in the relief problems of the States.

(3) Provision by the Federal Government of equalization funds for public education in the Southern States in view of the disparity in the numbers of educable children and the inequalities in wealth for supporting education.

(4) Strengthening and clarification by the Federal Government of its efforts in negative control and positive guidance of migration.

(5) Parallel and cooperative State and Federal action for equalizing work and facilities for Negroes in schools, health, sanitation, recreation, housing, and the like.

Basically, migration represents population movement in response to real or fancied differences in opportunity. Usually opportunity is defined in terms of economic gain, but frequently for minority groups such as the Negro, it is also defined in terms of improvement of social conditions. Although the search for economic opportunity must be recognized as the basic motivating factor in Negro migration, any migration policy formulated by the Federal or State Governments, in order to have full effectiveness for the Negro group, should take into account, in both aspects of negative control and positive guidance, the strong, secondary importance of such noneconomic factors as better schools, housing, recreational facilities, and other general social conditions.

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[26] Webb, John N., The Migratory Casual Worker, Works Progress Administration Research Monograph VII, Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937; Webb, John N., and Brown, Malcolm, Migrant Families, Works Progress Administration Research Monograph XVIII, same publisher, 1938.

TESTIMONY OF PRESTON VALIEN—Resumed

Professor VALIEN (reading): The Negro migration of 1916–24 indicated the ability and willingness of this group to uproot itself and brave the perils of an unfamiliar environment.

The prospects for future Negro movement assume added importance at this time in that past Negro migrations occurred under somewhat similar conditions as exist today:

(*a*) It was during a period of expansion of war industries.

(*b*) Southern agriculture was in a depressed condition.

(*c*) Agricultural mechanization threatened to displace farm laborers.

(*d*) Wages in the North were higher than in the South.

(*e*) Immigration to this country was restricted, first voluntarily and later legally.

Social conditions were somewhat similar, in that—

(*a*) The Negro was denied participation in the political life of the South.

(*b*) Inadequate educational facilities constituted a problem.

(*c*) The Negro had a feeling of widespread insecurity of life and property in the South.

(*d*) Inferior transportation and residential facilities growing out of racial segregation was a source of discontent.

New conditions have also arisen which favor future Negro migration, in that—

(*a*) There has been an increase in transportation and communication facilities tending to facilitate movement to and vicarious contact with the North.

(*b*) Soil depletion in the Southeast has come to constitute a serious problem.

(*c*) Occupational displacement of Negroes by whites is a continuing phenomenon.

New conditions exist, however, which might tend to exert a negative influence on Negro migration.

The question of future migration demands a new approach, in that—

(*a*) There will, perhaps, be no dramatic mass movements as occurred in the twenties.

(*b*) There will, however, continue to be significant changes in the movement of the Negro population of the southeastern areas to southern and northern urban and industrial centers.

(*c*) The increasing urbanization of the Negro population makes necessary continuous study not only of its distribution, but also of the problems which urbanization creates both for the migrants and the old residents with respect to housing, health, employment, education, crime, and delinquency.

(*c*) Action by the Federal Government in cooperation with the States appears to be a fundamental need toward a policy of planned migration with respect to Negroes as well as whites.

Mr. OSMERS. That is a very good outline of your statement, professor. You have cited in your statement and in your outline that there has been some occupational displacement within the South. If so, in what fields has that been?

OCCUPATIONAL DISPLACEMENT OF NEGROES IN SOUTH

Professor VALIEN. Predominantly in those fields which Negroes had formerly looked to as being their own occupations. For example, in those unskilled occupations, especially in relation to municipal employment, such as work on garbage and sanitary trucks. That has been changed to quite some extent in the South with the coming of modern trucks and now there are whites who have displaced Negroes, who drive those trucks and who pick up the garbage themselves, and in other instances they drive the truck and the Negro picks up the garbage, and that represents a source of displacement.

Mr. OSMERS. Any others?

Professor VALIEN. Other lines, too, such as barbers. Negroes have lost out practically completely to the white trade whereas in the South before, the Negro had that work. In Atlanta, Ga., it was formerly quite common for Negroes to serve the white patrons as barbers, but now there is only one such shop that I know of there, and it is regarded as somewhat an oddity, because it still exists with Negro barbers serving white patrons.

Mr. CURTIS. You mentioned the work in connection with sewage disposal—does that apply also to public construction, pavement work, and road building?

Professor VALIEN. Yes, sir; in the past the Negroes had a big proportion of the building workers in the South who found employment rather readily, but with the continuing unionization in the building industries as well as the displacement of Negroes by whites in the building industry, the Negro has lost out to quite an extent. One of the sorest points in the P. W. A. construction has been the refusal to permit Negro carpenters and other skilled building workers to work on Negro schools and that has brought about quite a bit of agitation in several places. Nashville had such a situation when they built the new P. W. A. school for Negroes. The Negroes could not get on that kind of employment.

Mr. CURTIS. With the coming of the depression, did many of your people lose their jobs as household servants?

Professor VALIEN. There was a loss there, but I am inclined to believe it was not so much displacement as actual shrinkage in the volume of employment.

Mr. CURTIS. These white people who came in and crowded out the Negro in some of the work that he would formerly do, such as sewage disposal and so on—where did those whites come from—did they use to have good jobs or were they formerly farmers, or how did that come about?

Professor VALIEN. Most of the authorities seem to think that the large majority of the whites have come from the rural South into the cities because of agricultural changes in the rural districts.

Mr. CURTIS. Are there many of your colored people that become interstate wanderers, going from place to place trying to find work?

Professor VALIEN. The problem of interstate migratory Negro workers is not a very serious one or a very large one.

Negroes face certain difficulties which tend to restrict their movements from State to State. They are more likely to be picked up for vagrancy in a State where they are away from home and on the road, and are more likely to encounter physical violence, as migratory workers have to travel on freight cars and in other ways.

A study made, for example, in New Jersey, of the Negro workers on the road, dealing with transient Negro workers, indicates a practice especially in certain parts of New Jersey, at some places at these transient stations that if these Negro workers stop for assistance at these transient stations whites come from these stations and chase them off and that practice is cited in one or two instances in the book with which you probably are familiar, Negroes on the Road.

Mr. OSMERS. Compare it today with 1916 and 1924, with respect to the effect it might have upon the future movement of Negroes.

INFLUENCES RETARDING NEGRO MIGRATION

Mr. VALIEN. I have pointed out in the brief I have submitted to your committee some of the conditions that are somewhat similar and tend to have an influence on the Negro movement, and there are other conditions. I didn't cite any conditions there that would act as retarding influences, and I would like to do that now. I think one of the major retarding influences will probably be the great reservoir of skilled workers in the northern centers. Workers of diverse and manifold skill constitute a reservoir for northern industries. I have some figures on that and I would like to take a minute to indicate something along that line.

In 1935, in March, for example, the W. P. A. made a survey of workers on relief and in January 1936, another survey was made, slightly different, of workers eligible for work relief, and the comparison of these two groups of workers will indicate the nature of the reservoir which exists in the Northern States with regard to skilled workers. In March 1935, in New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, there were 66,690 skilled workers on relief in those three States.

Mr. OSMERS. What was that date?

Professor VALIEN. That was March 1935, and in January 1936 this number had increased, if you regard it as an increase since it does not represent workers on relief, but workers certified as eligible for work relief, this number was in January 1936, 73,970; Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan, had sixty-three-thousand-odd in 1935 and

53,000 in 1936. The 3 States, for example, from which the greatest migration of Negroes took place, Alabama, Georgia, and Mississippi, had 5,900 skilled workers on relief in 1935, as compared to 66,000 and 63,000 in the States that I have indicated.

Those first seven States, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, and Michigan had 53.1 percent of the workers on relief in 1935 and 54 percent of the skilled workers that were on relief in 1936.

Mr. Osmers. I want to put another question to you. If the national-defense program gets going as it very likely will inside of 6 months or a year, and the northern skilled workers are all occupied at their trades, do you think that will lead to an influx of migration to the North of the southern Negroes to perform the unskilled labors of those newly placed industrial workers?

Professor Valien. I think that possibility does exist. However, I think that we should take into account the possibility of the draft as well, compulsory training, or the conscription of men. What effect that will have on the economy of the North and on the distribution of the Negro workers is very difficult to say. It does represent a problem, however, because Negroes, as you know, have not been integrated into all of the defense forces of the Nation, and the increase of the defense forces of the Nation will likely be in the form of mechanized units where Negroes have not been integrated yet.

PROBLEM OF URBANIZATION OF NEGROES

Mr. Osmers. Do you feel that urbanization presents a problem to the southern rural agricultural Negro when he becomes urbanized.

Professor Valien. Yes, sir; primarily with respect to housing facilities. That has always been one of the greatest problems that Negro migrants have faced in going to northern cities, because scientific studies of such urban development has shown that the Negro newcomers locate in areas of disorganization, and that the oldtimers in that locality move on to the better area and the Negro is restricted to certain areas because of custom, and real-estate companies operate to restrict them to high concentration in certain city areas, and that increases the congestion problem of the Negro. For example, in Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1917 it was found that about 35 percent of the single Negro migrants to Pittsburgh were sleeping four or more in a bed, which indicates the problem of congestion which they have when Negroes move on a large scale to northern cities. The same problem of congestion is still very serious for Negroes in large northern cities.

Mr. Osmers. That's all I have.

Mr. Sparkman. I thank you very much. Your written statement that you have submitted has been made a part of the record.

(Whereupon, the witness was excused.)

TESTIMONY OF DAVID A. GRIFFIN, FAIROAKS, ARK.

Mr. Sparkman. I believe the next witness is Mr. Griffin. Is he present?

Mr. Griffin. Yes, sir.

Mr. Sparkman. We only have on our list three more witnesses to be heard here in Montgomery, and we will try to go right through with this hearing and finish before the lunch hour, because we are anxious to visit some of the projects in this area this afternoon and go over to Tuskegee Institute and visit some of the Farm Security Administration's projects on the way. If anyone desires to testify, I hope you won't go away and leave us.

Mr. Osmers. State your name for the record?

Mr. Griffin. David A. Griffin.

Mr. Osmers. Where do you live?

Mr. Griffin. Fairoaks, Ark., at the present time.

Mr. Osmers. Where were you born?

Mr. Griffin. I was born in Lonoke County, Ark.

Mr. Osmers. Was your father a farmer?

Mr. Griffin. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. How long had he been in Lonoke County?

Mr. Griffin. All his life.

Mr. Osmers. Was he a landowner or a tenant?

Mr. Griffin. He owned land part of the time and part of the time he was a tenant.

Mr. Osmers. What was he when he died?

Mr. Griffin. Tenant.

Mr. Osmers. How old were you when your father died?

Mr. Griffin. Fourteen years old.

Mr. Osmers. What did you and your brothers do when your father died?

Mr. Griffin. We continued to rent the farm that we were on and farmed on for 3 or 4 years.

Mr. Osmers. Did you have the same proposition that your father had before you, the same arrangement that he had with that particular landlord?

Mr. Griffin. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. What did you do after that?

Mr. Griffin. I got a chance to buy some land from a railroad company, land grants that were given to the railroads when they were built. I believe I gave $7.50 per acre, without any improvements.

Mr. Osmers. What were you raising on that place?

Mr. Griffin. Oh, just general farming, cotton and most anything.

Mr. Osmers. How long were you on the place after you bought it?

Mr. Griffin. I must have stayed on it for 3 or 4 years, possibly, myself, and I married then and turned the farm over to my mother and the other boys, and I moved out and got me a job.

Mr. Osmers. Doing what?

Mr. Griffin. I went to work for the Missouri Pacific Railroad as a carpenter and repairman.

Mr. Osmers. How long did you work there?

Mr. Griffin. Three years.

Mr. Osmers. What did you make on that job?

Mr. Griffin. At that time I think the top was 37½ cents an hour.

Mr. Osmers. Did you quit the railroad of your own free will?

Mr. Griffin. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. What did you do then?

Mr. Griffin. I went back onto the farm and straightened it up the first year, and went on the next year and farmed it. You see, it had all run down.

Mr. Osmers. You rented it, and you were not a sharecropper?

Mr. Griffin. No; I wasn't a sharecropper.

Mr. Osmers. Had you done any sharecropping?

Mr. Griffin. Yes; in 1919 I moved down to Woodruff County, Ark., which was in the Delta region, and made my first sharecrop in 1920.

Mr. Osmers. How long did you stay at that?

Mr. Griffin. I stayed on that particular place 1 year—and——

Mr. Osmers. How long did you stay at sharecropping?

Mr. Griffin. From about 1920 to 1927.

Mr. Osmers. What did you make during that time in dollars over and above what it cost you to live?

Mr. Griffin. To take it 12 months around, I didn't make anything, but I always had a little income at the end of the harvesting season, but it took that to start another crop and go through the season.

Mr. Osmers. You just sort of ended the year as you started in?

Mr. Griffin. I was just going along.

Mr. Osmers. And what did you do after that?

Mr. Griffin. The '27 overflow caught me and then I got a job in Oklahoma with a paint factory, and I worked there 34 months.

Mr. Osmers. How long?

Mr. Griffin. Thirty-four months.

Mr. Osmers. What did you do then?

Mr. Griffin. I came back to Arkansas and made another sharecrop in 1937, after they shut down.

Mr. Osmers. What did you do from '30 to '35?

Mr. Griffin. I made a sharecrop each year from '30 to '35.

Mr. Osmers. And since that time, what have you been doing? You have two sons, haven't you?

Mr. Griffin. Yes; I have two sons that followed the migratory work locally, not nationally, but within the State; they went from the berry picking up in the hills of Arkansas to the cotton picking down in the swamps, within the State.

CAUSES OF INCREASING MIGRATION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOR

Mr. Osmers. Because of your experience in and among agricultural day laborers, would you say the total number of them was increasing? Is there an increasing number of agricultural day laborers?

Mr. Griffin. Yes, sir.

Mr. Osmers. There is?

Mr. Griffin. That is, you mean, from the status of a cropper to a day laborer?

Mr. Osmers. Yes, sir.

Mr. Griffin. Yes, sir; that is right.

Mr. Osmers. I suppose that an agricultural day laborer is moving most of the time, is moving from one crop to another, and from one farm to another?

Mr. Griffin. We have a large percentage on the road, and we have more that still hang around and work around the farm during the season, and we have others that have moved into town and tried to settle in the towns.

Mr. Osmers. How do you account for so many people being on the road these days?

Mr. Griffin. These are people that have always been settled; they have been croppers; they suddenly find themselves without a job, and also without a roof over their head, and all they know is to start somewhere, just start anywhere, and maybe that somewhere is in California or maybe it would be down in the Rio Grande Valley of Texas, and they just start, and they retreat; that is all there is to it.

Mr. Osmers. That is all I have.

Mr. Curtis. If someone like that starts out on the road, what determines which way they shall go?

Mr. Griffin. Well, possibly he has heard of a possibility of employment somewhere. Something like that. It is usually advertising posters that have been scattered over the country, and such as that has been done throughout the country, telling them of the great opportunities in Florida, California, and other places. He is just bewildered and out on the road, and he doesn't know which way to go. As to the cause of that thing, I have made a little survey, and I have got it all marked by States, and a few counties, that I have here in my brief case—it is all marked by States; then I have here either by statements in the main in the handwriting of the legal petitioner, notice to get out that has been given to these tenants, and I have a whole bunch of those things that I can submit to you.

Mr. Osmers. If I may suggest it, Mr. Griffin, you may offer such of that matter as you think is material, and we will look it over; and the pertinent parts of it, such as you wish, may go into the record.

Mr. Sparkman. Will you do that—do you wish to offer it for the record in that way?

Mr. Griffin. Yes, sir; but I would like to have it returned to our office later on.

Mr. Sparkman. Let me suggest that you discuss this matter with Mr. Wolf after you leave the witness stand, and you can work out some satisfactory arrangement with him as to what you desire to have included in this record.

Mr. Griffin. All right.

Mr. Curtis. At any rate, the thought that you want to leave with the committee is that these people are being forced off the land and that that thing is making a big contribution to the interstate wanderers.

Mr. **Griffin**. I heard of that frontier that you discussed here yesterday. There are thousands of acres of land now and thousands of acres of land to be developed yet, but since 1933 our crops and everything have been completely torn up in some places by this migration, and it is not volunteer on the part of the people that are leaving the farm. They are forced to leave. That is my point.

Mr. **Curtis**. You think that most people would rather stay at home among their friends and where they have spent their lifetime?

Mr. **Griffin**. That is right.

Mr. **Curtis**. I think we all understand what you mean. I think we all understand that.

Mr. **Griffin**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Curtis**. That's all.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Thank you very much, Mr. Griffin.

(Whereupon, the witness was excused.)

Following is the tabulation of replies received from members of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union of a survey made in December 1939 to determine the extent of evictions for 1940, submitted by David A. Griffin.

Since only a small percentage of the population was reached by this survey the figures represent only a small percentage of the total evictions made in the three States:

Arkansas:	
Woodruff County	14
St. Francis County	17
Mississippi County	8
Monroe County[1]	4
Clay County[1]	1
Lee County[1]	1
Poinsett County[1]	1
Total for State	46

[1] We had very little organization in these counties.

Mississippi:	
Boliver County	145
Noxubee County	37
Sunflower County	8
Total for State	190
Missouri:	
Pemiscot County	173
New Madrid County	93
Dunklin County	41
Total for State	307
Total evictions for 3 States	543

NUMBER IN FAMILY

One in family	9
Two in family	118
Three in family	99
Four in family	83
Five in family	58
Six in family	62
Seven in family	44
Eight in family	30
Nine in family	21
Ten in family	10
Eleven in family	7
Thirteen in family	2
Fourteen in family	1
Seventeen in family	1

STATUS IN 1939

Mississippi:	
Tenant or cropper	153
Day work	15
Unreported	22
Arkansas:	
Tenant or cropper	26
Day work	15
Unreported	5
Missouri:	
Tenant or cropper	115
Day work	168
Landowner	2
Unreported	22
Total for 3 States:	
Tenant or cropper	294
Day work	198
Landowner	2
Unreported	49

TESTIMONY OF E. M. NORMENT, DISTRICT MANAGER, TENNESSEE STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, MEMPHIS, TENN.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Will you state your name for the record?

Mr. NORMENT. My name is E. M. Norment.

Mr. SPARKMAN. And your position?

Mr. NORMENT. I am district manager for the Tennessee State Employment Service, Memphis, Tenn.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You have filed a brief with us, and I wonder if you care to take up the brief or just discuss it and hit the high spots or make a general statement to us of some kind?

Mr. NORMENT. Just any way that you prefer. I expect with the limited time that it would be better just to take the high spots since you have the brief.

(The statement referred to is as follows:)

STATEMENT OF E. M. NORMENT, TENNESSEE STATE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE, MEMPHIS, TENN.

An over-all description of the farm labor service in Memphis.—The farm labor service in Memphis is a division of the Memphis Public Employment Center which is part of the Tennessee State Employment Service and affiliated with the Social Security Board of the Federal Security Agency. It furnishes agricultural labor to farms and plantations in surrounding territory in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Mississippi, or to even more distant points, if necessary. Its largest customers are plantations in eastern Arkansas which are chiefly devoted to the raising of cotton, although, in recent years a diversity of crops have been raised. Its heaviest placements are during cultivating season in the spring and harvesting season in the fall. Placements running almost as high as 25,000 a month on temporary day hands, which is generally the peak, in September down to possibly less than 100 in January. These, of course, are mostly cotton pickers during cotton-picking season and composed of mostly day labor taken on a daily basis and which is generally picked up by trucks in the morning, hauled to plantations, paid off every night, and returned.

During spring cultivating season, placements run as high as 15,000 a month, composed mostly of cotton choppers or hoe hands. This is composed of both male and female, white and Negro, but mostly Negro.

We have a year-round business furnishing regular employees to the various plantations, especially sharecroppers for which there is a continuous demand, and generally we have unfilled orders for several hundred families. The demand for sharecroppers has increased greatly in the last year, as many of the farms seem to be going back to sharecrop system instead of employing day labor.

The farm labor service furnishes a regular labor market which is of benefit to both worker and plantation owner. It serves a very useful purpose as an organized labor market where accurate information is available for both worker and employer.

Origin and reason of setting up service.—For many years, especially since the building of a bridge across the Mississippi, the vicinity of the bridge has been an assembly point for itinerant farm labor to gather early of mornings and for plantation owners to bring their trucks to secure labor. With the growth of the custom of assembling at this particular point, not only the plantation owners sent their trucks in but many independent truck owners made a habit of visiting this point, picking up truckloads of farm hands, driving to the various plantations in Arkansas and Mississippi hoping to find a plantation owner in need of labor and secure employment for their workers and a commission for themselves for hauling labor. This, on account of the hit-and-miss method, resulted in many vain trips and loads of workers who were unable to locate plantations in need of labor at that particular moment.

In the desire to bring about a more orderly and efficient system for the benefit of both the workers and plantation owners, the Memphis Public

Employment Center opened a part-time office near the bridge in 1937, keeping it open only during the fall and spring seasons. Quarters were donated and no effort was made to set up an office with telephone service. It was seen at once more adequate service should be established and in 1938 a full-time office was secured but only one interviewer was assigned permanent duty there. The volume of work was such that it was seen this was entirely inadequate and slightly better quarters were secured and an extra interviewer assigned. At the same time, a cooperative arrangement was worked out with the Arkansas State Employment Service for us to work in cooperation with the Forrest City, Ark., office and also one interviewer was assigned to this division by the Arkansas State service on temporary basis. Since then, one interviewer has been assigned by the Tennessee State Employment Service.

Maintaining constant touch with plantation owners in eastern Arkansas, we are able to furnish reliable information to workers as to where jobs are available and to the plantation owner as to what labor is available. It is customary now for most of the independent truck owners who haul labor to various plantations to work through our office and we are able to send them places where there is a bona fide demand for day workers. Also, plantation owners are able to visit or call our office to make arrangements for labor to be there when their trucks arrive. This brought a far more orderly market at which plantation owner and worker may get together instead of the old wild confusion which existed prior to the opening of the farm labor office. Previously, competition was keen between various truck drivers as to who would secure a load of workers first and any method was resorted to—from spreading rumors about opposing trucks to physical combat.

Source from which funds are derived.—As this is a branch of the Memphis Public Employment Center the source of funds are the same as the source of funds for the Memphis Public Employment Center. Through the passage of the Wagner-Peyser Act in 1933 which provided for the establishment of a Nation-wide system of employment service to be operated by various States and for the Federal Government to match the funds put up by States within certain limits; also providing any political subdivision of State might through the State contribute money for maintenance of such system of employment service. Sources of funds in case of this particular office is threefold: First, appropriation made by the State legislature, which is some $60,000 a year for the entire State, is augmented in turn by funds put up by various subdivisions of the State. In this case locally the city of Memphis subscribes $4,200 a year for maintenance of a free public employment system in Memphis. The amount put up by State and subdivisions is in turn matched through Federal funds provided for by the Wagner-Peyser Act. In addition, the Social Security Board makes extra grants for operation of the employment services due to the fact all claims for unemployment compensation must be handled through the public employment services. Approximately $80,000 is spent here yearly maintaining the various offices in Memphis.

Method of operation.—Service in Memphis is operated under the direct supervision of the district manager and assistant district manager in charge of employment service in west Tennessee as Memphis is district headquarters. The various divisions in Memphis are headed by managers, grade 3, with the exception of the farm labor office which, so far, has only been staffed by junior interviewers from the Tennessee service and one senior interviewer from the Arkansas State service.

The operating methods are the same as used in the other divisions of the employment service with the exception no effort is made to secure complete interview of various applicants for work except those seeking regular jobs on the farm. This is owing to the volume of workers handled and the fact that it is necessary during rush seasons for this office to open at approximately 4 a. m. of mornings and by the time the other offices open at 8:30 most of the work of this office is over, as far as shipping of labor is concerned. Various truck drivers, both those from the plantations and independent drivers, visit the office, state how many workers they desire to secure, and as fast as possible trucks are loaded and sent out. A referral card, which is an introduction to the employer, is given to the truck driver, and in the case of independent driver who has no particular destination, directions are given to him as to where to take the labor.

Generally, orders have been sent in in advance by many plantation owners and if none are on hand the telephone is used in calling various plantation owners whom we believe are in need of labor. Orders are secured and information is given to these independent drivers as to where to go. An independent driver is generally paid a commission for hauling labor at the rate of so much a person for transportation charges. He is also generally used by the plantation owner the balance of the day on hauling operations during the day and brings workers back at night.

Description of typical day's work during cultivating and harvesting season in sending out labor.—The best description of day's work is the enclosed list of 1 day's orders and laborers sent out. We are also enclosing a copy of article appearing in the Press-Scimitar October 1, 1938, describing a day's scene. The labor that goes to make up this volume of work is a mixed lot. Most of cotton pickers are Negroes. There are a few white people. Many of them are unemployed laborers and most of them have farm background. Many itinerant workers or migratory workers who follow the harvest season from place to place are included. Although as a rule they are placed a week or longer instead of daily shipment. Among the volume of Negro workers are Negro women and some children. Many of the household workers take advantage of the cotton season to get out into the open for a few weeks and generally earn more money than doing household work.

Trucks and automobiles of all makes and sizes are lined up for over three blocks on the streets leading to the bridge and also on the side streets. Thousands of workers start gathering at an early hour of the morning and mill about from truck to truck deciding as to where they wish to go and for a couple of hours there is a bustling scene as workers are loaded into the trucks and trucks pull out.

Quite often a number of trucks are left over and several hundred pickers. The interviewer calls various plantations until he can locate a plantation to send this surplus labor to. In this way, many more workers are placed for the day than would otherwise be.

After the rush business of the day is over then the steady search is carried on in an effort to find suitable families for permanent openings and other orders for more or less regular jobs.

Jobs available now.—At the present time, this is a slack season as the cultivating season is coming to an end and the harvesting season is not yet under way with the exception of alfalfa, fruit, and miscellaneous jobs. At the present time, we have on hand orders for a hundred or more families for work on a wage basis the balance of the season, generally $1 a day per worker. House and a garden plot for a fall garden are furnished free, along with fuel. When cotton picking season starts, these workers will be used on piece-work basis. Those desiring to stay are generally given a crop to work on share during the next year. We could, at the present time, place four or five hundred families along with considerable number of workers on wage basis. In fact, we have orders for far more families than we can find at present, as many unemployed Negro workmen prefer to stay in the city even though they may have only farm background.

Seasonal character of work, if any.—Work, of course, in the Farm Division is chiefly seasonal as the volume of placements come either during cultivating or harvesting of crops, but last year it became more and more a year round proposition with the increase in demand for families.

Increase of use for various other types of farm labor include many skilled men to operate cotton gins, alfalfa dehydrators and various other machinery now in use on the farms.

Statistical survey, in comparison to previous years, of volume of labor, types of labor, and jobs available, and origin of labor supply.—A statistical comparison with previous years is almost impossible because of the fact no adequate records were kept of types of labor, volume, and jobs available. However, it is possible to say that practically all labor furnished in previous years was of the unskilled or common labor type, much of it migratory, following the harvesting season. However, since opening the Farm Labor office, we have gradually been building up the demand for semiskilled and skilled types through the fact we are able to give fairly accurate work history of the applicants. By keeping in constant close touch with planters and impressing upon them we can furnish any type of labor, both skilled and unskilled, we are gradually getting more orders for skilled type of workers. In the past few weeks, we have placed one Negro farm manager who has had some 3 years' college training and we are also getting quite a demand for household servants for the larger plantations. In a study of 3,603 applications, in both our active and inactive files, we find that a vast majority are of the unskilled, farm hands and share croppers.

Origin of this labor supply as broken down showed that 846 were native Tennesseans, 544 were from Arkansas, 1,483 were from Mississippi, 379 came from other Southern States, while 343 were from Northern States, 4 were born in Italy, 3 in Germany, and 1 in Switzerland.

Memphis, situated as it is, is a central point for unemployed farm hands displaced by changes in farm procedures who move in search of employment. It is also situated on various railroads and highways and a large amount of migratory laborers seeking employment come here. This applies not only to the farm type but also the industrial workers as proven in the last few weeks when it was announced that Du Pont would build a powder plant here. There was an influx of several thousand workers from other States which resulted in an increase in our active file from 15,000 to approximately 18,500 applicants.

Any information on changes on account of use of machinery on farms.—With the use of improved farm machinery and implements, big plantations raise so much cotton they cannot chop (remove grass and weeds and thin cotton plants) with workers they have and it is necessary to hire large number of seasonal laborers to assist both with the cultivating and harvesting of crops. Also, plantations now using large amounts of quipment such as tractors, tractor-drawn plows, modern cotton gins, dehydrating plants for grinding alfalfa crops. Soy beans are being raised in quantities, mills are being installed to grind soybeans, meal, flour, and other products. There has been quite a change in the type of labor used and there is an increasing demand for a more skilled type of worker instead of old demand for unskilled workers. Plantation owners generally hire college graduates of agricultural colleges as manager, along with bookkeepers and clerks. Some of the larger plantations even have large office staffs. This makes quite a difference in type of labor furnished in the operation of farms.

Any benefits occuring to employer or worker through use of farm-labor office.—We have been assured by numerous plantation owners that establishment of the farm-labor office has been a great benefit to tnem through giving them a central agency from which to secure their labor and information as to labor available. We can site one concrete instance: Mr. Hugh Brinkley, one of the large plantation owners of eastern Arkansas, who employs from 100 to 200 families and from 200 to 750 farm hands. He states that prior to the opening of the office it was impossible for him to finish the harvesting of cotton crops before around February, owing to the unsettled labor supply, which resulted in the cotton being damaged by the weather to sucn an extent that prices secured for the last cotton picked was very low. Since the opening of the office, he has been able to cut down the harvest season to where at the present time the crop is all harvested by the middle of December, resulting in a large saving of time and better prices through better grade of cotton.

From the standpoint of the worker, he is able to secure accurate information and directions as to where to report for work and is assured there is a bona fide opening awaiting him when referred by the Farm Division to employer instead of previous condition when he went from plantation to plantation and probably spent several days before actually finding employment.

It is also possible for our Farm Division, through our Nation-wide clearance system to prevent many long trips by workers who have misleading information as to where jobs are available. For instance, in the past month an inquiry was referred to us by the Chamber of Commerce for 200 Negro cherry pickers for northern Wisconsin. By placing a long-distance call to the director of the Wisconsin State Employment Service, we found there was no shortage of labor and the cherry crop was very light; tnere were no Negroes in the community and none were desired and chances were that they would not make living expenses while there, much less the cost of transportation to and from Memphis. In this case we saved some six truck owners and over 200 laborers from making a trip of almost sixteen to seventeen hundred milen to a point where they would have found very little employment and a surplus of labor already existed.

As this service is improved, as we hope to improve it, we believe it will cut down much needless migration of labor and will serve as a very useful purpose for both employer and worker.

Date	Trucks	Number pickers	Plantation	Location	Drivers
Sept. 21, 1938	3	41	J. O. B. Beck	Hughes	Falkner.
		45	do	do	Steverson.
		37	do	do	Finley.
	5	35	T. G. Ulahorn	Frenchman's Bayou	Alberts.
		40	do	do	Jackson.
		33	do	do	Burk.
		40	do	do	C. Jones.
		38	do	do	J. Hoskins.
	4	37	J. P. Kellogg	Hughes	O. Gardner.
		43	do	do	S. Walker.
		39	do	do	Jamison.
		45	do	do	Bowman.
	4	39	H. M. Brinkley	Bruin	P. Brandon.
		33	do	do	Steverson.
		75	do	do	Barger.
		42	do	do	Jenkins.
	3	39	John Cooper	Cat Island	Alston.
		50	do	do	Mitchel.
		39	do	do	J. Brown.
	2	46	M. W. Ebberhart	Louise	W. H. Shaw.
		20	do	do	L. Davis.
	1	35	J. D. Allen		Alexander.
	2	40	H. A. McGee	Marion	Anderson.
		20	do	do	Self.
	5	35	A. B. Young	Heth	A. Duffin.
		41	do	do	Herne.
		40	do	do	Gordon.
		25	do	do	Loyd.
		9	do	do	H. Terry.
	2	48	H. O. Harrison	Hughes	Clark.
		42	do	do	W. McClintock.
	3	39	W. B. Mallory		W. Miller.
		38	do		S. Gilbert
		31	do		E. Warren.
	2	46	C. R. Ransom		I. M. Wages.
		27	do		N. Jones.
	3	40	G. L. Salmon	Frenchman's Bayou	Crook.
		60	do	do	Garrett.
		65	do	do	Richardson.
	3	20	J. C. Cherry	Parkin	Higenbotham.
		41	do	do	Brown.
		21	do	do	Parker.
	2	30	Blair Lowrance	Hughes	Brothit.
		26	do	do	W. Holmes.
	1	90	Lowrance Bros	Driver	J. Hicks.
	1	43	Marathon Plantation		W. Johnson.
	1	30	Mr. Killenwell	Chatfield	O. Parks.
	1	20	Clay Miller	Hulbert	Motley.
	1	22	Mr. Caldwell	Mack's Corner	C. Tate.
	1	20	W. A. Cosey		W. Jones.
	1	41	J. D. Peoples		L. Bailey.
	1	37	I. McKnight		L. C. Robinson.
	1	40	Earl Beck	Hughes	E. Bean.
	1	36	Geo. Biggs		G. Dean.
	1	55	R. H. Bowden		L. James.
	2	36	Trusty & Craft		Boatwright.
		39	do		Tucker.
	1	43	C. W. McKinney		Nolus Bowen.
	1	40	Chas. Dent		Berryhill
	1	41	Mr. Clark		W. Williams.
	1	30	Mr. Rodgers	Horse Shoe Lake	T. Wilkers.
	1	37	Al Cochran	Crawfordsville	Henley.
	1	36	do	do	Robinson
	1	35	Mr. Caldwell	do	A. Johnson.
	1	20	James Beck, Jr	Hughes	E. Young
	1	42	Walter Driver	Hoth	Harris.
	1	43	Will West		Boatwright.
	1	23	C. P. Curry		G. Smith.
	1	35	A. C. Pitman		Young.
	1	20	Mr. Busby	Proctor	Hamilton.
	1	43	A. B. Moss	Blackfish Lake	McK. Johnson.
	1	32	Mr. West	Proctor	Holmes.
	1	30	O. C. Pittman		Stoveall.
	1	39	R. H. Brackensi	Heth	Richards.

Date	Trucks	Number pickers	Plantation	Location	Drivers
Sept. 28, 1938	1	23	R. H. Brackensi	Heth	J. Anderson.
	1	60	Fred Brackensi	Presidents Island	Self.
	1	37	L. Rodgers	Seipe	H. Guy.
	1	41	L. M. Hudson	Tyronza	C. Blain.
	1	46	Dacus Lumber Co		C. Mosby.
	1	52	R. S. Bowden		N. Jones.
	1	36	C. S. Oswalt		Self.
	1	31	B. M. Seldon	Hollywood, Miss	C. Morse.
	1	29	C. N. Houk	Hughes	Archer.
	1	25	L. P. Latell	Shell Lake	Self.
	1	39	H. D. Torcan		Y. Patterson.
	1	90	J. E. Morgan	Wilson	Russell.
	1	35	W. Cox		Davis.
	1	42	Nickey Bros		R. Jones.
	1	25	Mr. Cooper	Shell Lake	Hanes.
	1	26	E. C. Pouncey	Simsboro	Agee.
	1	31	O. E. Sharp		Garrett.
	1	28	S. C. Ellis		W. Gains.
	1	34	Green River Plantation		Parker.
	1	40	Mr. Pollard		Sales.
	1	40	H. Moore	Driver	Mathews.
	1	23	do	do	Van Davis.
	1	24	Mrs. Owens	Evansville, Miss	Mitchel.
	1	41	Mr. Brewer		S. Finley.
	1	38	Tom Payne	Hughes	O. Taylor.
	1	16	J. E. Williford	Pinkney	Lee.

Bona fide orders for colored and white families to be sent to plantations in east Arkansas and north Mississippi, beginning Sept. 1, 1940, as cotton picking begins on or about that date

	Families
Mr. Joe E. Beck, Hughes, Ark	15
Mr. Robert Snowden, Hughes, Ark	10
Mr. H. N. Rogers, Seypell, Ark	10
Mr. C. R. Ransom, Hughes, Ark	8
Mr. Robert A. Caldwell, Proctor, Ark	6
Mr. Hugh M. Brinkley, Bruin, Ark	8
Mr. W. E. Nickey, Hughes, Ark	5
Mr. Sam Nickey, Hughes, Ark	5
Mr. E. J. Williford, Pinkney, Ark	5
Mr. Sidney Farnsworth, Hughes, Ark	5
John Claybrook, Simsboro, Ark	5
Mallory Farms, Chatfield, Ark	10
Miller Lumber Co., Hughes, Ark	10
Mr. W. K. Kellog, Penjur, Ark	8
Mr. J. G. Alexander, Pecan Point, Ark	5
Mr. Jack Ray, Crawfordsville, Ark	5
Mr. A. N. Cockrill, Crawfordsville, Ark	5
Mr. W. B. Burkett, Bassett, Ark	10
Lee Wilson plantation:	
Mr. W. T. Beale, Wilson, Ark	5
Mr. Vick Mann, Wilson Ark	5
Mr. Len Trammell, Wilson, Ark	5
Mr. Jack Kirkpatrick, Wilson, Ark	5
Mr. Waddell Fields, Wilson, Ark	5
Mr. Nat Graves, Wilson, Ark	5
Mr. Joe Dillahunty, Wilson, Ark	5
Mr. A. L. Crittenden, Wilson, Ark	5
Mr. L. C. Jolly, Wilson, Ark	5
Mr. J. B. Morgan, Wilson, Ark	10
Mr. G. C. Reaves, Wilson, Ark	5
Mr. Charlie Lane, Wilson, Ark	5
Mr. C. G. Lynch, Wilson, Ark	5
Mr. Jim Autry, Wilson, Ark	5
Mr. Wm. Graves, Wilson, Ark	5
Mr. Tony Mcafee, Wilson, Akr	5

	Families
Mr. Rufus Branch, Pecan Point, Ark	10
Mr. J. E. Ellison, Pecan Point, Ark	5
Mr. G. L. Salmons, Frenchmans Bayou, Ark	8
Mr. E. B. Childs, Sr., Pecan Point, Ark	8
Mr. L. D. Bowden, Joiner, Ark	8
Mr. J. M. Speck & Co., Frenchmans, Bayou, Ark	8

TESTIMONY OF E. M. NORMENT—resumed

Mr. SPARKMAN. All right; go on and make such statement as you wish.

TENNESSEE FARM-PLACEMENT SERVICE TO DAY LABORERS

Mr. NORMENT. We have experimented with the farm-labor placement service in Memphis for 3 or 4 years. It is a big center there on the Mississippi River where the bridges come across from Arkansas, the corner there where we have a lot of labor in from Mississippi, and it has been a kind of dumping ground for a large number of farm laborers, who think that things would be better for them in the city.

We started the farm-labor service there in 1937 as an experiment. There was a large quantity of labor, but no orderly method of handling it. Plantation owners would come in and several people would rush up and ask to help them load the truck with laborers, for a small payment, and it was better for them to pay these people to help them load their trucks than to have them scatter the word around to such an extent that the laborers would not get in their trucks. We started this system of labor service, and it was so organized under the Wagner-Peyser Act that it would be handled in a certain way. It is sponsored by the State, local, and Federal agencies.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your office is located in Memphis, Tenn., but you actually operate in serving three States—Tennessee, Mississippi, and Arkansas—is that correct?

Mr. NORMENT. Tennessee, Arkansas, and Mississippi mostly. You might say that Arkansas and Mississippi furnish the employer, and Tennessee, the employees, to a great extent.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does Arkansas contribute anything to the upkeep of your organization?

Mr. NORMENT. At the present time they are furnishing us one senior interviewer and they have kept one there for about a year. They maintain a farm-placement service and have a farm-placement supervisor paid directly by Washington instead of the State. Our organization is primarily for the benefit of Memphis. We are the dumping ground over there for a large amount of farm labor and, knowing that there was a market for that labor, we established our service. In 1938 we shipped out 150,000 people to the farms—that might be the same person over and over again, but I mean by that 150,000 man-days went out from our office.

Mr. SPARKMAN. How many?

Mr. NORMENT. About 150,000 man-days; it might be the same labor that we shipped out to the same farm on each day for an number of different days. We do quite a big business in the permanent or regular employees that they take by the week or by the month or by the year and we have continual orders for sharecropper families or tenant families. We make a study of the farm situation from the practical angle when there are prospects of employment, and what the prospects are for promotion and what the day laborer can look forward to in taking the position.

Those big-area Delta farms have changed quite a bit in the last 15 years. They are more modern today; they have done away with the old system where they had cotton right up to the back door of a sharecropper's house—that has been changed around. They not only permit, but they encourage sharecroppers to have gardens to a certain extent, and they have equipped these plantations and farms with modern equipment that enables the sharecroppers to have better crops than before.

On one large plantation all of the managers are graduates of agricultural colleges and they are more scientific and their methods of farming have changed a great deal. In the old days they had 5,000 acres in cotton, and now there are 1,300 acres in cotton on that plantation and 700 acres in soybeans, 600 in corn, 600 in alfalfa, and 50 in truck gardens and orchards. In other words, they have an up-to-date systematized program operating in those plantations now. For instance, in the old days they used to cut the alfalfa and stack it and then bale it and bring it in, but now they have a dehydrator for the alfalfa and they bring it in the same day that it is cut and run it through the dehydrator, and it comes out as alfalfa meal that very same day. By planting soybeans and other soil-building crops they keep the land improved all the time.

We have at the present time orders for 267 families that we have not yet been able to fill. We think from our practical standpoint that they will be better off back on the farm than they are on relief in the cities.

Mr. **Curtis.** I am interested in that last statement that you have just made. You say that you have calls for 267 farm families that you cannot fill?

Mr. **Norment.** We have not filled them yet.

Mr. **Curtis.** How long will they be furnished with employment?

Mr. **Norment.** The system is that, if we can furnish the families, that they will be given day work for the present and an opportunity to make a crop the next year.

Mr. **Curtis.** For how long?

Mr. **Norment.** That will last all during the cotton-picking season.

Mr. **Curtis.** Well, how long will that be? I am not familiar with your conditions down in this part of the country, and particularly with your cotton crop.

Mr. **Norment.** That will run until about the end of December, I would say.

Mr. **Curtis.** From how wide a radius do people come in there and register with you?

Mr. **Norment.** We get a lot of migratory labor coming in on the trains. You see, we have established this office of ours down there right by the bridge where they come in, and those riding in the boxcars come in and register. We generally have a job waiting for them when they come in or can telephone some planter, and locate a job for them on some of the plantations.

Mr. Curtis. Do you represent a territory that needs migrant farm labor?

Mr. Norment. It doesn't use a great amount of migratory labor.

Mr. Curtis. You need it seasonally?

Mr. Norment. Yes, sir. Most of the territory is outside my district, but as long as we furnish it we have to be familiar with the situation. They have the early strawberry season to start with; that is, farther to the south, and then they come on up in our direction with the beans and work on up through the State of Arkansas. They are harvesting peaches there now, and in another month they will be picking cotton over there, and they will go right along with their cotton-picking work. Before we established this labor service over there, oftentimes it was February before the cotton was all picked. Now most of it is finished by Christmas. Since we have established our labor service it makes it fine for the workers because they can come there and find out where to go to secure work, and it makes it better for the plantation owner where he can come in and get the labor that he needs without any difficulty.

Then, too, most of this labor that we get from Memphis is done by people who have been on the farm originally and moved into the city seeking industrial employment.

In our territory lots of the cooks quit their jobs in the fall of the year and go back to the farms and pick cotton in the cotton-picking season, and during that part of the year we often have a shortage of cooks in Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, and in that territory.

Mr. Sparkman. As I understand your statement, you have actually taken a condition that already existed there and you have systematized it so that the labor may find where to go to secure employment and the employer may come there and secure the labor that he desires?

Mr. Norment. Yes, sir; we have brought order and system. Under our present system they load their trucks up in an orderly fashion and take them to the plantations or farms, but under the old system it was not an orderly process at all.

Mr. Sparkman. In the old days, the plantation owner would send his truck to the Mississippi bridge and load it up with his labor?

Mr. Norment. Yes, sir; and maybe there would be 15,000 workers assembled there in the morning from 4 to 6 o'clock.

Mr. Sparkman. Was there any recognized employment office there to handle the situation?

Mr. Norment. No; just a large number of Negroes had a few places around there, and then there were some white people that would want to help load the truck and they would say, "If you will give me $2 I will help you load your truck." And as I have stated before, if you didn't give them the money to help to load your truck they would circulate stories so that you possibly couldn't get your truck loaded with laborers.

Mr. Sparkman. Wasn't there a Beale Street Employment Office?

Mr. NORMENT. Yes, sir; down on Beale Street a number of Negroes kept a sign up in front saying "Farm Labor Wanted" or "Cotton Pickers Wanted."

Mr. SPARKMAN. What effect has your employment system had on that arrangement?

GAINS TO FARM LABOR RESULTING FROM PLACEMENT SERVICE

Mr. NORMENT. We have established our division right off Beale Street with a large office at the public employment center and it has practically put out of business the stray, would-be employment agency.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Does your agency or anyone connected with it make any investigation of the wages to be paid or as to the sanitary conditions that these employees will work under?

Mr. NORMENT. No, sir; but we maintain a steady visiting system to all of those farms over there where we send laborers. We know whether the conditions are good. When a plantation has a bad reputation for its treatment of laborers we don't furnish any labor to that plantation, if its conditions of work are bad. There are plenty of good plantation owners, and if conditions are bad on any plantation that word will get around among the crowd quickly.

Mr. SPARKMAN. If conditions are not good on one of these plantations they will get the word around among them quickly?

Mr. NORMENT. Yes, sir. Someone gets up and tries to hire a crowd of these laborers and maybe not more than one knows anything about the plantation that is trying to hire them, but if there is anything wrong with it or if it has a bad reputation for its laborers, just in a few minutes everybody knows it, and nobody will go to that plantation. The word gets around the crowd hurriedly. There are a few places that have bad reputations and we won't send them any workers.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Has your system, since it has been put in, had any appreciable effect on the wages that the laborers obtain in that area?

Mr. NORMENT. Well, we manage to get more money for them in some cases. We inform the prospective employer that so and so is paying so much and that if he wants to get his laborers right away we can get them for him quicker at such and such a price.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Then do you think that there is a slight upward trend in their wages for that reason?

Mr. NORMENT. Yes, sir; I think so.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I presume that your efforts have been more or less uniform in this matter——

Mr. NORMENT. Yes, sir. Well, there are a lot of individual truck drivers who don't work for any farm; they formerly took a load of labobers and visited the plantations on a blind search, sometimes spending several hours seeking a farm that needed laborers (sometimes finding no place). Since we opened an office we are able to refer laborers directly to farms needing them at that particular time, thus saving many hours and a lot of wild-goose chases, both for driver and workers.

Mr. SPARKMAN. What about the trend of increase or decrease in the number of tenants? I presume that your tenants have remained more or less the same? Can you tell us anything about whether your tenants have increased or decreased?

Mr. NORMENT. I believe that we have a much larger demand for tenant farmers and sharecroppers and less for day labor this year than we had last year. That is one reason we have a lot of unfilled orders for families and haven't been able to fill them.

Mr. SPARKMAN. A short time ago announcement was made generally over the country that a tremendous powder plant was to be built in Memphis.

Mr. NORMENT. Yes, sir; and since that time we have had a great influx of labor.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Have any outsiders come from any other State?

Mr. NORMENT. Yes, sir; all the way from California and everywhere. Our active file shows an increase of 3,000 within the course of a month.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you keep a file as to their place of origin?

Mr. NORMENT. It shows on every application card, date of birth, where born, how long in the city, and there are fifty-some-odd questions on the application when we take a regular application. However, we wouldn't do that on migratory labor that we send to these farms. When such a migrant comes in, he would go right out to the plantation. If he is to make his home in Memphis and be where we could get in touch with him, we would do that, but most of them want a job right away when they come in.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Do you have anything else that you wish to add?

Mr. NORMENT. No, sir; the only thing I could give would be the break-downs. I will give the reporter the actual break-downs on these matters and will attach them to my written testimony and ask that it all be made a part of the record.

Mr. SPARKMAN. We will be glad to have that and we appreciate your contribution to this Committee.

TESTIMONY OF REUBEN LITTLE

Mr. CURTIS. Give your name to the reporter for the record.

Mr. LITTLE. My name is Reuben Walter Little.

Mr. CURTIS. When were you born?

Mr. LITTLE. 1888.

Mr. CURTIS. You are about 52 years old?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. In what county were you born?

Mr. LITTLE. In Perry County.

Mr. CURTIS. That is in Alabama?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did you go to school?

Mr. LITTLE. I went to the fourth grade.

Mr. CURTIS. How many months out of the year?

Mr. LITTLE. I couldn't state exactly; the schools when I was a boy weren't like they are now; sometimes we would have to walk 6 miles, and go 2 or 3 months sometimes.

Mr. CURTIS. Are your parents living?

Mr. LITTLE. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did your father spend his lifetime?

Mr. LITTLE. In the State of Alabama, in Perry County.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did his grandfather come from?

Mr. LITTLE. I don't know.

Mr. CURTIS. Your grandfather, I mean.

Mr. LITTLE. Mine?

Mr. CURTIS. Yes.

The WITNESS. I don't know; I never heard them say.

Mr. CURTIS. You never heard of your grandfather?

The WITNESS. No, sir. The only people my father had that I can remember was his mother and then there were three brothers of them.

Mr. CURTIS. Where was your mother born?

Mr. LITTLE. I don't know, sir, where she was born. She was raised an orphan girl, I know that, and she didn't have any education at all. She was a Shoemaker before she was married.

Mr. CURTIS. She was a Shoemaker?

Mr. LITTLE. Shoemaker was her name before she was married.

Mr. CURTIS. Oh, from what State did she come?

Mr. LITTLE. Here in Alabama, I guess; I never did hear her or them speak of being anywhere else.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you ever see any of her relatives?

Mr. LITTLE. No, sir; nothing more than one sister.

Mr. CURTIS. What county have you been living in in the last 10 years?

Mr. LITTLE. I was in Bibb County in 1931 and I moved then to Dallas County in the spring of 1933 and I stayed there for 5 years, and then I moved into Autauga County, and I guess I was there for 10 months, I made a crop and gathered it, I moved there in the spring and I moved away from there in the fall and moved back to Dallas County and I stayed there last year, and in the fall my crop was drowned out over there, and I didn't have anything left, and I struck up with this man here where I am living now and made arrangements with him for the two boys to work for him during the winter to cut off his pasture.

Mr. CURTIS. You have been farming in some manner or other in the last 10 years?

Mr. LITTLE. Ever since 1930; 10 years; that is right.

Mr. CURTIS. Before 1930, what did you work at?

Mr. LITTLE. I was cutting timber for about 4 years. I was raised in the timber. There was 4 years when I left the farm and cut timber, sawmill contracting, cutting timber for 4 years, and then went back on the farm.

Mr. CURTIS. Where were you farming in 1931?

Mr. LITTLE. In 1930, I made a crop in Bibb County.

Mr. CURTIS. How did that turn out?

Mr. LITTLE. I made six bales of cotton, and I couldn't get an offer on it, not even a penny a pound. I borrowed money from the bank through the landlord and I had to turn it over to them, and I turned it over to them and went back to sawmilling in 1931 and then I went back on the farm in 1932 or 1933, the first year that they plowed up cotton.

Mr. CURTIS. What is that?

Mr. LITTLE. Wasn't it 1933 that they plowed up so much cotton? And I stayed there in that one place for 5 years, and then the owner of the place died, and I had to move.

Mr. CURTIS. That was over in Dallas County?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Then what did you do?

Mr. LITTLE. I went to Autauga and made a crop and gathered it and then I came back to Dallas County.

Mr. CURTIS. What do you mean by making a crop? I don't live down there and I don't understand what you mean by that expression.

Mr. LITTLE. I planted it and made the crop and gathered it.

Mr. CURTIS. Who furnishes the machinery and the horses and mules?

Mr. LITTLE. The landlord where I worked, he furnished everything.

Mr. CURTIS. He furnishes everything to you?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. What do you get out of it?

Mr. LITTLE. If I make anything above expenses I get that, but for the last year or two, I haven't even done that.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you raise any crop when you went over in Autauga County?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you have a good crop?

Mr. LITTLE. Pretty fair.

Mr. CURTIS. How long did you stay there?

Mr. LITTLE. Just 1 year.

Mr. CURTIS. How come you to move?

Mr. LITTLE. Me and the landlord couldn't agree, and it was right down on the river and not a healthy place to live; we were all sick in the summertime with malaria, and we were all sick in the summer, and I moved away from there.

Mr. CURTIS. How is your health?

Mr. LITTLE. It is bad.

Mr. CURTIS. What is the trouble with you?

Mr. LITTLE. I had a nervous trouble since 1932. I have had a nervous trouble since then.

Mr. CURTIS. Well, most of the country has.

Mr. LITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. You said something about malaria. Do you have malaria?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Where did you go to be taken care of if any place?

Mr. LITTLE. Back in the spring, in the first of April, the welfare people sent me to Birmingham, to the hospital.

Mr. CURTIS. How long were you there?

Mr. LITTLE. Well, I counted it as 9 weeks and 3 days and me and my wife counted it different. She said it was 8 weeks and 3 days, and I said it was 9 weeks and 3 days, and we got into an argument about that. I was operated on twice, but we counted the time up differently.

Mr. Curtis. Where have you been since you got out of the hospital in Birmingham?

Mr. Little. I have been under the doctor ever since I came out of the hospital here in Selma, in Dallas County.

Mr. Curtis. Where is your family now? Do they stay on the farm?

Mr. Little. Yes, sir; they are down here in Lowndes County on a farm.

Mr. Curtis. How much family do you have?

Mr. Little. I have a wife and six children.

Mr. Curtis. What are their ages?

Mr. Little. The oldest one is 18—that is a boy—and I have one boy that is 15, and one girl that is 13, and I have got one boy that is 10, and I have got one little girl that is 5, and the other one will be 3 in April.

Mr. Curtis. When you had to go to the hospital and since you have been laid up with illness, do the boys carry on on the farm?

Mr. Little. The way the trade was, I was to have a 2-horse farm after Christmas.

Mr. Curtis. This trade was with the landlord.

Mr. Little. Yes, sir; and after he found that I was going to the hospital he backed out on that, and wouldn't let us have the crop, and he said that he would hire the boys for wages.

Mr. Curtis. He didn't want the boys to be sharecroppers?

Mr. Little. No, sir; but he said that he would hire them for wages.

Mr. Curtis. Had your boys worked up to that time?

Mr. Little. Yes, sir; they had worked through the winter cutting off his pasture at 50 cents a day.

Mr. Curtis. Are they good workers?

Mr. Little. Everybody gives them that name, and I would have to.

Mr. Curtis. Are they strong?

Mr. Little. Yes, sir; they are pretty stout.

Mr. Curtis. What did he offer them?

Mr. Little. He was supposed to give the older one $10 per month and his board, and the other one $8 per month and his board. That is the contract he and I had, and we didn't have it in writing.

Mr. Curtis. What happened to that contract?

Mr. Little. When I went to the hospital, he changed up with the boys and my wife, and he told them that he would stop their board, but would give them three pounds of plate meat and a peck of meal apiece instead of boarding them.

Mr. Curtis. What kind of meat is it that you refer to?

Mr. Little. This old plate meat, the cheapest that can be bought.

Mr. Curtis. Is it beef?

Mr. Little. Oh, no; it is hog meat.

Mr. Sparkman. It is salt pork, isn't it?

Mr. Curtis. Salt pork?

Mr. Little. Yes, sir.

Mr. Curtis. Did the boys do that?

Mr. **Little**. Yes, sir; they took it up and they didn't know no better than to do that.

Mr. **Curtis**. They made that new agreement with him?

Mr. **Little**. Yes, sir.

Mr. **Curtis**. How long did they keep up working under that new agreement?

Mr. **Little**. They didn't keep it up a month.

Mr. **Curtis**. Why?

Mr. **Little**. He cut them off and he put them on the three pounds of plate meat and a peck of meal each a month.

Mr. **Curtis**. How long did they keep that up?

Mr. **Little**. One of them finished up the 6 months and the other one, he ran him off the farm before he got through.

Mr. **Curtis**. He ran him off?

Mr. **Little**. The landlord killed a little old feist puppy that belonged to this 15-year-old boy of mine and the boy was all torn up about it, and he told him that if he couldn't have a feist dog on the place, that he didn't feel like he could have anything.

Mr. **Curtis**. How old is this boy?

Mr. **Little**. Fifteen years old, and the landlord, he cursed my boy and he told him to leave.

Mr. **Curtis**. Why did he kill his dog?

Mr. **Little**. My wife and the oldest boy asked him not to kill it, and he went on and killed it anyhow, and it hurt the boy so bad about giving up his pet, and he told him that if he could not have a feist dog on the place, that he didn't feel like he could have anything.

Mr. **Curtis**. Where is the boy now?

Mr. **Little**. He is over at my nephew's down below Potter Station on the farm.

Mr. **Curtis**. Is the 10-year-old boy still there?

Mr. **Little**. No; he finished his 6 months out and he is trying to find something to do.

Mr. **Curtis**. Where is your family now?

Mr. **Little**. They are still on the place, but he wants them to get out. He notified me to get out, and I have got to move as soon as I can find a place to go.

Mr. **Curtis**. When do you have to get out?

Mr. **Little**. As soon as I can.

Mr. **Curtis**. How are you living now?

Mr. **Little**. By what relief people help us out with.

Mr. **Curtis**. What are you going to do when you have to move from there?

Mr. **Little**. That is a question that I can't answer. I can't take no manual labor myself and I am not able to do it, and the doctor has told me not to do it and I tried to find a light job like night watching or something like that, but I can't find it.

Mr. **Curtis**. How many brothers do you have?

Mr. **Little**. Two.

Mr. **Curtis**. Where are they?

Mr **Little**. They are in Autauga County.

Mr. **Curtis**. What do they do?

Mr. LITTLE. They own farms—one owns a farm and the other has no farm this year—he is older than I am and he is knocked out and not able to do anything.

Mr. CURTIS. Do either of them have any property?

Mr. LITTLE. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Did either of them have any property 15 years ago?

Mr LITTLE. No, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Did you?

Mr. LITTLE. No, sir; I never owned any land in my life. I have owned two or three head of stock, that is all.

Mr. CURTIS. How far in school did this 18-year-old boy of yours go?

Mr. LITTLE. He went about to the second grade. You see, I was knocked out in 1932 and the boy had to take the lead. I have not been able to do any manual labor, only just a little while at a time since 1932.

Mr. CURTIS. You say he quit school in the second grade?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr CURTIS. Your 18-year-old boy?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. That was in 1932?

Mr. LITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. CURTIS. Your health was good at that time?

Mr. LITTLE. Well, no, sir; I haven't been in good health for several years, but I wasn't knocked completely out until then.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you know any people in the same circumstances as you are?

Mr. LITTLE. No, sir; I do not.

Mr. CURTIS. Do you have any friends and acquaintances on farms that have scattered out to go some place to find work?

Mr. LITTLE. No, sir; I sure haven't.

Mr. CURTIS. That is all.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Thank you very much, Mr. Little.

TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH S. GELDERS, ACTING EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE FOR HUMAN WELFARE, TRUSSVILLE, ALA.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Your name is Joseph S. Gelders?

Mr. GELDERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You are the acting executive secretary of the Southern Conference for Human Welfare; is that right?

Mr. GELDERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. You say you live at Trussville, Ala.?

Mr. GELDERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. That is near Birmingham; isn't it?

Mr. GELDERS. Yes, sir.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I have a notation here that Mr. Joseph S. Gelders, that is yourself, wired the committee requesting time to appear to make certain statements and the chairman replied and allotted you

20 minutes. I understand that you have a brief statement that you have prepared and you desire to read it now.

Mr. **Gelders**. Yes, sir; I have.

Mr. **Sparkman**. Do you intend to read that statement now?

Mr. **Gelders**. I would like to. I have boiled it down to where I will be able to read it in about 17 or 18 minutes and I think that we can get over it quickly by reading it.

Mr. **Sparkman**. All right, proceed.

Mr. **Gelders** (reading). I am here representing the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as secretary of its civil rights committee and as acting executive secretary of the organization.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare is an organization consisting mainly of delegates from trade-unions, farm groups, fraternal orders, religious associations, civic, women, and youth groups; and similar organizations of the people, federated for the purpose of coordinating their efforts. Its membership extends throughout the 13 Southern States. The interests of the Southern Conference are directed toward improvement of the economic, political, social, and cultural life of the South. Its methods include the study of specific problems, by committees and commissions of experts; drafting of remedial legislation; and necessary action toward the adoption of such legislation.

Of the 13 Southern States represented in the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 11 lie in the southeastern region with which this hearing is concerned. These are the States of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. These States, excluding Florida, are the States from which the major portion of the country's migrants originate.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare is deeply concerned with the conditions of life in these 10 southeastern States, conditions so harsh and severe that millions of citizens find it necessary to break with their home surroundings and seek to establish their lives elsewhere. As might be expected, the problems with which the Southern Conference has been concerned correspond very closely with the causes of migration. The conference wishes to express its appreciation to this committee for the opportunity afforded us to make this appearance.

TRACING THE MIGRATION OF DESTITUTE CITIZENS TO ITS SOURCE—FUTURE OUTLOOK

We wish to limit ourselves to a discussion of the exodus from the southeastern region since it appears to us that the problem of migration of destitute citizens, as it affects this region, is mainly characterized by an exodus of rural youth and young adults. Other phases of the problem such as the migration of agricultural workers following the crops from Florida up the eastern coast, and such other similar migrations have been dealt with by persons much more competent than we are to present this picture to the committee.

CAUSE OF MIGRATION—UNSTABLE ECONOMIC BASIS OF AGRICULTURE

We are prepared to show rather rigorously by means of charts and tables taken from data available in the 1930 census that the farming areas alone supply the bulk of the migrants. Our discussion and proposals will be confined entirely to the problem of improving the basic conditions of life for these groups. From this point of view, the committee will find that the problem it is facing is to improve the opportunities for rural youth and young adults in the Southeast, for it is from these groups that the exodus originates. We think that the main cause of the migration is the unstable economic basis of agriculture in the region. We think that this cause is likely to become more acute unless wise legislation results from the efforts of this committee.

A phase of the problem we believe we can throw some light on for the benefit of the committee is an examination of certain factors which point to the probable trend in the conditions producing migration. Obviously the greatest single factor affecting trends will involve the extent and manner of mechanization of cotton production.

TRENDS IN MECHANIZATION OF COTTON PRODUCTION

First, we should point out that mechanization of cotton production has not yet begun on a serious scale. There are two main reasons why cotton production has not already been mechanized. In the first place, the cotton farm is now, and has been for many years, a small-scale unit; while such power machinery as there is is adapted mainly to large-scale farming. On the whole, whether the cotton is produced on a small farm owned by the working farmer, or on a small, isolated rented farm, or on a plantation consisting of a number of small farms operated on a sharecrop basis—the result is the same, as far as mechanization is concerned. Power farming methods are suitable at present only to a certain kind of cotton farm—those large farms using mainly wage-labor, characteristic of eastern Arkansas and portions of Mississippi in the Southeast and of Texas and Oklahoma in the Southwest. In the past, it has been the practice in cotton farming in the Southeast to have on hand throughout the year, all or almost all, of the labor necessary to produce the crop. The interest and amortization on machinery far exceeds any possible saving in the cost of labor with farming organized as it is now in this region. A radical reconstruction of the relations between the ultimate producer and the owner of the land will necessarily occur as power farming is introduced generally throughout the Southeast.

The second reason for the retarded introduction of farm machinery involves the actual process of producing cotton. The operation of picking cotton requires the most intense in-put of labor of any operation in the production of cotton. Picking the cotton is the "bottleneck" operation; that is, picking requires the greatest number of man-hours of labor in the least amount of elapsed time. If operations other than picking were mechanized, it would still be necessary to have on hand enough labor to pick the cotton. Therefore, under the present system of organization of production, saving of labor at any operation other than picking would not reduce the cost of production.

WHAT KIND OF A RECONSTRUCTION?

Until now, the possibility of reducing the cost of production by mechanization has not been sufficiently promising to encourage any large-scale shift from the tenant system to the wage-labor system of farming.

However, we are convinced that cotton-picking machinery will soon be ready for manufacturing and marketing on a commercial scale. With a suitable cotton picker available we think that the entire productive process can be profitably mechanized. The saving of labor at the "bottleneck" will make it possible to produce cotton with much less labor throughout the season. We think that cotton-picking machinery will draw into its wake all other necessary power machinery.

The only other remaining factors retarding mechanization of cotton production are: the division of land into small farms, the inflexibility of the traditional system of tenantry, and lack of capital. All three of these are most intensely operative in the Southeast. Texas is therefore likely to lead the way in power cotton farming.

HOW MECHANIZATION WILL HELP SOUTHEAST

But this does not mean that the Southeast will not be affected by mechanization—on the contrary. Any large-scale shift to power farming anywhere in the cotton country will be felt most severely in the areas where the old methods are most tenacious. The effect will be transmitted immediately throughout the cotton-producing area by the operation of the price system. The cotton economy of the Southeast will suffer the greatest dislocation. The small farmers, already hard pressed, will become insolvent in increasing numbers. Plantation owners who attempt to compete by an intensification of exploitation of tenants and croppers will find it impossible to compete, no matter how hard they drive their labor, producing under the old system. Present plantation owners will be unable, on the whole, to meet the demands for capital needed to change over to mechanized cotton culture. The conditions causing migration from the rural Southeast will thus be greatly intensified.

SPECIAL RECOMMENDATION CONCERNING THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IN THE MARKETING OF IMPROVED FARM MACHINERY

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare believes that the Congress should deal with this problem before it becomes an acute reality and we feel that it can be solved with a benefit to all concerned, if taken hold of at the right place.

We think that the introduction of power farming need not lead to the ruin of the people in the cotton country but on the contrary, power farming could be the solution—but this will require congressional action.

We propose that the Congress provide capital to be loaned to cooperatives of small owners, renters, share tenants, and croppers for the purchase of power machinery. By putting the power machinery in the hands of cooperatives, composed of the ultimate producers, power farming will benefit rather than ruin the region. Our proposal, if put into effect, will do just what Mr. Clarence R. Bitting said, on Monday, it was necessary to do; I quote:

> Increase the effectiveness of agricultural labor to the end that earnings of agricultural workers may be increased without increasing unit costs of production.

COOPERATIVE OWNERSHIP OF FARM MACHINERY

If cooperatives of small producers are organized, and loaned the capital necessary to buy machinery, the economic basis of the small farmer will be established once and for all. The benefits of mechanization will be preserved to the ultimate producer. Cooperative ownership of farm machinery will enrich the people of the Southeast and, while it will displace labor, it will at the same time create new demands for consumer goods and services.

If, on the other hand, power farming intrudes without some such guidance by the Federal Government, the displaced labor will be without employment, and this will intensify the migratory problem. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare therefore petitions the committee to introduce legislation providing for loans to cooperatives of small cotton producers—small owners, tenants, and sharecroppers—to finance the purchase of the capital goods needed to rationalize cotton production on a new basis.

IMMEDIATE ACTION NEEDED

If the Federal Government will boldly take such action before the situation becomes acute, we can be saved from the impending ruin. Any delay will make rational Federal legislation impossible. Time and time again necessary action to relieve a section of the population has been blocked because such action would invade the vested interests of some powerful group of citizens. In the present situation there is not yet any vested interest involved. The plantation owners of the Southeast, except those who can finance a capital outlay for machinery, already are on the way to bankruptcy. The new system of production has not yet arisen; there are not yet any persons having a private interest in the maintenance of that future "status quo." This is the moment which, if taken hold of boldly and democratically, can turn fear into confidence. If proper action is taken, the small producer, the backbone of any region, can be put on a sound footing for the future. If this moment is let pass, untold human misery will result.

GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM OF MIGRATION AT ITS SOURCE

In addition to this specific recommendation—for the organization of cooperatives of small producers—the Southern Conference for Human Welfare would like to suggest to the committee certain other necessary legislation without which we believe no specific plans or schemes will work.

Excellent plans elaborated by the Seventy-third, Seventy-fourth, and Seventy-fifth Congresses for the alleviation of the conditions of these same people have largely failed to accomplish the purposes for which the legislation was passed. These failures can be mainly traced to the lack of democracy within the region. Local administrative personnel had to be chosen in such a way as to satisfy patronage prerogatives. Local administrations were more than likely to be out of sympathy with the programs they were administering; or if they were conscientious and loyal to the administration, they were often confronted with insuperable obstacles by local political grandees. Thus, a progressive and democratic program cannot be put into effect unless the region itself is organized on a democratic basis. And I don't mean necessarily a capital D. It is necessary, in a democracy, for the general run of people to be informed and articulate and to be in a position to cooperate and support progressive legislation.

These problems cannot be solved economically and democratically by mere legislation from the top. The great body of citizens from whose ranks the migrants come must cooperate in solving the problem, and their cooperation must be sought and must be made possible.

FEDERAL AID FOR EDUCATION

Specifically—first, in order for these citizens to contribute their genius to the improvement of their conditions, there must be improvement of educational facilities. We could point out to the satisfaction of the committee that such improvement cannot take place entirely at the expense of the Southeastern States. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare specifically recommends the enactment of legislation providing Federal aid to education.

FEDERAL GUARANTEE OF RIGHT TO ORGANIZE

Second, in order for these citizens to arrive at a program calculated to secure the solvency of the small producer, there must be complete freedom for them to discuss their problems, criticize those who stand in their way, propose legislation and organize for its adoption. They must be guaranteed full liberties of speech, press, and assembly, and the right to organize themselves into associations of their own choosing. These liberties are guaranteed in the United States Constitution, but are not fully protected by enabling legislation and are frequently interfered with. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare recommends strengthening of legislation protecting the citizen in the exercise of the fundamental rights secured by the American Bill of Rights.

FEDERAL GUARANTEE OF RIGHT TO VOTE

Third, in order for these citizens to exercise their proportionate share of the Federal power in determining and protecting their own interests, they should be granted the right to vote. The Congress should take this responsibility as far as Federal elections are concerned. These citizens should have access to the ballot box without satisfying conditions made impossible by their poverty. The Southern Conference for Human Welfare petitions the committee to recommend the passage of legislation guaranteeing the right to vote in Federal elections without the payment of poll taxes.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare requests permission of the committee to file a supplementary statement.

Mr. SPARKMAN. I believe you had yourself mighty well timed.

Mr. GELDERS. I tried to hold myself within the 20 minutes.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Any questions?

Mr. CURTIS. No questions.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Thank you.

(Thereupon, the witness was excused.)

Mr. SPARKMAN. Are there any others here that made statements that they would like to file and have made a part of the record? I am anxious that no one be left out that has a statement pertaining to this matter.

(No response.)

Mr. SPARKMAN. Dr. Lamb, you have one to offer for the record, have you not?

Dr. LAMB. Mr. E. T. O'Connell, editor of the News-Digest, has submitted a statement and I will submit it now to be incorporated in the record.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Very well.

(Statement referred to by Dr. Lamb is as follows:)

STATEMENT BY E. T. O'CONNELL, EDITOR, ALABAMA NEWS-DIGEST, BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

It has been said that:

Present day economic conditions in the South have been influenced by political and racial questions more greatly perhaps than in any other section of the United States; and that,

Most of the economic dislocations from which the South suffers today had their genesis in world conditions at the time the South was colonized 100 to 150 years ago.

Assuming the correctness of these statements, it is believed that no economic study of the South can arrive at correct conclusions without the benefit of at least a cursory examination of the political and racial, as well as the economic history of the region.

HISTORY OF CONDITIONS AFFECTING ECONOMY OF SOUTH

Therefore, to aid your committee in gaining a correct economic picture of the South today, I will attempt to give you what I believe to be a synopsis of the more important incidents that have affected the economic bloodstream, so to speak, of this State and section.

History tells us that under the stimulus of the invention of the steam engine by Watt in 1765, of the spinning jenny by Arkwright, Hargreaves, and Crompton, the power loom by Cartwright and Jacquard, and the furnishing of munitions for the Napoleonic Wars, England became the workshop of the world. It was in this era that Arkwright founded the factory or industrial system as we know it today.

EARLY INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

Thousands upon thousands of English, Irish, Scotch, and Welsh settled in the South both before and after the Revolutionary War as a result of the religious persecutions of the period, the famines of Ireland, and the desire of English manufacturers and the Crown to create new sources of raw materials for English factories and markets for their finished goods. And it is important to note that because at this time, England was at the height of its industrial supremacy, the majority of these colonists were artisans and tradesmen.

The South's new citizens brought their industrial skills with them and it was not long before, in company with their fellow tradesmen, they had transplanted Arkwright's factory system to America despite all the efforts of English manufactorers and the Crown, including the fighting of the Revolutionary War, to discourage manufactures over here. Iron smelters, forges, and manufactories of pottery, leather, wood, and other products flourished throughout the section.

So great was the growth of industry in the South that David A. Tompkins, writing on the history of the early industrial South in "The South and the Building of the Nation," records that as late as 1800 the manufactured products of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia exceeded in variety and value those of the entire New England States.

TURN TO COTTON PRODUCTION

But the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney in 1793 changed the history of not only the South and the United States but of the world. Slaveholding, which had begun to die out in the South, once more became profitable for the cultivation of the hundreds of thousands of acres of cotton to which the entire economy of the South was turned overnight by Whitney's invention. The resultant demand for cheap labor soon caused English slave traders, financed by English capitalists and manufacturers, who wished more and cheaper cotton for their spinning frames and looms, to flood the South with slaves from Africa. Thus the South was presented with racial and economic problems that changed the entire course of its history and remain problems to this day.

With the introduction of slave labor for cotton cultivation came the creation of the plantation system. Each plantation was a more or less self-contained unit that produced most of its raw and semifinished needs and imported the remainder from New England and England, but principally from England in exchange for cotton and other raw products. Each maintained its own forge, meat-curing plant, woodworking shop; its own slaves skilled in producing many of the products formerly purchased from the South's industries which had expanded so rapidly before the introduction of slave labor and the plantation system.

I know some of this story from personal knowledge because my own grandfather, Daniel O'Connell, who came to Georgia from Ireland in the 1830's, just as did another Irishman, Gerald O'Hara, in Gone With the Wind, was one of these planters. He built his home on a hill overlooking the Okmulgee River and became one of these self-contained units of the South's new plantation system.

Whitney's invention had made cotton planting in the South so profitable and the plantation system had made the industrial system so unprofitable that the South's factories were abandoned one by one, most of their owners and capitalists going into the more remunerative production of cotton with slave labor.

MIGRATION OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS FROM SOUTH

The free white labor of the South's industrial system could no more compete with the Negro slave labor and the free-trade policies of the South's plantation system than can hand labor compete today with the machine. So as cotton production advanced in the South, many of the free white working people migrated to the Middle West. But the bulk of them, clinging more tenaciously to home ties, were left stranded by the receding industrial tide, and being unable because of their poverty to settle in the richer and more costly river bottom lands, they were driven farther and farther back into the foothills and mountain country.

In this migration many of the free white industrial workers in Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia, and Alabama in 1800–50 became the poor white farmers of the hills and mountains of the Carolinas, Georgia, Alabama, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Their poverty and segregation came simply from lack of opportunity as the owners of factories who operated with free white labor in 1800 had become, by 1850, the rich cotton planters, operating with Negro slave labor. The flotsam and jetsam of the collapse of the South's industrial system who remained in the Deep South came to be known as poor white trash and were scorned by both the Negro slaves and their rich white masters.

In Alabama the victims of the South's shift from industry to agriculture settled principally in Winston, Jackson, Marshall, and Cullman Counties in northern Alabama; in Chilton County in central Alabama; and in Clay, Talladega, Calhoun, St. Clair, and Cherokee Counties in the eastern part of the State.

Feeling that they had been deprived of their means of livelihood in industry by the planters and their Negro slave labor, it was quite natural that the people in these and similar sections in the Carolinas, Georgia, Tennessee, and Kentucky should dislike to the point of hatred the Negro, his master, and his master's politics and free-trade economic policies. It is a matter of history that the majority of these people successfully resisted all efforts to enlist or conscript them in the Confederate Army and at the same time they gave refuge to draft evaders, deserters, and renegades from both sides in the War between the States.

Thus, these and similar sections in the South became islands of antislavery, of Negro hatred, of a high-tariff policy, and eventually of Republican politics; cleavages, passions, policies, and politics to which they hold in some measure to this very day. Also, strange as it may seem, there are fewer Negroes and higher anti-Negro feeling in the Republican strongholds of Alabama than in other sections of the State.

If the South's dissenters did not like the Southern planters' free-trade policies, neither did the manufacturers and bankers of New England. The shoe was on the other foot now. New England had incited the American colonists to fight the Revolutionary War because she did not want to pay duties on finished goods she must import from England. Now, with a flourishing industrial system established there, New England wanted a stiff tariff on manufactured goods imported from England by the South and the remainder of the country. The purpose of all this, of course, was to protect her industries from English competition and to force the South and the rest of the States to buy from her. But the South sold her cotton and other raw products to England as well as to New England, and she had no desire to see a tariff damage or destroy her English market. Though the slavery issue fired the passions of the people to the point that touched off the War between the States, some economists hold that the real cause of the war was whether the trade of the South would go to England or New England.

POST-BELLUM TURN TO AGRICULTURAL SYSTEM

The peace of Appomattox, the freeing of the slaves, the destruction of the plantation system, and the task of reconstruction brought new problems to the South. With much of its manpower lost to it through death, disease, and wounds; its financial resources sacrificed on the altar of war, and billions of dollars of its material wealth destroyed by shot, flame, and shell, the South was ripe for the horde of corrupt politicians and moneychangers that descended on it with their carpetbags.

Having no industrial system to absorb either its demobilized soldiers or its freed slaves, the South had no choice but to turn to the only agricultural system that under the conditions could take the place of the huge plantations whose operation as units had become impossible with the ending of slavery. The once rich but now powerty-stricken southern planters all had land and some few had a little capital; but none had manpower. A kindly relationship had existed in most instances between the master and his slaves. It was therefore but natural that the ex-slaves should be permitted to use lands, housing, and other facilities of the once-proud plantations to make a crop to feed themselves and that they should share between them the fruits of the harvest. This was the origin of the South's share-cropping system, in whose name many evils were later committed.

The tenant-farm system, which is but a variant of sharecropping, also came into wide vogue after the end of the war when some of the plantations were cut up into smaller units and each leased to a tenant. This practice likewise came to be the subject of many evil practices.

Through these twin evils the carpetbaggers enriched themselves by taking advantage of the hatred of the white working people for the Negro, a form of charlatanism at which some native southern businessmen and politicians also became adept.

The black man was played against the white, the white sharecropper or tenant farmer being forced in many instances to meet the competition of the Negro. In this way the Negro was often used by the white employer and capitalist class to beat down to the lower living standard of the Negro ex-slaves his less fortunate white brothers who had to work for a living in post-war days.

There were perhaps no greater number of dishonest landowners, supply merchants, and bankers in those days than there are today, and while many were honest and conscientious, due to the illiteracy of so many of the Negros and whites, frauds were said to have been more the rule than the exception. Few if any sharecroppers or tenants keep books and as a result, both white and black tenant farmers and sharecroppers were little more than slaves bound to a master by a chattel mortgage covering his worldly goods but binding him body and soul just as securely as if it were a bill of sale covering his person.

During the 15 years after the end of the war industry in the South expanded very slowly. It was not until the political disturbances of the era had been quelled and more or less stable governments had been established in the several States and communities that the South saw the beginning of a new industrial system rise on the ashes of its plantation system.

While southern employers, landlords, and capitalists probably rank of a par with those of any other section, it is natural that the driving of Negroes about during slavery times and the dominating of sharecroppers and tenants should have developed here a type of pronounced paternalist not peculiar to any other region. Some are kindly and some vicious, but all equally effective in controlling their employees, sharecroppers, and tenants hand and foot. This has led to a situation that a prominent Alabama attorney described by saying: "Alabama is a State in which 5 percent of the people give the orders and 95 percent of the people take them." The same thing is probably true of other Southern States in more or less degree.

REVIVAL OF SOUTH'S INDUSTRIAL SYSTEM

With the revival of industry, the native white labor that had been driven out of the deep South into the mountains and hill country by the collapse of the region's industries, went back again to the pursuits of their fathers.

The bulk of this native labor is descended from the same white stock as that of the Thirteen Original Colonies and is of an ancestry that knew the workshop and not the farm. Predominantly English, Scotch, Irish, and Welsh in origin, it is perhaps more truly American than any other similarly located population in the United States, and is characterized by reliability, industry, and high intelligence. The character of these people may be judged from the fact that only a few years ago three great grandsons of former President Andrew Jackson were employed in a textile mill near Anniston, Ala.

David A. Tompkins, writing in The South and the Building of the Nation, on the mountain whites as an industrial-labor factor, ascribes the facility with which the mountaineers have turned to industry to a hereditary affinity for industrial pursuits. With the building of new industries the South's Piedmont section became the reservoir for factories requiring skilled labor of high intelligence. As fast as factories were started, forces of labor migrated from the foothills and mountain country to operate them, and it was found that the descendants of the industrial workers of 1800 would, with little training, do as good work as their forebears. They were not naturally farmers, and they returned to manufacturing, not only to relieve their wants and improve their conditions, but as a sort of "joyful occupation to which they were particularly well suited by heritage." "There is no parallel situation," says Mr. Tompkins, "in which a manufacturing interest, as great as that of the present South, could possibly have been developed in so short a time."

While in the revival of the South's industrial system the main dependence was originally on the free white labor which before the industrial awakening had wrung a hazardous existence from the improverished mountain lands, later the freed Negro slaves and their descendants were employed principally in sawmills, mines, steel mills, furnaces, foundries, and in other heavy work of all kinds.

With the coming of the Negro to southern industry, it was inevitable that industrialists should play the Negro industrial worker against the white man wherever possible just as had been done in sharecropping and and tenant farming. The Negro was used to beat down the wage scales, to lengthen the hours, and to break the standard of working conditions. In many industries, if a white man wouldn't take a job at the wages, hours, or working conditions offered him, there was always a destitute Negro worker who would.

UNIONIZATION

To protect themselves from exploitation, the white workers at first organized themselves into labor unions that excluded Negroes from membership. Apprenticeship was also denied to Negroes and where possible they were relegated to positions as helpers. But union organization in the South was not sufficiently complete to prevent Negroes from penetrating numerous industries or to keep industrialists from using the Negro to break down southern labor standards. The steel industry, especially the United States Steel Corporation, has followed this practice for years not only with the Negro in its mines and mills in the South, but with foreign-born labor in the North.

However, this was no new story in America. It had been and is being done not only in the North with the depressed peoples of Europe, Italians, Poles, Slavs, and others; but in the Southwest with the Mexicans, and on the west coast with the Japs and Filipinos.

It was not until 1936, when the C. I. O. was formed, that native white American workers formed labor unions that did not discriminate against a worker because of race, creed, or color. After 100 years of having one race, one creed, or one color played by employers against another, the white American workers concluded that their sole protection law in requiring employers to pay the same wage for the same work. If the employer could not gain an advantage by continuing to discriminate on such grounds, it was obvious that he would hire the one best suited for the work.

Now that the white American workers have found protection of their labor standards under the C. I. O. banner, and at the same time have given protection to others, the C. I. O. policy of enrolling in one union all employees in each plant without regard to race, creed, or color, is being adopted by some A. F. of L. railroad unions.

Instead of an organization that protects the white native's labor standards by making it impossible for his employer to give his job to another at a lower wage, work another longer hours, or employ another at poorer working conditions, the C. I. O. has been pictured by its employer enemies in the South as an institution that attempts to bring about social equality between the white and black races.

Perhaps the best answer to that calumny is that contained in a recent editorial in the Tuscaloosa (Ala.) News quoting Will Ellis in the Southern Democrat of Oneonta, Ala. Ellis tells of a long conversation with a Negro school teacher encountered with a number of her pupils on a sight-seeing visit to the Vulcan statue at Birmingham. When asked, "What are your personal feelings on the social equality of the white and the Negro?" she replied:

"The Negroes do not want social equality any more than the whites. How many Negro families do you know, or have ever known, who are satisfied to live in communities of white people, far removed from other Negroes? I like white folks. I regard Southern white people as our best friends, but I don't want to live with white people. I want to live with my own color. I have worked for white people * * * all the way from the kitchen to the parlor. I was taught to do good work and that is a part of my religion. I am still trying to do good work. I teach these boys and girls to do well whatever they undertake * * *. I have never been mistreated by any white person. I respect them and they respect me. But I love my own color and I'm giving my life to help them. I am a disciple of Booker T. Washington. I see the race question as he saw it. I am trying to help the Negroes to be better Negroes. I am not trying to change the color of anyone's skin."

And despite what the antilabor employers of the South say about the C. I. O. type of organization, it is not trying to change the color of anyone's skin. It is only trying to protect the labor standards of the workers of the South by showing to all workers, regardless of race, creed, or color, that their wages, hours, and working conditions are economic and not racial or social questions, and as they work side by side in and around the mines, mills, and factories, they must organize together and present a solid front if they expect to stop their employers from beating down one race with the other and thus keeping both under his domination.

The white workers of the South have become generally convinced that if they expect to advance, they must reach down and pull the Negro industrial workers up to the legel of the white man's wages, hours, and working conditions, just as he has been forced to do with other races and nationalities in other sections. They understand that if the employer can hire a Negro for less or work him longer than a white man, the employer will always hire enough Negroes to keep the white man pushed down the economic scale. The Negro has come to realize that his only hope of rising above the level of a "wage slave" is to join with the white man in demanding the same wages, hours, and working conditions for the same work without regard to race, creed, or color.

Wherever the Congress of Industrial Organizations has organized, the race, creed, and color questions have been settled as issues and they have never risen again. Congress of Industrial Organizations members meet today in hundreds of local unions throughout the South, elect representatives of their own choosing, and transact the business of their members in complete harmony and in compliance with the principles of democracy.

There has been comparatively no unionization of agricultural workers in the South, and to some extent the Negro is still playing against the white man in sharecropping and tenant farming.

FEW FARMERS SETTLED SOUTH

In considering the agricultural problems of Alabama and the South, it should be borne in mind that the South was not colonized by farmers in the sense of many other sections of the country. German and Swedish farmers whose people were good farmers for generations in the old countries dominate Wisconsin agriculture; Swedish, Danish, and Finnish farmers in Minnesota; German-speaking Dutch farmers in western Pennsylvania; Spanish fruit culturists in the early settlement of California; and Italian farmers in strawberry culture in New Jersey and Louisiana. The cotton economy of the plantation era has been held over to the present day through the sharecroppers and tenants raising only cotton and living out of the stores of the landowners and supply merchants. But the admittedly foolish practices of its farmers of importing each year millions of dollars of food and feedstuffs must be attributable to the fact that comparatively few farmers settled the South. This theory is borne out by the fact that the best farming sections of Alabama, Cullman and Blount Counties, are areas that were settled by farmers. It is incidental that these farmers came from Germany.

Until the 1920's there was no migration of any consequence in Alabama agriculture since Andrew Jackson's defeat of the Creek Indians at Horseshoe Bend in eastern Alabama in 1819 opened this State to colonization. However, the coming of the boll weevil to Alabama in the early twenties curtailed overnight the production of cotton throughout the State and made cotton culture virtually impossible in the State's rich Black Belt section. This caused the migration of thousands of small farmers, sharecroppers, and tenants, both white and black, to the industrial regions of Alabama and of the North and East.

INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION IN 1920'S AND EARLY 1930'S

The blow suffered by Alabama agriculture from the boll weevil accentuated the need for new industries, so the people of the State held out many inducements in the twenties and early thirties to the industries that were migrating at that time from the North to the South. They brought Alabama needed capital, needed employment for its surplus of farm labor, needed pay rolls to increase its per capita wealth, needed fabrication of its raw materials into finished products. They have contributed immensely to the wealth of the State and more industries of their type are needed if Alabama and the South are to cease to be the Nation's No. 1 economic problem.

Alabama is fortunate in that the new industries division of Alabama Power Co., in cooperation with many civic bodies and communities, has attracted scores of new industries to Alabama in the past 18 years, and the Alabama State

Chamber of Commerce is engaged in a State-wide program for the betterment of agriculture in cooperation with State and Government agencies. But Alabama is unfortunate in that most of its industries are owned by absentee landlords who brought their politics and antisocial civic and labor policies with them, and are engaged in a long-range program to force them on the other industries, the people and the Government of Alabama.

Because Alabama is the principal industrial State in the South, it appears to have been the testing ground for every vicious type of labor-baiting and vigilanteism possible. This story is told in the La Follette civil-liberties committee hearings.

ORGANIZED INDUSTRY IN ALABAMA

More lately Alabama was honored by having the National Association of Manufacturers send here its former executive secretary to direct Alabama's end of its national campaign to build a backfire against the New Deal by attempting to elect anti-New Deal legislature, Governor, Congressmen, and Senators. This effort claims credit for many measures designed to keep Alabama a State in which 5 percent of the people give the orders and 95 percent take them. Among these are the defeat of repeal of the State's cumulative poll tax, emasculation of the unemployment compensation and old-age pension laws, a giant conspiracy to defraud workers of their unemployment compensation so as to build up huge excess reserves and gain a tax reduction, and a bill to authorize the State to deputize as officers anyone it saw fit with or without State compensation.

But more deadly than this program to the future progress of the State is the philosophy that these twentieth-century carpetbaggers brought with them and are rapidly spreading among native southern industrialists and their legal and political henchmen. This philosophy is the refusal to accept responsibility for the welfare of their employees and the community. The immediate profit appears to be their sole concern, and they do not appear to be interested in future markets for their products, the workers turned out of employment, or the communities that suffer by reason of substandard wages or raw materials bought at prices depressed through restraint of trade.

I do not mean to convey for one moment that there are not many public-spirited industrialists in Alabama whose policies and acts are in harmony with the public mind. But organized industry in Alabama is at loggerheads with the majority of the people and is spending thousands of dollars annually in an effort to capture the State government and run Alabama according to the National Association of Manufacturers and United States Chamber of Commerce program. The result is the same lack of harmony between the classes that has prevailed since the introduction of slavery and that is more responsible perhaps than any other one thing for the lack of development in the South. Only the introduction of a more democratic government here, with the losers accepting the verdict at the ballot box and cooperating with the winners, is likely to bring about the harmony necessary to the realization of the South's true destiny.

"BACK-TO-FARM" TENDENCY IN ALABAMA

The Hoover depression started a back-to-the-farm movement in Alabama as a matter of self-preservation, and unless the light of self-interest permeates our inner industrial councils or governmental authority takes steps to cushion the blow from the projected mechanization of coal mines, steel mills, and possibly other industries in Alabama, this State is certain to have a not inconsiderable migration of workers from industry to agriculture.

The requirement that the Farm Security Administration must approve sharecropper agreements and tenant-farm leases before landlords may obtain Government loans has had the effect of forcing landowners to improve conditions to the point where they find it more advantageous to transform back into huge plantations the small tracts formerly leased to tenants and sharecroppers, and farm the consolidated areas with mechanical equipment and hired labor.

In this way, thousands of Alabama tenants and sharecroppers have been "tractored" off Alabama farms. The committee is undoubtedly familiar with the testimony of Secretary of Agriculture Wallace before the Senate Civil Liberties Committee on May 2 that in one Alabama county in which only 8 tractors were in use 6 years ago, there were 260 tractors in 1937 and each tractor pushed from 1 to 5 tenant families off the land.

From the peace of Appomattox until now, farming in Alabama has been more of a mode of living than a business. But aided by the machine, farming in our State is rapidly being made a business. The plantation system is coming back, but this time with free hired labor instead of slaves, and machine instead of hand labor.

Other than the steady loss of some of its best blood and brains who have left the State to seek opportunity where none existed here, so far Alabama has had no particularly serious migratory worker problem. But with both industry and agriculture in Alabama displacing workers with machines and turning them loose for communities to care for out of relief funds constantly reduced at the demand of the very ones who displace the workers, unless some program is devised to absorb them, it is obvious that it will not be long before Alabama will have thousands of destitute citizens on its doorstep who have no choice but to migrate to some other section in the hope of obtaining employment or relief.

Mr. SPARKMAN. Is there anything else to come before the committee at this hearing? If not, I will declare the hearing closed.

(No response.)

Mr. SPARKMAN. Before we go, I want to take this opportunity to express the appreciation of the committee for the very fine attendance and support that has been given us by the press. We certainly feel that we would be amiss in our duties if we didn't acknowledge the many things that we owe to you for the splendid cooperation that you have given to us, and we desire to at this time extend our thanks and appreciation to all of the others who have made this hearing so successful.

The committee will stand adjourned.

(Whereupon, at 1 p. m., Friday, August 16, 1940, the hearing was adjourned.)

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